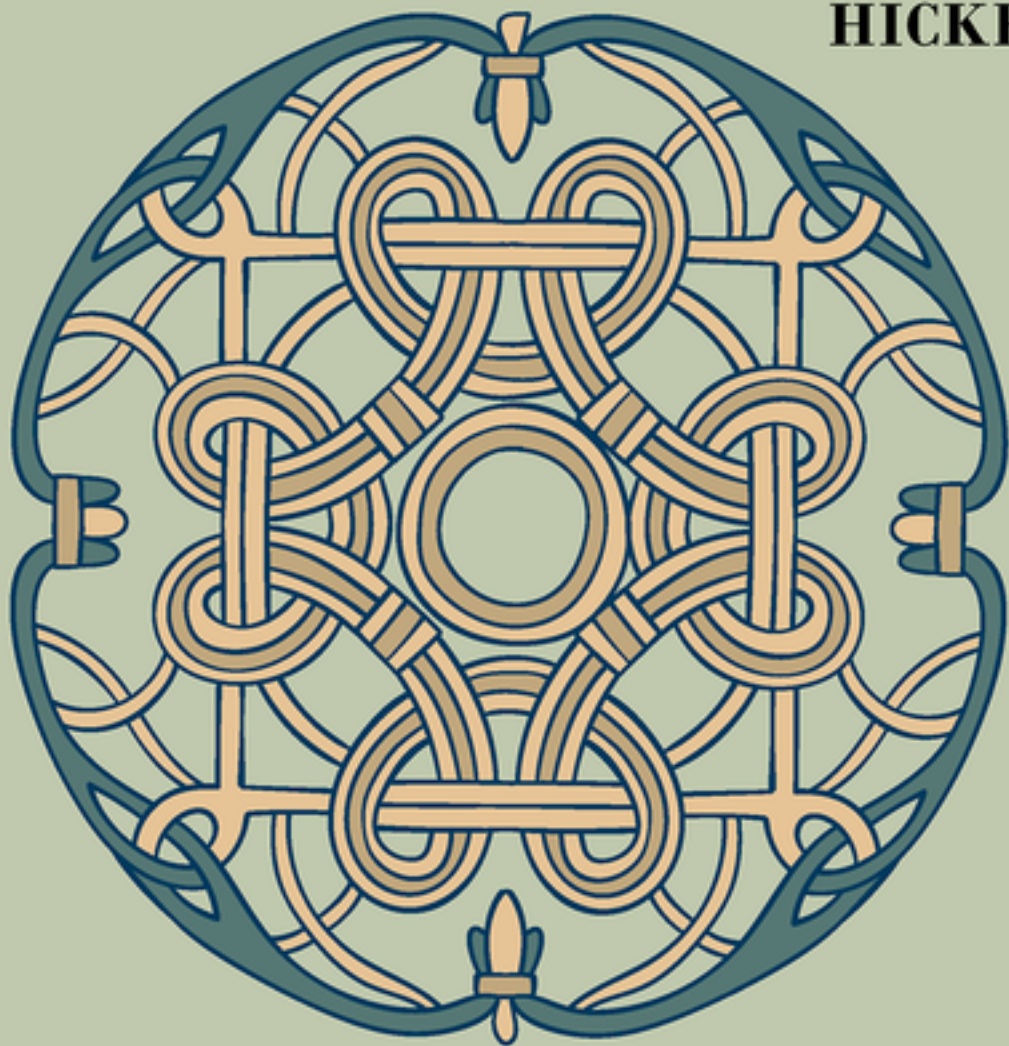


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HICKEY**



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THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

IRISH ENGLISH

Edited by
RAYMOND HICKEY

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PREFACE

RESEARCH into Irish English has increased greatly in the past few decades, much as it has done for varieties of English around the world. While there were some treatments of Irish English from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these were largely concerned with the survival of rural vocabulary, from Irish or English dialects, in localities around Ireland. But a few monographs did appear in the first decades of the twentieth century which were evidence of some popular and academic interest in the field. However, it was not until the 1950s and 1960s, with the work of P. L. Henry, and later of scholars such as Alan Bliss, that the investigation of Irish English was put on a firmer research footing.

Initially, the concerns centred around lexical and grammatical matters, with transfer from the background language Irish receiving most attention. But the direction shifted over the years, with questions of dialect input and universal developments in typical language shift scenarios brought into sharper focus. The approaches of sociolinguistics also came to be applied, especially to urban varieties in Ireland, notably in Belfast, Derry, and Dublin. Advances in computer technology led to the compilation of representative corpora for historical and contemporary forms of Irish English, and greatly expanded the data base on which research came to be grounded. Among the datasets which proved particularly fruitful are emigrant letters written by those persons who left Ireland for a new life overseas but maintained contact with their home country via the postal service. Last but not least, mention should be made of the increased interest, among linguists generally, in the field of pragmatics. Viewed from this vantage point, it turned out that research into Irish English has been especially rewarding.

It is a sign of maturity for a field of study when a volume of this nature can be assembled. On the one hand it demonstrates that the major subdivisions of the field have been identified and investigated, and on the other it shows that there are active researchers in these areas who are capable of providing chapters with both overview information and new insights gleaned from their work. It is in this spirit that the present volume has been prepared.

My thanks go to the anonymous reviewers who supported this project, and to the staff at Oxford University Press, in particular Julia Steer, Vicki Sunter, and Sarah Barrett, as well as Sasi Bodatte of Newgen Knowledge Works, for their cordial and professional approach to all aspects of the preparation and production of the volume.

Waterford
St Patrick's Day
17 March 2023

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ABBREVIATIONS

AdvDE	Advanced Dublin English
AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
AmE	American English
AmEng	American English
AP	adjectival phrase
ASL	American Sign Language
BNC	British National Corpus
BrEng	British English
BSL	British Sign Language
BVE	Belfast Vernacular English
CAG-IE	Corpus of Age and Gender in Irish English
CANCODE	Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English
CanEng	Canadian English
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Language
CGCSE	Corpus of Galway City Spoken English
CIE	A Corpus of Irish English
CISLI	Council for Irish Sign Language Interpreters
CL	corpus linguistics
CLAS	Cambridge Limerick Shannon Corpus
CMEP	Corpus of Modern English Prose
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
COOEE	Corpus of Oz Early English
CORIECOR	Corpus of Irish English Correspondence
CORVIZ	CORIECOR Visualized
CQL	Corpus Query Language
CUD	Concise Ulster Dictionary
D4	Dublin 4 (postcityal district)
DAN	Dialect Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador
DCT	discourse completion task

DE	Derry English
DHE	Dictionary of Hiberno-English
DIL	Dictionary of the Irish Language
DM	Dynamic Model (Schneider)
D-PM	discourse-pragmatic marker
EDD	English Dialect Dictionary
EngE	English English
EngEng	English English
ENP	extended- now perfect
FCV	female comment voice
GIS	Geographical Information System
GLOBE	Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness
GloWbE	Global Web-Based English
HCIE	Hamburg Corpus of Irish English
ICE	International Corpus of English
IFIDs	Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices
IRAC	Irish Radio Advertisement Corpus (p271)
IrEng	Irish English
ISL	Irish Sign Language
ITE	Irish Traveller English
LALP-I	Letters of Artisans and the Labouring Poor—Ireland
LAS	Linguistic Atlas of Scotland
LCIE	Limerick Corpus of Irish English
LD	Local Dublin English
LIBEL	Limerick– Belfast Corpus of Academic Spoken English
LLC	London–Lund Corpus
LSF	French Sign Language
LuDiG	Lueneburg Direction-Giving
MCV	male comment voice
ME	Middle English
ModD	Moderate Dublin English
MOP	Medial Object Perfect (resultative perfect)
MUE	Mid-Ulster English
MUNFLA	Memorial University's Folklore and Language Archive
NAme	North American English

NDF	New Dialect Formation (Trudgill)
NECTE	Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English
NFC	National Folklore Collection
NI	Northern Ireland
NICTS	Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech
NfldIrE	Newfoundland Irish English
NIrE	Northern Irish English
NORMs	non- mobile, older, rural males
NP	noun phrase
NSR	Northern Subject Rule
NZEng	New Zealand English
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
ON	Old Norse
PF	progressive form
PM	pragmatic marker
PP	prepositional phrase
RoI	Republic of Ireland
RP	Received Pronunciation
SASL	South African Sign Language
SCOTS	Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech
SE	signed English
SED	Survey of English Dialects
SEE	'signed exact English'
SEIrE	southeastern Ireland
SEU	Survey of English Usage
SFVL	short front vowel lowering
SIrE	Southern Irish English
SL	source language (p60)
SLA	second-language acquisition
SOI	Signs of Ireland Corpus
SPICE	pragmatically annotated ICE-Ireland corpus
SrS	Supraregional Southern
SSBE	Standard Southern British English
StE	Standard English

SUE	Southern Ulster English
SVLR	Scottish Vowel Length Rule
SWBrE	southwestern British English
TL	target language
TNC	Threatening Notices Corpus
TRS	Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno- English Speech
UCC	University College Cork
UE	Ulster English
USc	Ulster Scots
VNL	Voices of Newfoundland and Labrador
VP	verb phrase

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that interpretation has in shaping how they are represented and perceived by other stakeholders in these contexts.

Stephen Lucek is Irish Research Council Postdoctoral Fellow at University College Dublin. His most recent research focuses on attitudes and perceptions of Irish English speakers from a variety of backgrounds, particularly the attitudes and perceptions of Dublin teenagers. Beginning with his doctoral thesis, which examined questions about the cognitive experience of spatial language and metaphor, Dr Lucek has been interested in the processes evident in interactional linguistics as variable along the social factors evident in sociolinguistics. Stephen is the co-editor, with Carolina P. Amador-Moreno, of *Expanding the Landscapes of Irish English Research: Studies in Honour of Jeffrey Kallen* (Routledge, 2021), featuring a number of the authors in this Handbook.

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Warren Maguire is Senior Lecturer in English Language at the University of Edinburgh. His research concentrates on dialects of English in Britain and Ireland, especially those in Ulster and in north-east England. He particularly focuses on their diachronic and synchronic phonology, on dialect and language contact, on traditional dialects and dialectology, on dialect corpora, and on representations of dialect in writing, but also has more general research interests in dialectology and the history of English and Scots. He has published widely in these areas, including his 2020 monograph *Language and Dialect Contact in Ireland: The Phonological Origins of Mid-Ulster English*, published by Edinburgh University Press.

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Literature, English Language and Linguistics, English Today, Token, American Speech, and World Englishes. His current research activity is focused on using the Corpus of Irish English Correspondence to explore the history of Irish English, and on studying (London)Derry English in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries via oral history recordings.

Susanne Mohr is Professor of English Sociolinguistics at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim. For her PhD in linguistics, which she obtained from the University of Cologne, she worked on mouth actions in Irish Sign Language (published as *Mouth Actions in Sign Languages: An Empirical Study of Irish Sign Language*, 2014, de Gruyter Mouton/Ishara). Recent research projects, for instance on language repertoires in tourism or mass and countability in African varieties of English, have been funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the German Academic Exchange Service. Her research interests are multilingualism, language contact, multimodality, and decoloniality. She has published in general linguistic and English linguistics journals such as *Sign Language & Linguistics* and *World Englishes*.

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Anne Barron, Routledge, 2019). She is currently involved in updating and developing the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (LCIE).

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Patricia Ronan holds a chair of English Linguistics at TU Dortmund University. She received her PhD at Maynooth University, Ireland, and she has held further positions in Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Germany. Her main research interests are in language variation and language contact, with foci on English and the Celtic languages. At the time of writing, she is co-editing volumes on language and migration, linguistic inclusion of migrants, corpus linguistics in the English-language classroom, and corpus pragmatics. She is co-authoring an introduction to multilingualism and is working, amongst other projects, on the development of linguistic varieties in language contact situations, on variationist pragmatics, and on media language.

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Marije van Hattum did her undergraduate work at the University of Leiden. She received her PhD from the University of Manchester with 'Irish English modal verbs from the fourteenth to the twentieth centuries' in 2012. She worked at the university until 2021 as Lecturer in Linguistics, researching various aspects of nineteenth-century Irish English, including the language of threatening notices on which she published in journals such as the *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* and *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*.

Elaine Vaughan is Lecturer in Applied Linguistics and TESOL at the University of Limerick, Ireland. Her research interests include corpus pragmatics, Irish English pragmatics and pragmatic markers, and using/building corpora to explore language varieties and linguistic indices of community and identity in language. She has published on

various aspects of these interests: the pragmatics of Irish English; humour and laughter; the use of corpora and corpus-based approaches for intra-varietal, pragmatic, and sociolinguistic research; corpus-based critical discourse analysis; media representations of Irish English; and teacher discourse in workplace communities of practice. She edited the volume *Pragmatic Markers in Irish English* (John Benjamins, 2015) with Carolina Amador-Moreno and Kevin McCafferty; and the special issue of the journal *World Englishes* on Irish English (2017) with Raymond Hickey.

Shane Walshe is Lecturer in Linguistics at the English Department of the University of Zurich and has also taught at the universities of Berne and Bamberg. He received his PhD in 2009 from the University of Bamberg (*Irish English as Represented in Films*, Peter Lang, 2009). He has since specialized on language in the media in Ireland, e.g. television shows, superhero comics, and joke books, as well as on the acquisition of stage accents. His publications have appeared in several volumes, such as *Sociolinguistics in Ireland* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) and *Irish Identities: Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (De Gruyter Mouton, 2020). Other areas of interest include varieties of English, perceptual dialectology, corpus stylistics, and linguistic stereotyping. He is a co-founder of the Swiss Centre of Irish Studies at the Zurich James Joyce Foundation.

PART I

.....

A FRAMEWORK FOR
IRISH ENGLISH

.....

CHAPTER 1

IRISH ENGLISH IN TODAY'S WORLD

RAYMOND HICKEY

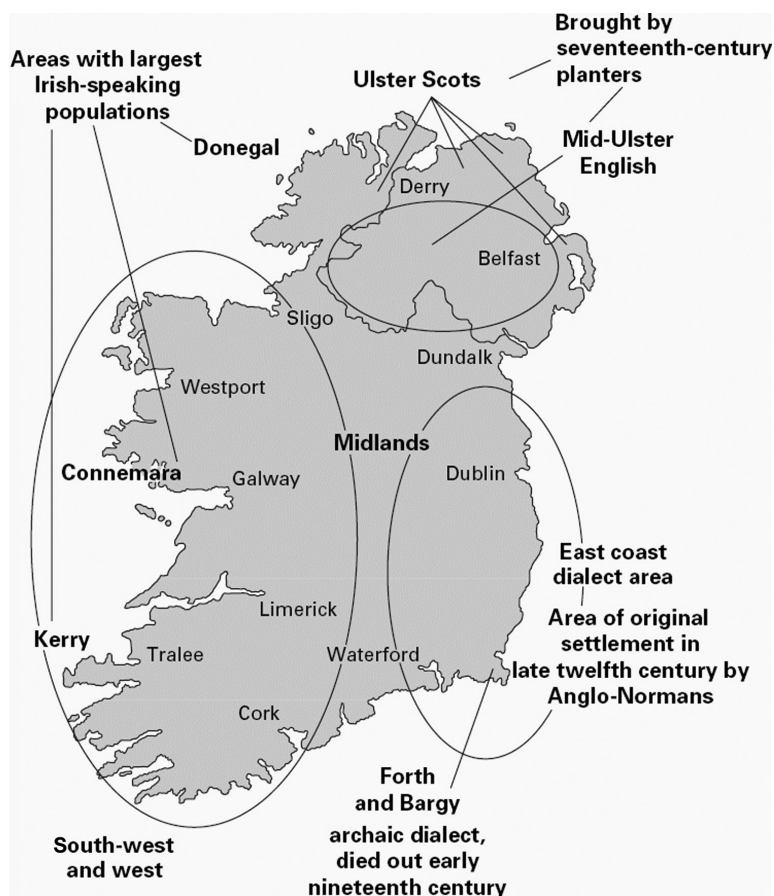
1.1 INTRODUCTION

THE term ‘Irish English’ refers to varieties of English spoken in the island of Ireland. In the broadest sense it encompasses varieties which share a number of pronunciation and grammatical features as well as vocabulary items which serve to adequately delimit them from varieties of English beyond Ireland (Hickey 2012). The study of varieties of English has, in the last few decades, seen a great expansion in publications covering English worldwide.¹ In this global context, Irish English has found its place and has been accorded due research attention (see e.g. Kirkpatrick 2020; Filppula, Klemola, and Sharma 2017; Hickey and Vaughan 2017; Ball and Mesthrie forthcoming; Bolton forthcoming; Hickey forthcoming; and Moore and Montgomery forthcoming).

Viewed internally, from within Ireland, the cover term ‘Irish English’ immediately requires further differentiation to separate out related but distinct varieties of English (Map 1.1). The first major division is between two sets of varieties: one in the province of Ulster and another in the rest of Ireland, south of this province. Ulster consists of nine counties (see Map 1.2, and Map 10.1 in Chapter 10), six of which form Northern Ireland, a constituent part of the United Kingdom. English in Ulster has been heavily influenced since the seventeenth century by both forms of Scots from Western Scotland and the Scottish Lowlands, as well as by forms of Northern English which developed into Mid-Ulster English. Between Ulster and the south of Ireland there are transitional dialects running from Co. Sligo in the west across to Co. Louth in the east. South of this

¹ With a population of just under 7 million the entire island of Ireland ranges among the smaller English-speaking countries, larger than the anglophone island nations of the Caribbean or the Pacific, in both size and population density, but much smaller than the large anglophone countries such as the USA, Canada, or Australia.

broad band are the varieties typical of the Republic of Ireland. Traditionally, this large area can be divided into an East Coast dialect area in which forms of English are spoken which derive from the very early settlement of Ireland by English speakers, i.e. from the twelfth century onwards. The remaining area is that of the south, south-west, and west of Ireland which is of more recent origin, having largely arisen due to the language shift from Irish to English which took place in the second period of Irish English (1600–), most dramatically in the nineteenth century.



MAP 1.1 Main dialect regions in present-day Ireland

The above remarks hold for vernacular varieties of English in Ireland. But there are less local forms, which resulted from educated, middle-class speakers avoiding stigmatized features and adopting a more general form of English which, while not as locally bound as vernaculars, was nonetheless identifiable as English spoken by Irish

people. This is what is termed 'supraregional Irish English' (Hickey 2013), and applies throughout the Republic of Ireland. A similar supraregional form exists in Northern Ireland which is related to Mid-Ulster English but without its most vernacular features (Maguire, Chapter 10 this volume).

A further axis along which to divide forms of English in Ireland is that of urban versus rural varieties. The latter are the most traditional, and correspond most closely to the dialect divisions indicated above. Urban varieties are more complex and are founded on dynamic interactions between different groups of speakers. Some will have local accents, other more supraregional ones. Some speakers will be native speakers of Irish English, others will be second-language speakers, what are often termed 'New Irish' or 'non-nationals.' This latter group has increased greatly in size during the past few decades, with non-Irish-born persons representing about 10% of the population of present-day Ireland, both north and south. It has been the focus of attention for many researchers (see Diskin-Holdaway, Chapter 28 this volume) in recent years.

1.1.1 The island of Ireland

Both politically and linguistically the island of Ireland is divided into two distinct parts (Map 1.2): two-thirds of the island in the centre and south comprise the Republic of Ireland (since 1949), consisting of 26 of the 32 counties into which the whole island is divided. The northern third consists largely of Northern Ireland, a constituent part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, a status which this part of the island has had since 1922. Reference to parts of Ireland is frequently by province, the most northerly of which is Ulster. This encompasses the nine most northerly counties, and is linguistically fairly homogeneous. Only six counties of Ulster are actually contained in Northern Ireland; the remaining three are in the Republic of Ireland (see Map 1.2).

Ireland's location has played a role in determining the attitude of the Irish people to the English language. Given its proximity to England, close connections, both voluntary and involuntary, have existed between the islands of Britain and Ireland through the centuries. For many Irish there is a desire to show their separateness from England; for others, albeit a minority, the closeness to England is welcome. This situation has affected politics and culture in Ireland. It is the tight-knit and shared history of Ireland and England which fuelled the desire of the former to be politically separate from its large dominant neighbour, and which ultimately led to independence in 1922 and the proclamation of the south of Ireland as a republic in 1949. The special relationship with England has also meant that for most Irish people English accents from Britain are not regarded as worthy of emulation, certainly not anything close to Received Pronunciation (see Table 11.1).



MAP 1.2 Counties of Ireland

Table 1.1 Main varieties of English on the island of Ireland**Republic of Ireland***Main division of varieties*

- Supraregional Irish English
- More local urban and rural varieties

Main rural divisions

- East Coast dialect area
- South, South-West, West
- North-West (west Ulster)

Main urban varieties

- Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Galway, Waterford English, etc.

Northern Ireland*Main division of varieties*

- Supraregional Northern Irish English
- More local urban and rural varieties

Main broad divisions

- Mid-Ulster English
- Ulster Scots

Main urban varieties

- Belfast, Derry, Coleraine, Armagh, Newry English, etc.

Non-native varieties

- Second-language varieties spoken by recent immigrants

1.2 THE CONTEXT OF IRISH ENGLISH

Constitutionally, Irish is the first language in the Republic of Ireland, with English an auxiliary language. This fact derives from the constitution of 1937. In the words of this document, English is 'accepted as a second official language' (*Bunreacht na hÉireann* 'Constitution of Ireland', Article 8). But in practical terms, Ireland is a completely English-speaking country (Hickey 2007). Those who can speak Irish are also bilingual, with the exception of a very few older speakers in the rural *Gaeltacht*, a collective term for Irish-speaking regions. Map 1.3 shows the areas in which Irish is spoken in Ireland.

However, the statement that Irish is an English-speaking country needs several qualifications with regard both to the present and to the recent history of the country. The main event to mark the country linguistically was the language shift from the Celtic language Irish to English, which was completed (but not fully) by the early twentieth century. This has meant that the two languages whose relationship dominated the linguistic landscape of Ireland in previous centuries, Irish and English, are both still present. But many more languages have been introduced to the country by immigration in recent years, especially after the accession of several East European countries to the



MAP 1.3 Irish-speaking areas in Ireland

European Union in 2004, allowing the free movement of citizens of the new member states in the enlarged union—a fact which contributed to the surge of foreign labour into Ireland in the so-called Celtic Tiger years (late 1990s to 2008). The country which contributed most to the population increase of non-Irish-born people in Ireland was Poland, followed by Lithuania and other East European countries. Before the financial crisis of 2008, male Poles were largely employed in the then booming construction industry and female Poles worked in service industries or held secretarial or clerical positions. Approximately 122,000 presently reside in the Republic of Ireland (Census 2016). Their presence is apparent in public spaces in Ireland, for example in facilities offered for the Polish population, shops, and centres (Hickey 2021). The large number of Poles in Ireland also means that a new, Irish-born, Polish-heritage generation (Diskin and Regan 2015) is growing up in Ireland which, if not linguistically, will at least culturally leave their mark on Ireland in the coming years. This situation also applies to Northern Ireland and has been the subject of an extensive investigation (Corrigan 2020) which looked at the degree of cultural and linguistic integration into the community by the second generation of recent immigrants. Corrigan noted that those teenagers and young adults who maintain their links with their parents' culture, for example by learning their heritage language, were also those most likely to fully adopt the finely

differentiated sociolinguistic norms of their Irish surroundings. That stands to reason in terms of family psychology: those individuals who offer recognition of their heritage background and embrace the culture of their parents are those who are then free to engage fully with the host culture surrounding them and acquire the sociolinguistic nuances typical of the Irish community in which they are embedded. Such a stance by the second generation leads to genuine biculturalism and bilingualism.

The 'New Irish' consist not only of recent immigrants from Eastern Europe. There are many from Africa, with Nigerians representing the largest group. In addition there are small but significant numbers of Asians, notably Chinese, and some Indians and Pakistanis.

1.3 LABELS FOR IRISH ENGLISH

In overview treatments of English in the south of Ireland, a number of terms can be found, or have been found: (1) *Anglo-Irish* is an established term in literature to refer to works written in English by authors born in, or closely associated with Ireland. It is also found in politics to refer to relations between England and Ireland. Within the context of other varieties—Canadian English, for instance—the term has been used to refer to English in Ireland (Kirwin 1993). (2) *Hiberno-English* is a learned term which is derived from Latin *Hibernia* 'Ireland' (T. F. O'Rahilly 1932: 234). The term enjoyed a certain currency in the 1970s and 1980s, but in the 1990s, many authors ceased to use it, as it may require explanation to a non-Irish readership and is suggestive of Stage Irish rather than being a neutral term for English in Ireland. (3) *Irish English* is the simplest term. It has the advantage that it parallels the designations for other varieties, e.g. American, Australian, Welsh English, and can be further differentiated where necessary.

A non-linguistic term with a considerable history is *brogue*, meaning a clearly recognizable Irish accent, frequently of rural origin. The term comes either from the Irish word for 'shoe', *bróg*, or for 'a lump in one's tongue', *barróg teangan*.² It is often used in a loose sense to mean the Irish pronunciation of English, and the term is also found outside Ireland, e.g. in Ocracoke Brogue on the islands off the coast of North Carolina.

1.3.1 The term 'Irish'

The name of the Celtic³ language, brought to Ireland in the first centuries BCE and still spoken in pockets on the north-western, western, and south-western seaboard, is *Irish*. The term *Gaelic* /'ge:ɪlɪk/ is not frequent in Ireland. The designation *Scottish Gaelic* is used for the Celtic language spoken on parts of the west coast of Scotland (historically

² The Southern Irish pronunciation of *barróg* would be [bro:g], with syncope of the first syllable, and so match the English word phonetically.

³ Note that *Celtic* is pronounced ['keltɪk], and not ['seltɪk].

derived from northern forms of Irish). The Scots themselves refer to their variety of Gaelic by their pronunciation of the word, i.e. /'galɪk/, written *Gaidhlig* in Scottish Gaelic and anglicized as *Gallick*. The word for the language is feminine in Irish (and Scottish Gaelic), so that the initial sound changes to a velar fricative on using the article before it: *An Ghaelige* /ən 'ɣe:lɪgʲə/ 'the Irish language'.

The label *Irish* can equally refer to the native people of Ireland. Throughout history, various qualifiers have been added to *Irish*. For instance, the phrase *the wild Irish* was at first derogatory, referring to a supposedly barbarous people; later it became complementary with the implication of being natural, untamed, unspoiled by civilization. This sense is reflected in the novel *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806) by Lady Morgan. This phrase is already recorded from the mid-sixteenth century for those who lived 'beyond the Pale': Andrew Boorde's *The breviary of healthe* (c.1547, published 1552) contains the following reference: 'Ireland is deuuyded in ii. partes, one is the Engly[sh] pale, & the other, the wyld Irish' (Crowley 2000: 24). The term was later extended to those descendants of the original English settlers who had adopted Irish habits, spoke Irish, and of course were still Roman Catholics and hence not unduly loyal to post-Reformation England (Palmer 2000: 74–107). Another early reference is found in Philemon Holland's *Camden's Britain* (1610): 'They that refuse to be under lawes are termed the Irishry, and commonly the Wilde Irish.'

Internally in Ireland, derogative terms may be found which refer to sections of the population. Often the group being derided can be identified along an urban–rural axis. For instance, the term *Jackeen* is used unflatteringly of a Dubliner, while *culchie* (either derived from 'agriculture' or from the town of Kiltimagh in Co. Mayo, Dolan 2012: 70) is a label for someone lacking in urban experience and sophistication.

1.4 IRISH ENGLISH: FACT AND FICTION

Like other national or regional varieties, Irish English has a unique profile which consists of features across various levels of language which separate it from varieties beyond Ireland. Some of these features involve words used differently than in other varieties, e.g. emphatic adverbs/adjectives like *fierce* or *wicked*, as in *The drinking was fierce*, *The weather was wicked*, or various pragmatic markers, such as *sure*, often in combination with others, as in *But sure lookit, that can't be helped*. Below a selection of typical features are offered from different levels of language, which are characteristic of Irish English.

Pronunciation

- 1) The Irish pronounce *th* as in *thinker* like the *t* in *tinker*.

This is generally untrue. In non-vernacular speech in the south of Ireland a strict distinction is maintained between a dental [t̪] (as in Swedish *tala* 'speak' or Italian

notte 'night') and an alveolar [t] (as in English *tall* or *not*) so that the words *thin* and *tin* are not homophones. The Irish are very sensitive to the shift from dental to alveolar stop and they regard the use of the latter in the THIN lexical set as a sign of strongly vernacular speech. In northern Ireland dental fricatives are found, so that *thanks* is [θæŋks]. Dental fricatives are sometimes used by southern speakers in word-final position as a spelling pronunciation.

- 2) The slit *t* of Irish English, as in *kit*, is a type of affricate or flap.

What is commonly called 'slit *t*' is an apico-alveolar fricative produced by not quite touching the alveolar ridge with the tip of the tongue. This sound is found e.g. word-finally before a pause, or intervocalically as in *pit* and *pity*. It is not found syllable-initially, which explains the contrast between *Italy* ['ɪt̪ɪli] and *Italian* ['ɪt̪æljən], and it is not found before a further consonant, even if it is in the coda of a syllable: compare *but* [bʌt̪] and *button* ['bʌt̪n]. The *s* sound in Irish English is the same as elsewhere in English, i.e. it is a lamino-alveolar fricative formed with the blade of the tongue near the alveolar ridge for friction. This means that word pairs like *kit* and *kiss* are not homophones in Irish English. Slit-*t* can be transcribed phonetically by placing a caret under a *t* (first introduced in Hickey 1984). This indicates that the tip of the tongue does not make contact with the alveolar ridge. Using this diacritic with *t* makes it clear that the sound is a realization of this segment.⁴

Grammar

- 1) The Irish say *youse* to address more than one person.

Youse is heard as a colloquial form, alongside *yez*, especially in northern counties. But the non-stigmatized supraregional form is *ye*, the archaic form for *you*-plural in English which has been retained in Irish English (*yez*, pronounced with a long /i/, is a combination of this *ye* and the plural -s /z/, just as *youse* consists of *you* + -s).

- 2) Irish people use structures like *He's after breaking the glass* and *They do be out fishing in the summer*.

Non-standard syntactic structures of Irish English show a distinct distribution in terms of stigma. The *after*-perfective is very common and found across all speech styles. A further non-stigmatized aspectual type is the resultative perfective, realized by the word order Object + Past Participle, as in *She has the novel read* and indicates a planned action which has been completed. It contrasts with the order Past Participle + Object as in *She has read the novel* (at some time in the

⁴ This symbol is available in Unicode fonts with the numerical value 1E71.

past). However, the habitual with *do + be* is quite stigmatized, and is only used by supraregional speakers when imitating strongly vernacular speech.

- 3) The Irish use multiple negation liberally.

Negative concord (the negation of all negatable elements in a clause) is found in Irish English, e.g. *He's not interested in no cars*. However, this is vernacular and avoided in supraregional speech.

- 4) The Irish use unbound reflexives abundantly.

Unbound reflexives are cases where there is no antecedent (Filppula, Chapter 8 this volume). These occur sparingly in Irish English because they smack of Stage Irish. An instance would be *Himself is not in today*. In this case the unbound reflexive means something like 'the boss, the person in charge'.

- 5) The Irish use the definite article all the time.

It is true that the definite article is found with a range of nouns of a general or abstract character (Filppula, Chapter 8), e.g. *He likes the life in Dublin*. This feature is shared with Irish, and may well be the result of transfer during the period of language shift.

Vocabulary

- 1) There are lots of loanwords from Irish in Irish English.

There are some established loans from Irish, e.g. *bother*, from Irish *bodhar* 'deaf', *dig* 'to understand' from Irish *tuigim* 'I understand', but their number is limited.

- 2) The Irish use words from Irish when speaking English.

Some Irish words do indeed occur in vernacular speech to add flavour. *Craic* 'social enjoyment' and *céili* 'Irish folk dance' are very common, as are words like *plámás* 'flattery', *grá* 'love', *ciúnas* 'silence'.

Pragmatics

- 1) The Irish say *grand* to everything.

The adjective *grand* serves a variety of functions in Irish English (Hickey 2017), to approve of something or to reassure someone you are talking to. It is very common in colloquial speech.

- 2) The Irish use *like* continuously.

There are a number of uses of *like* in Irish English, both old and new (Schweinberger 2012; 2020). The established use is that of 'focuser *like*', which is placed clause-finally or immediately before the element to be focused, e.g. *They were shouting really loud, like. It was, like, fierce weather that day*. The more recent use is as 'quotative *like*', which is likely an import from North America, e.g. *And he was like, let's go somewhere tonight*.

1.4.1 What is not typical

Features can also be listed which could serve as negative diagnostics of Irish English—traits which are common in many varieties of British English but not in Irish English. The following is a list of the most prominent of these.

- 1) *Glottalization of /t/*. The realization of /t/ as a glottal stop [ʔ] is generally not found in supraregional varieties of Irish English. The south has a fricative [t̪] in positions of high sonority, while the north frequently has a flap, cf. *butter* [bʌt̪əɪ] versus [bʌɾəɪ]. As a manifestation of lenition, glottalization does however occur in local Dublin English and other vernaculars of the East Coast, e.g. *butter* [bʊʔe], *right* [rəɪʔ]. In the north, glottalization is found, especially in Ulster Scots areas, as documented by Kingsmore in her detailed study (Kingsmore 1995: 144–85). She found that, intervocally, a glottal stop was the preferred vernacular realization of T, especially among female speakers (Kingsmore 1995: 184).
- 2) *H-dropping* is not found in Irish English, neither in the north nor the south, the two areas maintaining all instances of historical /h/. Consequently, hypercorrection, as in *obviously* [hʊbviəsli], is not found in Irish English. The position of *h* in Irish English is very stable, particularly as it is present medially in many anglicized Irish words such as *Haughey* ['hɔ:hi] (surname), *Drogheda* ['drɒhədə] (town name).
- 3) *Individual pronunciation differences*. These are usually pronunciations which arose in English at some date after the main anglicization of Ireland, not infrequently as spelling pronunciations. Examples include *often* /ɒftn/ (general Irish English: /ɒfn/, though the pronunciation with /t/ is gaining ground) and *again* /ə'geɪn/ (Irish English: /ə'gen/).
- 4) *Morphological and lexical features*. There are further negative diagnostics from other linguistic levels. The form *ain't* is not Irish, nor is *do* with *use* in the past, e.g. *He didn't use to live in London* would be *He usen't to live in London*. The auxiliary *shall* is virtually never found: *will* is the emphatic form, otherwise the contracted form 'll is usual.
- 5) On the lexical level, various markers of British usage are absent or very rare in Irish English, e.g. *ta* for *thanks*, *mate* for *friend*, or the use of *folk* in the sense of 'people'. Phrases may also be regarded by the Irish as especially English and hence avoided, for instance, the augmentative *ever so* (*nice*).

1.5 RESEARCH TRENDS IN IRISH ENGLISH

History looms large in Irish English studies, and most investigations have so far had an historical component (Ronan; Mac Mathúna, Chapter 5 this volume), some exceptions

being sociolinguistic examinations in urban settings, mainly Belfast, Derry, and Dublin (Schulte, Chapter 16 this volume) and the more recent scrutiny of Irish English pragmatics (in this volume, Barron, Chapter 19; Amador-Moreno, Chapter 20; Vaughan, Chapter 21) and second-language varieties (Diskin-Holdaway, Chapter 28). The historical considerations of scholars have been concentrated on syntax and morphology and concerned with the relative weight to be accorded to contact explanations on the one hand and on the other to those which appeal to the retention of inherited features in input varieties of English in Ireland (in this volume, van Hattum, Chapter 4; Filppula, Chapter 8).

Further data sources have been tapped into by researchers to explore previous stages of the language, e.g. emigrant letters (see Hickey 2019 and the project at the University of Bergen listed in Table 1.2). Early audio recordings have also proved a fruitful source for the investigation of Irish English in the early twentieth century (Hickey 2020; Schulte 2021).

Many other new directions of research have appeared, often on the basis of new data (see Table 1.2). For instance, the University of Limerick has a team working on the pragmatics of Irish English using their Limerick Corpus of Irish English (Vaughan and Clancy 2011; 2016). Other studies on pragmatics include the volumes edited by Barron and Schneider (2005) and by Amador-Moreno, McCafferty, and Vaughan (2015).

Areas which interface with language have been receiving increasing attention. The interaction of language planning and politics (McDermott 2011) is just such a case, as well as language and ethnicity (Kirk 1997; McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012), especially in the context of the Travellers in Ireland (Clancy 2015; Chapter 29 this volume). Mention should also be made of work done in the area of translation studies (Cronin 1996; Shields 2016) and particularly on the language of Irish films (Walshe 2009; 2016).

Language and identity is an issue which is centre stage in the history of English in Ireland. This matter developed over the centuries (Crowley 2016), and the results of the language shift led to Irish people successfully transferring their linguistic identity from the Irish language of their forebears to forms of English which they now speak and which are sufficiently distinct from other varieties of the language to function as the bearers of a specific Irish linguistic identity.

1.5.1 Data sources for Irish English

A major source of primary data for linguistic analyses, which have become generally available in recent decades, are computer corpora. A number of these are dedicated to Irish English and have been used to gain insights which would otherwise have gone unnoticed using pre-digital methods (O’Keeffe, Chapter 12 this volume). The existing corpora vary in range, size, and stage of completeness. The following list is intended to convey an impression of the current situation (early 2020s; for more details, see Vaughan and Clancy 2016).

Table 1.2 Main corpora for Irish English

Name	<i>Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech</i>
Outline	This survey began in the 1970s, carried out at the Department of English, Queen's University, Belfast under the direction of Michael Barry. It was discontinued in the early 1980s; most of the material collected is from Ulster. What material is publicly available can be found on the DVD accompanying Hickey (2004).
Availability	See https://www.irish-english.net/resources/
Name	<i>Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech</i>
Outline	This corpus was compiled during the 1990s by John Kirk, Queen's University, Belfast (see Kirk 1992; 2004). It consists of transcriptions of a section of the tape recordings for the previous corpus. The corpus has been used in a number of investigations such as Zwickl (2002).
Availability	See https://www.irish-english.net/resources/
Name	<i>A Corpus of Irish English</i>
Outline	This corpus consists of some 70 files covering the period from the beginning of Irish English to the early twentieth century. It encompasses a number of genres, from fourteenth-century poetry to drama in the modern period, including plays by Lady Gregory, John Millington Synge, George Bernard Shaw, and Sean O'Casey. There is also additional material such as glossaries of dialect material and regional prose. The corpus accompanies Hickey (2003), and can be downloaded from:
Availability	www.uni-due.de/CP
Name	<i>Limerick Corpus of Irish English</i>
Outline	A one-million-word corpus of spoken Irish English in the Republic of Ireland, compiled from the late 1990s to the early 2000s, as a joint project with co-directors Anne O'Keeffe (Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick, Ireland) and Fiona Farr (University of Limerick, Ireland). Some results of data analyses have been published in Barron and Schneider (2005), by Clancy and Vaughan (2012), and in various chapters in Amador-Moreno, McCafferty, and Vaughan (2015). See also Farr, Murphy, and O'Keeffe (2003). The corpus is currently being prepared for public accessibility:
Availability	https://ulir.ul.ie/handle/10344/4712
Name	<i>A Sound Atlas of Irish English</i>
Outline	This atlas provides a comprehensive audio overview of the English language in present-day Ireland. There are over 1,500 recordings which were made between the mid-1990s and 2002. The recordings cover both genders and all ages (from 11 to over 80). Each county of the 32 in Ireland is represented, and there are large numbers of recordings for the capitals, Belfast and Dublin.
Published	2004; Source DVD accompanying Hickey (2004)

(continued)

Table 1.2 Continued	
Name	<i>A Survey of Irish English Usage</i>
Outline	This survey consists of a questionnaire with some 57 sample sentences, each of which contains a structure which is known to occur in some form of Irish English. Informants were asked to give their reaction to each sentence as it might be used in casual speech among friends. The answers were classified according to degrees of acceptability.
Published	2004; Source DVD accompanying Hickey (2004); an updated version is available at: www.uni-due.de/IERC
Name	<i>International Corpus of English: Ireland Component (ICE-Ireland)</i>
Outline	As part of the <i>International Corpus of English</i> project, this corpus was compiled over a period of more than 10 years. It is a collection of spoken and written texts which represent fairly standard forms of IrEng from the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland (in two separate sections, see Kirk and Kallen 2008). It has been used for studies by Jeffrey Kallen and John Kirk in recent years. The corpus can be purchased as a CD with an accompanying booklet.
Availability	2008; available at https://www.ice-corpora.uzh.ch/en/joinice/Teams/iceire.html
Name	<i>A Corpus of Irish English Correspondence</i>
Outline	This corpus of emigrant letters is at an advanced stage of compilation (2022) at the University of Bergen under the supervision of Kevin McCafferty and Carolina Amador-Moreno (Bergen, Norway). It consists of letters written by Irish people (most frequently from the north of Ireland) over the past few centuries, see McCafferty and Amador-Moreno (2012) and McCafferty (2016). The corpus is currently being prepared for public accessibility. Available at:
Availability	https://corviz.h.uib.no/

There is also a certain amount of web material available for Irish English, in the following sites: *Irish English Resource Centre* (www.uni-due.de/IERC, author: Raymond Hickey); *Variation and Change in Dublin English* (www.uni-due.de/VCDE, author: Raymond Hickey). *The Irish English Network* (<https://www.irish-english.net/>, curator: Anne Barron) gathers and publishes information of relevance to Irish English studies.

1.6 CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

In the arena of varieties of English worldwide, Irish English has its own place. It is different from traditional low-contact varieties of British English, and in many respects

has more in common with second-language varieties of English, especially those which exhibit a strong influence of background languages. As a shift variety it shows several transfer features from its heritage language, in this case Irish, as do other such varieties found throughout the world. Irish English is also participating in many innovations across the anglophone world today. It shares changes emanating from North America in the past few decades, such as quotative *like* or vowel shifts (see Hickey, Chapter 7 this volume); indeed, it generally shows an openness to influence from varieties across the Atlantic. Despite this outside effect, Irish English has retained a clear profile both in phonetics and syntax and in its specific lexis—often of an archaic or dialect nature or stemming from Irish, which, together with its unique pragmatics, ensures that it is clearly delimited from other varieties of English which its speakers might come in contact with.

Contemporary Ireland, like so many countries of modern Europe, is experiencing ethnic mixing on a scale hitherto unknown; and the likely consequences of this have stimulated scholars to engage in appropriate linguistic research (Diskin-Holdaway, Chapter 28 this volume). Together with work on variety-specific pragmatics (in this volume Barron, Chapter 19 and Vaughan, Chapter 21), research into second-language varieties, on the basis of suitable corpora of primary data, is following trajectories along which Irish English studies will continue in the foreseeable future and yield insights of value to scholars working on varieties of English both within and outside Ireland.

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CHAPTER 2

LANGUAGE IN EARLY IRELAND

PATRICIA RONAN

2.1 INTRODUCTION

DURING both its documented history and its attested pre-history, Ireland has experienced different waves of both emigration and immigration. Concomitantly with population movements, language contacts took place, and these have had a strong impact on the development of the linguistic landscape of earlier and contemporary Ireland.

The aim of this chapter is to describe the linguistic situation in Ireland from the earliest documented stages of language use to the end of the medieval period (c. 1200 CE). It traces the foundation and development of a society in which an early form of the Gaelic language was spoken, Archaic Irish (Thurneysen 1946), through the appearance of Latin as a language of learning and the arrival of Old Norse, which was brought by Viking settlers in the closing centuries of the first millennium BCE until the arrival of Anglo-Norman settlers. In this society the Irish language was of high prestige until the first Anglo-Norman settlers appeared and for a considerable period beyond this (see Hickey 2007; Ronan 2017; Ronan 2020, as well as Hickey, Chapter 3, this volume). Their influence can be seen in the many loans from Anglo-Norman into Irish (Hickey 1997). It has been shown that, while the English language had clear majority language status and left only restricted domains to other languages, early Irish society had been multilingual, and for long periods different languages coexisted in Ireland. The situation in early Ireland illustrates to what extent societal factors and changes in Ireland had an impact on the outcomes of language contact.

In order to describe the linguistic situation of early Ireland, historical developments in the pre-modern period must be viewed in relation to sociolinguistic changes, societal and political situations, and typical developments in language contact (Hickey 2019; 2020a; Thomason 2001). The observed developments are illustrated below using data culled from different relevant corpus sources.

The current chapter is structured as follows. The connection between language choice and social factors is clarified briefly. Then pre-historic population movements in Ireland are described; the arrival of Latin learning is discussed; the impact of Viking contact is shown; and then the situation arising from Anglo-Norman influence is outlined. The results of these external and internal influences on the linguistic development in Ireland are drawn together in the final discussion.

2.2 DETERMINING THE RESULTS OF LANGUAGE CONTACT

In the early documented history of Ireland, there is evidence for the repeated arrival of new population groups. However, would the arrival of new groups with new languages necessarily mean that language contact and language change took place? We could imagine situations in which populations live next to each other without interacting and/or their languages influencing each other (e.g. Hickey 2020b: 8–9). It is more likely, however, that at least some population groups will change their language behaviour. Thomason (2001: 23) reports that indigenous superordinate population groups typically will not change languages in contact situations, but that migrant superordinate groups might do so. Indigenous subordinate population groups, for example Gaelic speakers in Ireland in the late modern period, will slowly shift to the superordinate language, while migrant subordinate groups will shift their languages quickly.

Generally, reasons for any population group to become multilingual are varied. On the one hand, there can be social reasons for becoming multilingual: language users may learn a new language if ability to use that language offers social prestige or new opportunities, such as new trade or economic possibilities. Furthermore, they may need to communicate with speakers of other languages, for example in foreign travel, intercultural marriages, or forced migration in refugee contexts or slave trade. Additionally, there can be political reasons, such as governments requiring population groups to use certain official languages in official communication. Finally, there may also be religious reasons for learning a new language, such as learning Arabic to read the Quran, or earlier Christians studying Latin to learn the teachings of the Bible (Thomason 2001: 48–9).

If we focus on the social factors of language change, we can identify several such factors that influence the outcome of language contacts. These factors include the intensity of contact, how well the speakers of one language learn the other language, and the attitudes of the speakers towards the respective languages. In addition to such social factors, the linguistic structures of the languages in contact also play a role: how relatively unusual are features of the languages involved in comparison to other languages, i.e. how marked are they? How similar are the languages themselves? And, finally, how easy is it to integrate features from the languages concerned into

the other languages from a structural point of view (Thomason 2001: 60)? In a language contact scenario, vocabulary is typically easiest to borrow, especially nouns that can be inserted into a language easily, starting with non-basic concepts and later on moving to more basic concepts. Other linguistic categories, like phonological or syntactic features, follow later; inflectional morphology is at the end of the borrowing scale (Thomason 2001: 69–71).

If large population groups feel compelled to shift to another language, and thus transfer features from their first language into a target language, we speak of imperfect acquisition of the target language, often also called ‘substrate influence’. A case in point, also mentioned by Thomason (2001: 79–80), is the large-scale shift from Irish to English, which caused many features from Irish to be imported into Irish English, particularly as there was little contact with first-language English speakers. Thomason (2001: 75, 79) mentions the Norman Conquest of England as a special case here, because an elite minority caused a section of the population to acquire Norman French vocabulary from the Conquest in 1066 onwards; but eventually the Anglo-Norman elite, after the loss of Normandy in 1204, also by and large shifted from speaking Norman French to speaking English. These changes in political fortunes resulted in multiple and complex interactions and French–English cross-influences. We will see comparable situations in Anglo-Norman and Irish contacts in Ireland (see Section 2.6.2 below).

However, the outcomes of language contact are not clear-cut in all cases. A ‘wild card’ which influences the outcomes of language contact is presented by language attitudes of the speakers involved (Thomason 2001: 61). Where social prestige and advancement hinges on language competence, language acquisition is a likely outcome. To what extent these features played a role in the early linguistic history of Ireland will be discussed in the following sections.

2.3 THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

2.3.1 Socio-historical background

According to early Irish understanding, the history of the Irish population can be traced back to after the Deluge, after which Ireland was successively populated by various groups. The pseudo-historical *Annals of the Four Masters* (O’Donovan 1848) state that in the years of the world 2550–3500, the first settlers arrived in Ireland. The last group to arrive was called ‘Gaels’ or ‘Goidels’, and was also referred to as ‘Milesians’. The latter may be derived from *Miles Hispanie* ‘Soldiers of Spain’, and thus suggests a Spanish origin (Carey 1995: 5–6; cf. Ronan 2013: 75). Contemporary scholarship has a different view of the settlement of Ireland.

In prehistory, in the last major ice age, when the sea levels were low, Ireland seems to have had a land connection to Britain, which in turn was connected to the European mainland (Mitchell 1994). However, how dry, and thus how extensive, this connection

in fact was is still a matter of debate (Mallory 2017). Earliest evidence of actual human settlement in Ireland goes back to mid-8,000 BCE, the Mesolithic or Middle Stone Age period. Hunter-gatherer peoples may have arrived from Britain or the Continent or from an area around the contemporary Isle of Man, where landmasses are likely to have been lost to rising sea levels (Mallory 2017: 40). What language these inhabitants of Ireland during the Early Mesolithic period spoke we do not know.

What is known, however, is that Neolithic farming culture spread to Ireland early in the fourth millennium BCE (Mitchell 1994: 37), about 3,800 BCE (Mallory 2017: 86), and with it came considerable cultural changes. Archaeological evidence finds close connections of these new Irish cultures to Britain, but also to southern Brittany. Further close correspondences of the material culture make it possible that these farming communities entered Britain from Brittany and then moved on to Ireland (Mallory 2017: 99–100). Shortly afterwards, during the third millennium BCE, metal-working culture emerged throughout Europe and spread into Britain and Ireland. Throughout the middle of the second millennium BCE, technical innovations initially spread from central continental Europe, from areas stretching from contemporary Hungary to southern Germany, and Ireland contributed both raw materials and finished products to continental trade. During this earlier Bronze Age period until about 1600 BCE, continued interaction between Ireland, Britain, and the continent, particularly with Brittany, can be shown (Mallory 2017: 122–5). Given the assumedly higher socio-economic status of these early settlers, it seems likely that they introduced their languages from the European continent to Ireland.

It is during the Bronze Age that high levels of trade and cross-continental dependencies arise. Irish artefacts are widely distributed over Atlantic Europe during the first half of the first millennium BCE, and there was extensive cultural exchange with Britain (Mallory 2017: 130–5, 156). In the later Bronze Age, from around 1,000 BCE, warrior cultures started to develop, and a further cultural innovation arrived in Ireland, namely hillforts, as probable social and ceremonial centres.

2.3.2 The linguistic situation in prehistoric Ireland

What languages were spoken in prehistoric Ireland before the arrival of Celtic-speaking settlers remains unknown. Various theories exist about possible substrate influence on Celtic languages, which may point to previous population groups in Britain and Ireland. Thus, contact between proto-Insular Celtic and members of the Afro-Asiatic language group has been argued for (cf. Eska 2010: 540–1), but has also received heavy criticism, notably that non-insular Celtic languages also share many of the features in question (Eska 2010: 541–2). Furthermore, it has been suggested that Vasconic languages could have provided a substrate for the Celtic languages on the British Isles (see e.g. Wagner 1959 and later work supporting and greatly expanding this view, e.g. Vennemann 2010). Here, too, the evidence is debated, and no common consensus has been reached (cf. Hickey 2019: 338–40).

When exactly the Celtic languages themselves arrived in Ireland is not yet clear. In accordance with linguistic arguments already presented by Greene (1983), Mallory (2017: 290) suggests that the Celtic languages may also have been introduced into Ireland at around the middle of the first millennium BCE. It has further been suggested that Celtic languages may have arrived with the spread of Iron Age culture from the continent in the middle of the second century BCE (Mitchell 1994: 42), and that in the fourth century BCE, Ireland, like Britain, might have been populated by speakers of Brythonic Celtic languages (Ó Corráin 1989: 1). However, definite evidence for the presence of Celtic languages in Ireland is found from about the early second century CE in the shape of the geographer Ptolemy's map of Ireland (Mallory 2017: 253). This earliest evidence of Celtic languages in Ireland shows us examples of place names that look as though they were in Brythonic Celtic, the Celtic language group associated with the island of Britain.

The earliest written evidence in the Irish language, itself from Ireland, can be found in Ogam (Modern Irish: *Ogham*) stones. These standing stones bear short inscriptions in a primitive form of the Irish language, and are written in a Latin-based alphabet of notches (McManus 1991), which are placed around the sides of standing stones. Earliest examples are dated to the fourth century CE, and at least 300 examples, mostly dating from the fifth and sixth centuries, are found in Ireland. Some also exist in Irish settlement areas in Wales, Cornwall, or Scotland (Thurneysen 1946: 10; McManus 1991; McCone 1994: 61), and date from the time of the power vacuum left behind after the withdrawal of Roman rule in Britain. At this time, during the early first millennium CE, we thus had a society in Ireland that was familiar with literacy, using a Latin-based alphabet for inscribing standing stones and with trade and cultural contacts across the seas.

2.4 LEARNED MULTILINGUALISM: THE ARRIVAL OF LATIN LEARNING

2.4.1 Socio-historical background

As Ireland had never been subject to Roman rule, the Latin language arrived in Ireland on the one hand with trade activities and on the other hand with Christianity. In trade activities with Gaulish traders, Vulgar Latin seems to have been used (McManus 1983: 44). However, Latin reappeared on a larger and more systematic scale together with Christianity. The first Christian missions seem to have reached Ireland from Gaul in the late fourth and early fifth centuries CE (Ó Corráin 1989: 8). The (non-contemporary) Annals of Ulster record Christian missions for the years 431 and 432 (Annals of Ulster 431.1 and 432.1, Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983). St Patrick is known as the most successful missionary, who carried out his missionary activities in the later first half of the fifth century (cf. Hickey 2019: 337). Being a Briton himself, he was captured, enslaved, and brought to Ireland as a young man, managed to flee the country, but

returned to Ireland later to carry out his Christian mission. About this he writes in Latin, the then lingua franca of the church in Ireland (Ó Cróinín 2017: 219).

1. *Non mea gratia sed Deus qui uincit in me et resistit illis omnibus, ut ego ueneram ad Hibernas gentes euangelium praedicare et ab incredulis contumelias preferred.* (Confessio 37, Bieler 1993: 99) 'It was not by my own grace, but God who overcame it in me, and resisted them all so that I could come to the peoples of Ireland to preach the gospel'. (McCarthy 2011: §37)

In addition to introducing the Gospel, the arrival of Christianity also laid the foundations for the centres of Christian learning, the monasteries. As a result, Ireland started exporting scholars and Christian learning throughout Europe, particularly during the eighth and ninth centuries (Ó Cróinín 2017: 235–41).

2.4.2 The linguistic impact of using the Latin language

While Irish writing typically is in Latin from the fifth century onwards, we increasingly find evidence of extensive code-switching between Irish and Latin, both in prose and poetry and in combined genres. The writing of the time was produced in monasteries, or at least by people who had been educated there (McCone 1994: 1), who during this period are thought to have been functionally bilingual (Clarke 2013: 41–2). As a result, we find ample evidence not only of purely Latin text but also of Latin passages in Irish text. One of the earliest examples of this is the Latin and Old Irish text of the Cambrai Homily, dating from the mid-seventh century (cf. Ó Cróinín 2017: 218). A further illustrative example of Latin–Irish code-switching comes from the roughly early tenth-century Irish *Sanas Cormaic*, Cormac's Glossary.

2. *Ana .i. mater deorum Hibernensium. Robo maith didiu ro biathad-si deos. De cuius nomine ana dicitur .i. imed.* 'Ana, i.e. the mother of the gods of the Irish people [Latin]. It was well, then, how she nourished [Irish] the Gods. From her name is said *ana* [Latin], that is "abundance" [Irish]'. (cited in Clarke 2013: 52)

Example 2 illustrates effortless switches from Latin into Irish and back again, both between sentences and intrasententially. Further evidence of such bilingual language use can be found in the use of Latin-derived literary and textual practices and imagery (McCone 1994; Clarke 2013), as well as in the use of Latin loanwords in Irish. McManus (1983) shows how an average dating of the time when loanwords entered the language can be achieved. These loanwords stem from the domain of religion and education, but also from semantic fields connected to trade contacts. Thus, the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Quin 1976; eDil 2019) lists the words *scol* < Lat. *schola* 'school', *lebor* < Lat. *liber* 'book' or *stair* < Lat. *historia* 'history' from the educational domain, *manach* < Lat. *monachus* 'monk', *oráit* < Lat. *oratio* 'prayer', or *sacart* < Lat. *sacerdos* 'priest'. But words

for traded goods and cultural innovations can also be found, for example *cróch* < Lat. *crocus* ‘crocus sativus, saffron’, *scibar* < *piper* ‘pepper’, *sorn* < Lat. *furnus* ‘oven’ or *muilenn* < Lat. *molina* ‘mill’ (McManus 1983: 27, 43). Here, in the contact of the Irish language and Latin, we see, on the one hand, evidence of the effects of contacts with travelling merchants, which bring cultural innovations. On the other hand, we have an example of elite bilingualism, which was introduced through religious contacts (cf. Thomason 2001: 49). The attitudes to this learned bilingualism, or even multilingualism, must have been favourable: the high international status of Irish learning would have correlated with high social prestige for Latin, and, at least in educational and religious domains, it would have caused widespread learned bilingualism (cf. Thomason 2001: 61).

2.5 VIKING SETTLEMENTS AND CONTACTS

2.5.1 Socio-historical background

At the end of the eighth century, Viking raids occurred along the coasts of Britain and Ireland. A first Viking raid is recorded on the monastery of Lindisfarne in 793, and the following year saw large-scale Viking raids on both islands. In the 830s and 840s, the intensity of the raids grew, and the raiders increasingly went inland and sailed up the rivers to escape the attacks. Many captives were taken and monastic settlements, on account of their wealth, were badly hit. From the early 840s onwards, the Vikings also started overwintering and setting up fortified positions in Counties Louth and Dublin (Ó Corráin 1989: 32–3). The impact of those raids and the fear that they caused at the time can be gleaned from a marginal note left in a ninth-century Irish manuscript by a monastic scribe.

3. *Is acher in gaíth innocht fufuasna fairggæ find olt*
Ní ágor réimm mora minn dond láechraid lainn ua lothlind
 ‘Bitter is the wind tonight: it tosses the ocean’s white hair:
 I fear not the coursing of a clear sea by the fierce heroes from Lothlend’
 [i.e. Viking kingdom, P.R.]. (P. 112, Stokes and Strachan Thes. Pal. II, 1987: 290)

The Vikings increasingly settled in Ireland, and from the mid-ninth century their settlements formed the first towns in Ireland along the coastline and navigable rivers: most prominently Dublin, but also the towns of Waterford, Wexford, Youghal, Cork, and Limerick were founded by the Viking settlers (Ó Corráin 1989: 33). What are commonly referred to as ‘Vikings’ fell into three categories: Norwegian, Danes, and *Gall-Góidil*. Whereas Norwegians, *Finnngaill* ‘fair foreigners’, are seen as heathen, treacherous and greedy; Danes, *Dubhgaill* ‘dark foreigners’ are seen as useful to the Irish kings; and finally the *Gall Góidil* ‘foreign Irish’ were foster children of Vikings (Downham 2004a: 30). The latter category in particular must have been bicultural and bilingual.

In the tenth century Vikings arrived in even larger numbers. After initial success in battle, the Vikings of Dublin turned into a notable trading and cultural power in Ireland (Ó Corráin 1989: 34–5). From the mid-tenth century, the settled Vikings in Ireland started a significant international network with trading forts and harbours being built (Ó Cróinín 2017: 280). All these enabled extensive international trade contacts that made Dublin one of the most important Viking cities of the world (cf. Ó Corráin 1989: 38). From the late eleventh century, Dublin trade concentrated increasingly on Anglo-Norman Britain and on France (Simms 1989: 54).

From as early as 842, alliances of Irish and Viking groups are documented (Ó Corráin 1989: 34–7). A prominent example of such cooperation is the alliance between the North Munster king Brian Bóruma and the Vikings, or Ostmen, of Waterford in the late decades of the tenth century, in which Brian used the Viking's fleet for his foray into Connacht and Leinster and eventually forced the Viking king of Dublin into submission. When he tried to take Dublin in 1014, the Ostmen of Dublin and the Leinstermen put together an army of Vikings from the Western Isles and the Isle of Man. In the ensuing battle, the battle of Clontarf, Brian's forces won, but he himself was killed (Ó Corráin 1989: 39–40; 2001: 25–6). This historical episode shows us that over the course of time, the lines between original Irish and Vikings had blurred and alliances across ethnic boundaries were utilized: in fact Brian Bóruma was the stepfather of the Dublin Viking king Sitric, and the father of Sitric's wife (Ó Corráin 2001: 26). From the battle of Clontarf onwards, Irish kings were increasingly in power in Dublin. Thus, Ó Cróinín (2017: 257) argues that already after the late ninth century, the Viking towns had lost independent political power and became part of the 'tangled web of native Irish political alliances'. Linguistic contacts between original Irish and Ostmen were equally long-standing, and administrative documents show that Old Norse continued to be spoken in Dublin until the middle of the thirteenth century and possibly beyond this time (Ó Corráin 2001: 27).

2.5.2 Linguistic impact of Old Norse

Ó Corráin (2001: 26) considers the social elite of the Dublin area in the tenth and eleventh centuries to have formed a 'bilingual Irish and Viking elite' which 'shared a common culture—political, literary and artistic', leading to intermarriage and bilingualism (cf. also Ó Cróinín 2017: 282). It is thus no surprise that we find influences of Old Norse not only on names of the Irish landscape but also on features that derive from more intense language contact (Thomason 2001: 70). Good examples of Norse-derived or influenced place names are the names Wexford and Waterford, which show the Norse *ffjord* 'narrow bay' element. Other Norse-derived town names are *Leixlip* < Old Norse (ON) *Laxlöb* 'salmon leap', *Dalkey* < ON *dalkr ey* 'thorn island' or *Howth* < ON *huvud* 'head'. Even the names of the contemporary Irish provinces *Ulster*, *Munster*, and *Leinster* combine Irish names of three of the four provinces with Old Norse elements (Ó Corráin 1989: 34–9; cf. also Kallen 2013: 8; Hickey 2019: 341). In addition to the place names, the

Irish language also borrowed a number of more specific lexical items from Old Norse that show extensive cultural contacts between the population groups. We particularly find vocabulary from areas related to newly introduced concepts such as terms for money: *penning* ‘penny’ (DIL, s.v.), possibly markets *margad* < ON *markaðr* ‘market’ (DIL, s.v.) and boating *bát* < ON *bátr* ‘boat’ (DIL, s.v.), *stiúir* < ON *styri* ‘rudder’ (DIL, s.v.) or *ancaire* < ON *akkeri* ‘anchor’ (DIL, s.v.; cf. Ó Corráin 1989: 38). But the influence of the Vikings on Irish society is also shown by the introduction of housing- and town-related concepts into the Irish language, such as *halla* < ON *höll* ‘hall’, *stól* < ON *stóll* ‘stool’ or *fuindeóc* < ON *vindauga* ‘window’, and also *sráit* < ON *straeti* ‘street’ (DIL, s.v.).

Sociolinguistically, Irish Gaels and Ostmen would have had equal status. The Ostmen, the smaller population group, acculturated and also apparently largely acquired bilingualism in Old Norse and Irish. By contrast, the language competence of the majority group of the Gaelic Irish in Old Norse is likely to have been more restricted (Thomason 2001: 23). Socially, the interaction between the groups does show, however, that the integration of this migrant group into medieval Irish society was successful.

2.6 THE ARRIVAL OF THE ‘ENGLISH’

2.6.1 Earliest contacts between Ireland and Britain

The earliest contacts between Irish and ‘English’ population groups, albeit not only amicable ones, are attested from the mid-fifth century onwards. The Annals of Ulster record a Saxon raid for the year 434, but might refer either to Irish raids on Saxons or, more likely, to a Saxon raid on Ireland. Further Saxon raids are also recorded for the years 471, 685, and 686 (Annals of Ulster 434.1, 471.1, 685.2, and 686.1, Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983; cf. Ronan 2017: 115–17). On the one hand, we naturally are unlikely to find extensive language contacts on the occasions of the raids. On the other hand, the example of St Patrick having being abducted as a slave from Britain to Ireland puts Viking raids into perspective: first, raids were by no means unidirectional, and second, population contacts did take place, both through trade contacts and through population movements.

These movements also took place in the form of settlement contacts across the Irish Sea. With the collapse of Roman rule in Britain, Irish population groups established colonies in various parts of the island. Parts of south-western Wales turned into a bilingual Irish-Welsh kingdom in the fifth century, further Irish settlements were found in North Wales, in Cornwall and in Devon, and the descendants of these early settlers partly ruled their kingdoms until the tenth century. Even more successful were the Irish settlements in Scotland, which reached their zenith in the middle of the ninth century, when Scotland became a united kingdom under the originally north-eastern Ulster Dál Riata kings (Ó Corráin 1989; 2017).

2.6.1.1 *Linguistic outcomes of the early English–Irish contacts*

Linguistic and archaeological evidence of these settlements is provided in the form of (partly bilingual) Ogam stones found in Britain. Further linguistic evidence of these settlement processes can be found in place names, such as the North Welsh peninsula Llŷn, whose name derives from the Irish population group of the ‘Laigin’, Leinstermen (Ó Corráin 1989: 6–7). By contrast, the Anglo-Saxon loanwords found in the pre-twelfth century Irish language seem to predominantly reflect trade contacts plus some slight contacts due to limited population movement.

A preliminary study of attested Anglo-Saxon loanwords in Early Irish (Ronan 2017: 119–21) finds that the number of attested loanwords from Anglo-Saxon in Early Irish is quite small. In a manual study of the Anglo-Saxon loans in Early Irish, as attested in *The Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Quin 1976) and the online version of the Dictionary, *eDil*, 38 loanwords from Early English were found, though in some cases it is difficult to determine if the loanwords originate in Old English or in Old Norse. The main semantic areas from which the loans stem are the socio-economic domain, instruments and containers, housing, animals, sailing, and clothing. Examples of loanwords from the socio-economic domain include *gabál* ‘tax’, *reccaire* ‘reciter’, or *spled* ‘play’. From the domain of instruments and containers we have *bleide* ‘drinking cup’, *cann* ‘can’, *ciste* ‘chest’, or *croccán* ‘vessel’. In the domain of animals, we find *boc* ‘billy-goat’, *eobarr* ‘boar’, *rón* ‘seal’, or *sebac* ‘hawk’. Furthermore, we find loans from the domains of housing, sailing, clothing, and other areas. This small number of items from largely non-central domains (Thomason 2001: 70) points to contacts during which cultural exchange took place. Names for cultural innovations and artefacts were also introduced: tax, vessels, types of animals which, with the exception of *rón* ‘seal’, were not native to Ireland. There are also a small number of loanwords, however, which seem to require more intense contacts, such as *fae* ‘woe’, *gibgab* ‘gibberish’, or *goistibe* ‘godparent’, which are still non-basic words but would demand more intense contacts than casual conversations, and would presuppose a certain amount of bilingualism in parts of the population.

2.6.1.2 *Adding the English Viking network*

As we have seen, there existed reasonably extensive contacts between Early Irish, Old Norse, and early English. Furthermore, the extensive trade relations between the Irish Vikings and towns in Britain provided other axes of contact between Ireland and Britain (Downham 2004b). After expanding their trading facilities in Ireland, the Irish Vikings, the Ostmen, increased their trade with Britain. From the tenth century onwards, York and Chester were particularly important trading partners. In the eleventh century Bristol also rose in importance, and trade was further carried out with other English towns such as London, Gloucester, Exeter, and Cambridge; and from there, cross-Channel trade developed. The resulting movement of traders potentially led to multilingualism in Old Irish, Old Norse, and Old English (Downham 2004b: 56–7). In addition, we find political contacts and military cooperation, such as between the powerful English Viking king Cnut and the Dublin king Sitric. Contacts between English and

Gaelic Irish existed between the house of Godwine and the Leinster king Diarmaid mac Maól na mBó, who conquered Dublin in 1052. Godwine originally held the earldom of Wessex, but his family also came to control Bristol, a key port for the Irish trade. The importance of this trade for the family is illustrated by the fact that Godwine's daughter Edith, who was later to marry King Edward, apparently spoke Irish fluently (Downham 2004b: 56–66; cf. Ronan 2017: 118). Under Edward the Confessor's reign (1042–66), various dissidents fled to Ireland, including two of Godwine's sons. King Diarmaid of Leinster offered not only hospitality but also support to Godwine's family in failed attempts to gain kingship in 1068 and 1069 after the battle of Hastings in 1066.

William the Conqueror also had Irish contacts, with the Ua Briain of Munster, especially Toirrdelbach, who became overking of Dublin in 1075 (Downham 2004b: 66–8; cf. Ronan 2013: 118). Downham (2004b: 69–70) shows that the then archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, lobbied Toirrdelbach and his bishops on behalf of Canterbury, and two new bishops of Dublin were consecrated consecutively in Canterbury. In this effort to extend his influence in Ireland, Lanfranc had powerful support: he had received papal authority to end the practice of marriage amongst Irish clergy. Furthermore, the Dublin Ostmen complained to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1121 about pressure brought to bear on them from the Irish church organization in Armagh. When the Dublin diocese opted to become part of the Irish archbishopric in 1152, the English King Henry II sent an envoy to Pope Adrian IV, an Englishman, and supposedly received the right to rule Ireland from the pope (Simms 1989: 54, 56).

Thus we can see that during the Viking age, contacts increased, initially between Viking population groups in particular, but also with non-Viking groups on both islands. We particularly find trade, political and personal connections and alliances, and religious ones, across the Irish Sea, even before the twelfth century. Especially during the eleventh century, Ireland played an important role in the political affairs of England, tried to influence Welsh politics, and took an interest in external contacts that were furthered by trade networks (Downham 2004b: 71–2). Given these international contacts, multilingualism was widespread around the Irish Sea in certain population groups—those who profited from international political and economic networks. Social contacts were based on relations of mutual usefulness, and would have left the members of the networks on an equal social footing. In this situation, neighbourly multilingualism would develop easily (Thomason 2001: 23). The number of loanwords that could have entered the Irish language from either Old Norse or Old English underlines this. Examples of Old Irish terms that could derive from either language are as diverse as *bara* 'barrow' (DIL, s.v.), *lag* 'law' (DIL, s.v.), *cnap* 'button' (DIL, s.v.), *lóthar* 'fleece' (DIL, s.v.), and *eobarr* 'boar' (DIL, s.v.).

2.6.2 Contacts with the Anglo-Normans

According to Simms (1989: 53), with the Norman Invasion in Ireland, the country 'joined the club' of a shared western European Middle Ages community. While

previously, Icelandic and Irish scholars considered themselves as educated and cultured, proponents of Norman cultures, like Gerald of Wales, scribe to King Henry II, considered them deviant and barbarous. Yet, Simms argues, the invasion of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans was not only due to economic and social trends, but also guided by ecclesiastical and secular, political motives (Simms 1989: 54).

In the early twelfth century, struggles for supreme political power were taking place between the Uí Néill kings in the North, the Ua Briain of Munster, and the Ua Conchobair (O'Connor) king of Connacht. The Uí Néill kings in the North allied with the Leinster king Diarmaid Mac Murchadha (McMurrough) in an attempt to hold Dublin as the key to overlordship of Ireland (Ó Corráin 1989: 51–2). However, after the death of the Uí Néill king in 1166, the Connacht king Ruaidhrí Ua Conchobhair (Rory O'Connor) came to power. Mac Murchadha was forced to first submit to Ua Conchobhair and was later dethroned (Simms 1989: 55–6). The Annals of the Four Masters, composed in the seventeenth century 'with a liberal dose of historical hindsight' (Simms 1989: 55), side with the majority view in Ireland. They note that Ruaidhrí Ua Conchobhair, together with the leaders of the south of Ireland, convened a meeting of Irish nobles, both secular and religious, from all provinces, including 'the Danes of Ath-cliaith [Dublin]', and '[t]hey passed many good resolutions at this meeting, respecting veneration for churches and clerics, and control of tribes and territories, so that women used to traverse Ireland alone' (O'Donovan 1848–1851: 1165, M1167.10). This happy incident is followed by Ruaidhrí Ua Conchobhair rallying support while hosting and mustering the men of Ireland (O'Donovan 1848–1851: 1165, M1167.11).

As a result, the now subdued Diarmaid Mac Murchadha travelled overseas in search of support for his cause. The then king of England, Henry II, born in Normandy, was a French speaker and held various lands in France (Martin 1994: 125). Henry had previously hired a fleet from Diarmaid for a campaign against Wales in 1165 (Ó Cróinín 2017: 283). When approached by Mac Murchadha now, Henry II did not become involved himself, but he authorized his subjects to help (Simms 1989: 57). Mac Murchadha returned to Ireland with a host of non-Irish (*Gall*) soldiers consisting of Normans, Flemings, and Welsh, and recovered his own local lands around Ferns. High-king Ruaidhrí Ua Conchobair and the Bréifne king Tighearnan Ua Ruairc attacked Mac Murchadha again, took victory, and extorted gold and hostages from Mac Murchadha. Upon this, Mac Murchadha enlisted further support in Britain (Martin 1994: 129). This time, he won the help of the earl of Pembroke, Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare, also known as Strongbow, by offering him his own daughter in marriage and lordship over the province of Leinster as an inheritance. As noted by Hickey (2007: 30), he was not actually allowed to do this under Irish law. For the year 1170, the arrival of Strongbow is recorded.

4. Robert Fitz Stephen and Richard, son of Gilbert, i.e. Earl Strongbow, came from England into Ireland with a numerous force, and many knights and archers, in the army of Mac Murchadha, to contest Leinster for him, and to disturb the Irish of Ireland in general; and Mac Murchadha gave his daughter to the Earl Strongbow for coming into his army. They took Loch Garman, and entered Port-Lairge by force;

and they took Gillemaire, the officer of the fortress, and Ua Faelain, lord of the Deisi, and his son, and they killed seven hundred persons there (O'Donovan 1848–1851: 1175–7, M1170.11)

With the support of Norman military strength, Mac Murachadha managed to take Dublin and parts of the Midlands. The Annals report that the *Danes* (Ostmen) of Dublin had forsaken the forces of Ireland, but were then betrayed by Mac Murchadha and the 'Saxons', plundered, and slaughtered (O'Donovan 1848–1851: 1177, M1170.13–15). Shortly afterwards, however, the Annals record the death of Mac Murchadha, who 'after having brought over the Saxons, after having done extensive injuries to the Irish, after plundering and burning many churches', died 'of an insufferable and unknown disease; for he became putrid while living, through the miracle of God' (O'Donovan 1848–1851: 1183, M1171.4).

In England, King Henry II seemed to have become worried by both the scale of events and by Irish pleas for help (Simms 1989: 57), and in October 1171, Henry himself landed near Waterford with a large army. Strongbow offered the kingdom of Leinster, together with homage and fealty to Henry, and in return received Leinster as a grant, while Henry himself took kingship over the seaports and over Dublin, where he granted the citizens of Bristol the right to live. Various Irish kings from various provinces submitted to Henry, giving hostages and promising tributes. In return, as Kallen (2013: 11) notes, Henry entertained the Irish lavishly at Christmas, thus investing in good relations. In the following years, various further battles and skirmishes are recorded both by the Annals of Ulster (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983; cf. Ronan 2017: 119–20) and by the Annals of the Four Masters, with members of either population group on each side. Hugh de Lacy was appointed representative of the English crown in Ireland. By 1175, Strongbow and de Lacy had subdued resistance in the lands they held. Meanwhile, Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair (Rory O'Connor) remained king outside the English-governed area, but collected tributes for Henry (Simms 1989: 58–9). In 1176 Strongbow, too, fell victim to a wound, and both the Annals of Ulster and those of the Four Masters agree that it had been brought on through the miracles of the Saints Bridget, Columcille, and others (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983: U1176.8; O'Donovan 1848–1851: M1176.9). In the intervening time, the Normans increased their hold on Irish lands, and various marriages of influential Norman nobles and daughters of Irish kings took place (Simms 1989: 64–6). However, discontent with the new administration grew when in 1185 Henry's son John made John de Courcy tenant-in-chief of Ireland, and alienated the Irish provincial kings and the first generation of invaders alike by not honouring agreements and by distributing power in Ireland to new men (Simms 1989: 59–60).

As with the Ostmen before, many Irish Gaels now entered various alliances with Anglo-Normans, based on political or personal profit, regardless of ethnic background. Also, the speedily increasing discontent with the English administration in England would have helped to bring the Anglo-Normans in Ireland closer to the Irish Gaels and to favour inter-group allegiances and unions between them. Martin (1994: 139) further argues that, far from only carrying warfare and slaughter into Ireland, the Normans

managed to introduce peace and order into the areas that were controlled by them, and that where they fought Gaelic lords, the battles were no more fierce than they had been between different Gaelic lords. The ordinary Gaelic Irish population continued their daily life as before, but with systematic agriculture and estate management.

2.6.2.1 *Linguistic impact of Norman settlement in Ireland*

Initial linguistic evidence of the contacts between Anglo-Normans and Irish Gaels is visible in the words of the Norman-French poet who composed what is now known to us as the ‘Song of Dermot the Earl’, recounting and justifying the events surrounding Diarmaid Mac Murchadha’s quest for repatriation and retaliation, based on the chronicle of Diarmaid’s own secretary.

5. Si li donat *Winkinlo/ Entre Bree e Arklo:/* Ço fud la tere de *Kylmantan,/ Entre Ad Cleth e Lochgarman/ .../Vint feiz en O Morethi* ‘He gave him too Wicklow / Between Bray and Arklow: / This was the land of Killmantain/ Between Ath-Cliath [Dublin] and Loch Garman [Wexford] twenty fiefs in Omurethy’. (Orpen 1892: 224, ll. 3092–3096/7)

In this text we find the first obvious signs of language contact phenomena, the adaptation of very basic vocabulary items (Thomason 2001: 70), like local Irish place names into a French version, as for example the Irish *Ath Cliath*, the Irish name for Dublin, being slightly adapted to French pronunciation norms by exchanging the dental fricative <th> for a dental <d> and by monophthongizing the diphthong <ia> to <e>, resulting in *Ad Cleth*. Over time, social and language contacts between Irish and Norman French speakers become more intense and longer-term (Thomason 2001: 70). Even though the number of Norman settlers in Ireland remained low (Kallen 2013: 13), the impact of language contact was comparatively high, and more basic vocabulary items were borrowed from Norman French due to the high social position of the Anglo-Normans. Examples of these basic words borrowed from Anglo-Norman are food items like *flour* > Ir. *plúr* ‘flour’, *sucre* > Ir. *siúcra* ‘sugar’, occupations like *joignour* > Ir. *siúinéir* ‘carpenter’, *warde* > Ir. *bárda* ‘guard’, words for buildings and institutions like *chaumbre* > *seomra* ‘room’ and *hospitale* > *ospidéal* ‘hospital’ or even abstract entities like *aventure* > Ir. *amhantúr* ‘adventure’ (Hickey 1997: 186–8). Hickey notes that the Norman loanwords are also found to form semantic doublets with native Irish words. Examples are the French *page*, leading to *páiste* ‘child’, in addition to original Irish *leanbh* ‘child’ or the Norman *garz/ garçon* ‘valet’, giving Irish *garsún* ‘boy’, in addition to the Irish derived *buachaill* ‘boy’. In contrast to the use of French loanwords in English, in Irish there is no high register/low register difference between the native Irish word and the loanwords. Anglo-Norman linguistic influence on Irish also happened at a very basic level (cf. Hickey 1997: 185), and Hickey (2020b: 10) suggests that the loans were in fact introduced into Irish by French-Irish bilingual speakers.

Here we can see that, as in England, the early French-speaking Norman settlers showed strong tendencies to assimilate linguistically to the majority group, the Irish

Gaels. Though they had a socially superordinate status, as a minority group they showed language shift behaviour (cf. Thomson 2001: 23).

While the leaders of the original invasion were largely Anglo-Norman upper classes, the Anglo-Normans did not come on their own. At the end of the twelfth century, population increases all over Europe led to a lack of land and to high food prices. Migration thus became a good option to acquire wealth and land, and Ireland, which had ‘large areas of underpopulated agricultural land’ (Simms 1989: 60), was attractive to settlers. The best arable land in Ireland was settled and farmed with the help of tenants and subtenants. The tenants and craftspeople of the Normans largely came from England, Wales, and Flanders, and were in contact with local Irish tenants. Their main language was English, and it became established particularly along the east coast and mainly in towns such as Dublin, Kilkenny, Wexford, and Waterford (Simms 1989; Hickey 2007; Kallen 1994; 2013; Ronan 2017). As a result, Norman French joined Irish as a high-status language, while English was used by lower-status speakers and in low-status domains (Kallen 2013: 13). However, due to the political changes in England at the time, namely the loss of Normandy and the resulting language shift from French to English, the relative importance of French as compared to English was decreasing over time (cf. e.g. Kallen 2013: 13) and facilitated the language shift of the Anglo-Normans away from French, predominantly towards the other high-status language, Irish, rather than the still predominantly lower-status language English (Kallen 2013: 12–14; Ronan 2017: 124; 2020: 328–9). Furthermore, in the early stages of the settlement process in Ireland, the English language that arrived in the country was far from homogeneous (Hickey 2007: 49; Kallen 2013: 12). The English-speaking settlers came from such diverse linguistic backgrounds as Wales, Devon, Cornwall, Exeter, and even Lancashire. The resulting dialect contact is likely to have led to a mixed variety of English, and reflexes of this heterogeneity of the dialect can still be seen in later literary evidence, such as the *Kildare Poems* (cf. Hickey 2007: 52–3).

2.7 DISCUSSION

The data in Sections 2.3–2.6 illustrate various points in relation to sociolinguistic developments in early Ireland. First, we see that Ireland has a history of immigration that goes back even beyond the time of the first recorded accounts of its society (cf. Mallory 2017). As far as we are able to tell from the sources at hand, population and language contacts seem to fit the paradigm of neighbourly contacts (Thomason 2001). If violence took place during these contacts, such as in the contact with Viking raiders and settlers, this was not too different from social relations that could also be found amongst inimical Irish population groups at the period, and the atrocities arguably were balanced by personal and military alliances between Irish and Viking groups, at least after the

initial period of Viking raids (Ó Corráin 1989; Ó Cróinín 2017). Furthermore, trade contacts, as well as personal contacts, across the Irish Sea and even with the continent, resulted in at least some speakers becoming multilingual (Downham 2004a; 2004b) and potentially multicultural. As a further feature of language contact before the settlement of the Normans, the Latin language was accepted in Ireland as the new cultural prestige language of Christianity, and Irish scholars received considerable regard internationally due to their high standard of learning (Ó Cróinín 2017). These observations suggest that medieval Irish culture was open to cultural contacts in principle, and that multilingualism was known and possibly held in high regard because it would have brought cultural prestige and trade benefits.

Against this background, let us consider the arrival of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha with soldiers from Britain, and ultimately the arrival of Strongbow. Here we are explicitly not concerned with later events from the thirteenth century onwards, where the situation changed. With the arrival of Strongbow and his forces, we have non-Irish population groups succeeding at what corresponding Irish groups had been doing less successfully before them: asking for submission and fealty from local kings, taking the lands and possessions of adversarial, rival kings, and forging alliances with local power-holders. Strongbow was initially lured into Ireland by such an allegiance (Simms 1989; Ó Cróinín 2017). As Martin (1994: 139) suggests, the Irish internal rivalries meant that outside intervention could keep internal struggles at bay and be profitable at least for some players. As a result, at the time of the initial Norman settlement, the attitudes to this outside intervention were not exclusively negative.

With the arrival of the Anglo-Normans a third high-domain language was introduced into public life in Ireland: Irish itself had been a high-domain language e.g. for poetry, literature, and in court, while Latin served as a high-domain language in religion and education. With the Conquest, French joined as a high-status language (cf. Kallen 2013: 13). Even though the Normans gained cultural superiority, and might thus eventually have caused a language shift to their own language over time (Thomason 2001: 23), in fact initially they assimilated and largely shifted to the Irish language, while contributing a considerable amount of Norman loanwords to the Irish language (Hickey 1997).

At the time of the conquest, English was not yet a high-prestige language in Ireland, but was used as a vernacular by settlers of lower social status, where Irish and English came into contact due to the daily use of lower-status Irish (cf. Kallen 2013: 14). The English language might well have been abandoned by its speakers in Ireland over time, given that it was the language of an immigrant group. Additionally, since it was not used as a high-domain language at this early period, it did not possess the highest social prestige (cf. Thomason 2001: 23). However, political and resulting social developments obviously changed the status of English dramatically during the following centuries and turned it into a high-prestige language, essentially after the Protestant Reformation in England (Hickey 2007: 33–7), so that it eventually became the majority language in Ireland.

2.8 CONCLUSION

History shows that successive different contacts were embraced by the early Irish: Christian culture was accepted, Viking settlers were incorporated into society. The new Norman settlers and the English, Welsh, and Flemish tenants and craftspeople who arrived with them, or in their wake, were equally integrated into pre-thirteenth century Irish society. Initially, the Norman upper classes assimilated and shifted to the language of their Irish neighbours in the countryside where they built their keeps, demonstrating their ownership of the land. English speakers largely belonged to landless lower social classes, and settled in towns where their language was initially used by lower-status groups only. Irish society at that time had already incorporated other linguistic and cultural influences and was on its way to doing the same under the influence of Norman language and culture. That resulted in the dominance of the Irish language in Irish society which lasted for several centuries after the initial Norman settlement and only receded with key developments in England concerning religious and political power.

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CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN IRELAND, 1200–1800

RAYMOND HICKEY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

THE pre-eminence of the Irish language on all levels of society in Ireland continued unabated through the period of the Norman invasion in the late twelfth century and lasted until the sixteenth century, only beginning its long decline after the Tudor dynasty (1485–1603), especially during the reigns of Henry VIII (1509–1547) and Elizabeth I (1558–1603) in England. With that, the association of the English language with the political domination of the Protestant English became established, and renewed antagonism to Catholic Irish culture and its language came to the fore. Plantations were undertaken to underline a specific English and Protestant presence in the land which led to an island-wide presence of the English language, and which heralded in the beginning of the prolonged language shift the outcome of which was a majority English-speaking Ireland by the late nineteenth century.

Broadly speaking there are two periods in the history of Irish English. The first began in the late twelfth century with the arrival of the first English-speaking settlers and finished around 1600, when the second period opened. The main event which justifies this periodization is the renewed and vigorous planting of English in Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century. During the first period the Old English—as this group is called in the Irish context—came increasingly under the influence of the Irish. The Anglo-Normans, the military leaders during the initial settlement, had been completely absorbed by the Irish by the end of the fifteenth century. The progressive Gaelicization led the English to attempt planting the Irish countryside in order to reinforce the English presence there. This was by and large a failure, and it was only with James I that successful planting of Lowland Scottish and English settlers (Robinson 1994 [1984]) in the north tipped the linguistic balance in favour of English in that part of the country. The south was subject to further plantations along with the banishment of the

native Irish to the west during the Cromwellian period, so that by the end of the seventeenth century, Irish was in a weak position from which it was never to recover. During the seventeenth century, new forms of English were brought to Ireland: largely Scots and northern English in Ulster and west/north Midland varieties south of Ulster (where there had been a predominantly west/south-west input in the first period). The renewed anglicization in the seventeenth century led to the ‘discontinuity hypothesis’, namely the view, above all of Bliss (see Bliss 1972), that the forms of English from the first period were completely supplanted by the varieties introduced at the beginning of the modern period. However, on the east coast, in Dublin and other locations down to Waterford in the south-east, there is a definite continuation of south-west English features which stem from the imported varieties of the first period.

The documentary record of medieval Irish English consists mainly of the collection of sixteen poems of Irish provenance in the British Museum manuscript, Harley 913, known collectively as the *Kildare Poems* (Lucas 1995) after one of the poems in which the author identifies himself as being from the county of Kildare to the south-west of Dublin. The collection probably dates from the early fourteenth century. The language of these poems reflects a general west Midland to southern usage of late Middle English. It is a moot point whether the *Kildare Poems* were written by native speakers of Irish using English as an official, ‘high’ language in a diglossic situation, and whether indeed the set was written by one or more individuals. Apart from the *Kildare Poems*, medieval IrEng is attested in a very small number of verse fragments and in some fragmentary city records from Dublin and Waterford, comments on which can be found in Henry (1958) and Hickey (2002).

At the very end of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century, attestations of IrEng begin to appear which are deliberate representations of the variety of the time. These are frequently in the guise of literary parody of the Irish by English authors (see Hickey, Chapter 22 this volume). Satirical writings are not the only source of IrEng, however. Some writers, especially in the nineteenth century, attempted to indicate colloquial speech of their time. The first of these is Maria Edgeworth, whose novel *Castle Rackrent* (1800) is generally regarded as the first regional novel in English and was much admired by Sir Walter Scott. Other writers one could mention in this context are Carleton and the Banim brothers. William Carleton (1794–1869) is the author of *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (5 volumes, Dublin, 1830–33) and uses IrEng in the speech of the peasants. John (1798–1842) and Michael (1796–1874) Banim are the authors of *Tales of the O’Hara Family* (6 volumes, 1825–6), where again IrEng is used for narrative effect.

3.2 THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

For the history of English in Ireland, the year 1169 is of central importance, as it was then that the first Normans came to Ireland, landing in the south-east corner of the country. The reason for this move was that one Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, sought

help from the Normans, who came and conquered the south-east, with the Norman warlord Strongbow (Richard Fitz Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, west Wales) establishing his rule over that part of Ireland (Moody and Martin 1967: 127–30). In 1171 Henry II visited Ireland to affirm his authority in a country which offered the opportunity for vassals of the king to exercise power outside the reach of the English monarch.

The first adventurers to arrive on Irish soil appear to have been demographically mixed. It is known from historical records that there were at least three languages represented in this early group. Anglo-Norman, a variety of medieval French spoken in England/Wales, Welsh, and perhaps, to some degree, Flemish (Cahill 1938: 160). No traces of a Flemish influence are to be seen in Irish English but there are a few loanwords in the archaic dialect of Forth and Bargy (Hickey 2007: 66–9). Welsh was in all probability also among the languages of the first invaders. However, no traces of Welsh are to be seen anywhere in Irish English.

3.3 THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH WITHIN IRELAND

The development of English in Ireland since the twelfth century has not been continuous. This is due both to the settlement of the island by the English and to the political conditions in England itself. Only the east and south-east coast of Ireland were settled to any appreciable extent in the late Middle Ages, above all the cities of Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Dublin, though there were outposts of the Anglo-Normans, such as Carrickfergus, immediately north of present-day Belfast. At this time Dublin had already gained the status of capital of the country. Like other cities in Ireland, Dublin largely owes its origins to a Viking settlement before the turn of the millennium (Moore 1965: 10). Because of its favourable position in the middle of the east coast and with the central plain as its hinterland, Dublin was able to assert itself over other urban settlements on river estuaries in Ireland. This fact is of some importance for the English language. The city was quickly occupied by the English after its conquest. Henry II issued the *Charter of Dublin* in 1172 (Dolley 1972: 68). From this time onwards, English has existed continuously in Dublin, indeed within an area along the east and south-east coast known as the ‘Pale’. This term comes from Latin *palus* ‘stake’, via French, and refers to a stake in a fence (hence *impale* in English). In the post-invasion period it denoted the part of Ireland which was firmly under English (and Anglo-Norman) control, beyond which the native Irish lived. Its actual size varied, reaching a maximum in the fourteenth century when it covered an area from Drogheda north of Dublin to at least Waterford in the south-east and included some of the Midlands (Meath) and south Midlands (parts of Tipperary). With the resurgence of Gaelic influence in Ireland in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Pale shrank (Palmer 2000: 41). However, with the settlements (plantations, Andrews 2000) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the English

presence spread gradually throughout the entire countryside, and the term ‘Pale’ lost its relevance.¹

Within the boundaries of the Pale, the political influence of England never ceased to exist. This is basically the reason for the continuous existence of English in Dublin: in the history of Ireland, the English language has maintained the strongest influence in those areas where English political influence has been mostly keenly felt.

After the twelfth century, settlements spread to other cities, e.g. in the south (Cork) and in the west (Limerick and Galway). The impact on rural Ireland (T. Barry 2000) was slight. This is of importance when considering the linguistic status of English vis-à-vis Irish in the late Middle Ages. English was not a dominant language at this stage (as it was to become in the early modern period). Indeed, English competed with Anglo-Norman in medieval Ireland, and both of these definitely interacted with the quantitatively more significant Irish language.

An ever-increasing assimilation of the original settlers by the native Irish occurred in the post-invasion period. This assimilation had two main reasons. Firstly, the English settlers of this early, pre-Reformation time were of course Catholic. Secondly, the connections with England were in fact quite loose. Those adventurers who had sought land and political influence in Ireland evinced only nominal allegiance to the English crown. They had become to a large extent independent in Ireland (Moody and Martin 1967: 133). Indeed one can interpret the visits of English kings in Ireland—such as that of Henry II in Dublin in the twelfth century—as a scarcely concealed attempt to assert the influence of the English court in a colony which did not lay undue emphasis on crown loyalty. In later centuries other monarchs were to follow suit. Thus John came to Ireland in 1210 and Richard II twice, in 1394 and 1399. Each of these visits was intended to serve the purpose of constraining the power of the ostensibly English nobility. With the severing of ties with England, the original English naturally drew closer to the native Irish. This development explains the decline of English in Ireland in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Especially after the adoption of Protestantism by the English government, initiated by the ‘Reformation Parliament’ (1529–36) of Henry VIII, the original English settlers in Ireland, the ‘Old English,’ felt cut off and identified themselves increasingly with the native Catholic population. The fortunes of the English language were at their lowest in the first half of the sixteenth century (Moody and Martin 1967: 158–60).

3.4 LATE MEDIEVAL IRELAND

The Anglo-Normans who arrived in Ireland in the late twelfth century were the leaders among the new settlers. The English were mainly their servants, a fact which points to

¹ The phrase *beyond the pale* ‘socially unacceptable’ suggests that those inside the Pale in the late medieval period regarded the natives outside as unruly and uncivilized.

the relatively low status of the language at this time. As in England, the ruling classes and the higher positions in the clergy were occupied by Normans soon after the invasion. Their language was introduced with them and established itself in the towns. Evidence for this is offered by such works as *The Song of Dermot and the Earl* and *The Entrenchment of New Ross* in Anglo-Norman, as well as contemporary references to spoken Anglo-Norman in court proceedings from Kilkenny (Cahill 1938: 160). Anglo-Norman seems to have been maintained in the cities well into the fourteenth century, as the famous *Statutes of Kilkenny* (1366) attest (Crowley 2000: 14–16). These were composed in Anglo-Norman, and admonished both the French-speaking lords and the native Irish population to speak English. The statutes were not repealed until the end of the fifteenth century, but they were never effective. The large number of Anglo-Norman loanwords in Irish (Risk 1971: 586; 1974) which entered the language in the period after the invasion testifies to the existence of Anglo-Norman and the robustness of its position from the mid-twelfth to the fourteenth century (Hickey 1997). In fact, as a language of law it was used up to the fifteenth century, as evidenced by the Acts of Parliament of 1472, which were in Anglo-Norman.

Indicative of the vitality of Irish is the account from the sixteenth century of the proclamation of a bill in the Dublin parliament (1541) which officially declared the assumption of the title of King of Ireland by Henry VIII (Dolan 1991: 143). The parliament was attended by the representatives of the major Norman families of Ireland, but of these only the Earl of Ormond was able to understand the English text, and apparently translated it into Irish for the rest of the attending Norman nobility (Hayes-McCoy 1967).

3.4.1 Medieval Irish English

The English settlers in medieval Ireland came from different parts of the west and south-west of England. The speakers of these different varieties were later to be found in greatest numbers in the east of the country, i.e. in the area of initial settlement. They did not always spread out into the west as the Normans did; if they did, then it was frequently as the servants of the Normans. Many of the English and Welsh settlers left after pressure from the local Irish of equal standing. Apart from a few towns like Galway and Limerick, it was the east coast with its urban centres, from somewhat north of Dublin to Waterford in the south-east, that formed the main area of English settlement from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards. Within this region, English was widespread not only in the towns but also in some rural areas, as testified by the two language enclaves, the baronies of Forth and Bargo in the extreme south-east corner in Co. Wexford and the area named Fingal, immediately north of Dublin. These areas retained their features well into the early modern period (Hickey 2007).

The linguistic features of medieval Irish English fall into two groups. The first are those which can be reasonably regarded as characteristic of the medieval variety of Irish English, and the second are those which can be traced back to influence from Irish.

3.4.1.1 *Phonological evidence of early Irish English and Irish*

The pronunciation of early Irish English can be partially confirmed by various loanwords which appear in Irish after the twelfth century. Because the English long vowel shift had not yet occurred, the vowels written as <a, i, u> were pronounced as /a:, i:, u:/ as can be seen in the loans *bácús* /ba:ku:s/ ‘bakehouse’ and *slísín* /sli:i:si:n/ ‘little slice, rasher’. The word *whiting* [mi:tɪŋ] (pre-vowel shift) gave *faoitín* in Irish, which confirms the [i:] pronunciation in the English source. In addition, this word shows that English [ɹ] was rendered by Irish /f/ (phonetically [ɸ] in many dialects of Irish). The equivalence of these sounds is also attested in the opposite direction with the English rendering of the Irish surname Ó *Faoláin* as *Pheelan* [f-] or *Wheelan* [ɹ-].

3.4.2 *The Kildare Poems*

In his discussion of these poems, Heuser (1904) mentions a variety of features which point to the south-west of England (the assumed source of English in medieval Ireland) and to Ireland in particular. These poems also betray the influence of the Irish language (Heuser’s *Keltischer Einfluß* ‘Celtic influence’). Table 3.1 offers a summary of phonetic and morphological features noted for the *Kildare Poems* (Hickey 2007: 54–66).

Table 3.1 Consonantal features and processes in the *Kildare Poems*

1) dental fricatives to stops	/ð/ > [t̪], /θ/ > [t̪]
2) voicing of initial fricatives	<i>uadir</i> (= <i>father</i>), <i>uoxe</i> (= <i>fox</i>)
3) fricative to approximant	<i>wysage</i> (= <i>visage</i>), <i>trawalle</i> (= <i>travail</i>)
4) loss of nasals	<i>fowden</i> (= <i>founden</i>), <i>monthes</i> (= <i>months</i>)
5) loss of /h/	<i>is</i> (= <i>his</i>), <i>abbip</i> (= <i>habbiþ</i>)
6) consonant doubling	<i>delle</i> (= <i>deal</i>), <i>hoppe</i> (= <i>hope</i>)
7) possibly /ʃ/ for /s/	<i>grasshe</i> (= <i>grass</i>), <i>hasshe</i> (= <i>has</i>)
8) unstressed vowel raising	<i>namis</i> , <i>herbis</i> ; <i>fallip</i> ; <i>wondur</i> , <i>sommur</i>
9) metathesis	<i>fryst</i> < <i>first</i> , <i>forst</i> < <i>frost</i>
10) epenthesis	<i>Auerill</i> (= <i>April</i>), <i>uerisse</i> (= <i>fresh</i>)
11) final devoicing	<i>ihelpyt</i> ‘helped’, <i>purget</i> ‘purged’
12) fortition after sonorants	<i>fent</i> ‘fend’, <i>spent</i> ‘spend’

3.5 THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Politically, the late sixteenth century was marked by increasing separatist activities on the part of the Irish (of native and original English/Norman stock) which ended in the final victory over the Irish by English forces in the battle of Kinsale (Co. Cork) in 1601. The subsequent departure from (the north of) Ireland by native leaders in 1607—known somewhat romantically as the ‘Flight of the Earls’ (Byrne 2004: 123)—left a political vacuum which was filled energetically by the English.

Plantations were undertaken in the first years of the seventeenth century throughout the country. The early decades saw further settlements of English people in Munster, for instance in south-west Cork (McCarthy-Morrogh 1986: 151). But the largest and most successful settlements were in Ulster (Canny 2001: 165–242). These will be dealt with in section 3.9. With regard to the south of the country, further developments were to have a negative effect on the Irish presence in the countryside and to increase the number of English there. Cromwell’s transplantation policy was to push the Irish further west, and the reallocation of freed lands to those loyal to the crown—overwhelmingly English settlers—led to increasing anglicization.

3.5.1 The language of the planters

The language of the planters in the seventeenth century came under the influence of native Irish quite quickly, if representations such as Swift’s *Dialogue in the Hipernian Stile* (Bliss 1976: 557; 1977b) can be regarded as genuine. But the linguistic group which would have been responsible for the transfer of characteristics from Irish into English is the large section of the Irish-speaking community which switched from Irish to English between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. There were different reasons for this language shift. On the one hand, the Penal Laws (Byrne 2004: 230–31) imposed draconian punishment for the use and practice of Irish. On the other hand, large sections of the native population changed over to English of their own accord because of the social advantages to be gained from a knowledge of the language.

The role of the planters in the genesis of Irish English can be considered minimal, not least because they were numerically much less significant than the native Irish. Of course the English which the Irish switched to was that which was available in their environment, and for some this was the language of planters. But for many, the varieties of English they were exposed to were those which had existed since the early period of settlement on the east coast and in towns around the country.

Even if the planters, by virtue of their social standing, ‘imposed’ features of their English onto that of the Irish engaged in the language shift, there is no way of showing this. Today, it is not possible in southern Ireland to distinguish between a group descended from original Irish speakers and a group which stems from early English

settlers. In the north of the country, however, this distinction does exist, given the clear profile of Ulster Scots which derives from the speech of the seventeenth century settlers from Scotland.

In their remarks on the Irish language shift, Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 43) assume that descendants of settlers did not emulate the English used by Irish speakers but, given that the latter group was much more numerous, their ‘speech habits prevailed anyway’. They furthermore note the large amount of phonological and morphosyntactic interference from Irish into Irish English and the comparative lack of lexical transfer (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 129), and indeed postulate that the few items there are may well have been introduced by English speakers confronted with Irish rather than by speakers of Irish English themselves.

Settlement policy from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century was aimed at reorganizing the demographic and property structure of Ireland by making it decidedly English, i.e. loyal to the crown and Protestant in character. But the picture of a harmonious society overrun by a more powerful neighbour is, however, a simplistic view of native Ireland at that time. Many elements of Irish society were already quite anachronistic (see ‘The end of the old order’ in Lydon 1998: 129–62). The leaders were out of touch with reality in many respects; certainly the literary sectors of Irish society were (Canny 2001: 426). There were attempts to defend Irish culture against what was perceived as English dominance. The most notable example was made by Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Céitinn, c.1580–1644, a member of an Old English family) in his native narrative of Irish history, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* ‘Store of Knowledge about Ireland’ (Byrne 2004: 123), which did much to enhance the cultural assessment of pre-Norman Ireland and so throw a better light on native Irish culture (Canny 2001: 414).

The linguistic legacy of the seventeenth century is somewhat paradoxical. The only group introduced into Ireland in this period which changed the linguistic landscape was the one least loyal to the crown and nonconformist in religion. Because of the perceived and practised otherness of the Ulster Scots, it is their speech which has maintained itself longest and most distinctively (Maguire, Chapter 10 this volume).

3.6 THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The next two centuries were to see a gradual transition on the part of the native population to English, with the attending demise of Irish. The eighteenth century was the period of the Penal Laws (Byrne 2004: 230–31), a set of legislative measures which had the effect of excluding the Catholic Irish from political and social life. These were relaxed towards the end of the century, but without any substantial improvement in the lot of the Catholics. No general education was available for Catholics in this period, but there was a loosely organized system of so-called ‘hedge-schools’ where wandering teachers offered tuition to individuals or small groups in largely rural areas.

In Ireland the eighteenth century is at once a period of blossoming and decline, of liberty and of oppression. There was a long-lasting relative peace: between William's suppression of the Jacobites in Ireland (1689–91) and the United Irishmen uprising of 1798, there were no significant military campaigns against English rule. This is the age of the writer Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), of the philosopher Bishop Berkeley (1685–1753), of the political thinker Edmund Burke (1729–97), of the elocutionist and grammarian Thomas Sheridan (1719–88), and of his more famous son, the dramatist Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816). It is the period in which Dublin was almost on a par with London, and could vie with it as a cultural centre with such events as the first performance of Handel's *Messiah* in 1742, the founding of the *Royal Dublin Society* in 1731, and that of the *Royal Irish Academy* in 1785. Dublin Protestants prospered as burghers and landlords, and their self-confidence is amply documented by the impressive Georgian buildings in the city, a living testimony to this period of relative wealth.

During the eighteenth century the rural population was particularly disadvantaged. Not only did it not partake in the prosperity of the Protestant sector, but it was subject to the ravages of famine, for instance in 1740–41. However, despite the exclusion from urban prosperity, there was nonetheless a flourishing of Irish literature, particularly of poetry in Munster. This period produced such lasting literary works as *Cúirt an Mheán-Oíche* ('The Midnight Court', c.1780, see dual-language translation in Power 1977) by Brian Merriman (?1745–1805) and the *Lament for Art O'Leary* written by the widow of the individual in the poem's title. It was also the period of Turlogh Carolan (1670–1738), the blind harpist who travelled in Connaught and Ulster and who has almost mythical status as a wandering bard, maintaining something of the old Gaelic order which had flourished before the final defeat of the Irish at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

3.6.1 Prescriptivism and elocution

The latter half of the eighteenth century saw a steep rise in prescriptivism in Britain (Beal 2004: 89–123), which was not without effect in Ireland. Indeed there is a curious connection here: the English prescriptive grammarian Bishop Robert Lowth (1710–87) (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2010) considered Swift as a paragon of English style. During this century the concern with standards in language led to the Irishman Thomas Sheridan travelling widely in the British Isles. He advised others on what was correct English usage and how to attain it (Sheridan 1970 [1762]; for assessments, see Hickey 2009 and the contributions in Howell 1971 and Hickey 2010). Sheridan had a considerable influence on other writers in the prescriptivist tradition, notably John Walker (see Walker 1791).

The practice of elocution—the cultivation of a standard accent by non-standard speakers for the purpose of public speaking—gained much impetus from Sheridan's activities and writings. In particular one should mention his *Rhetorical Grammar of the English Language* (1781) which contains an appendix in which a series of rules to be

observed by the Irish in order to speak English ‘properly’ are outlined. These features are diagnostic of Dublin English in the late eighteenth century.

3.6.2 The dialect of Forth and Bargo

The dialect considered here was once spoken in the south-east corner of Ireland, in the baronies of Forth and Bargo (read: [bargi]). After a period of decline, it was replaced entirely in the early nineteenth century by general Irish English of the region. The earliest record may well be contained in a late sixteenth-century drama: the seventh scene of the play *The Famous Historye of the Life and Death of Captain Thomas Stukeley* (from the 1590s, printed in 1605) has been handed down in two versions, the second of which was probably in the Forth and Bargo dialect. But for all practical purposes, the knowledge we have of this dialect is due to the work of a few scholars who at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century recorded it in the form of glossaries.

The main sources of information on Forth and Bargo are two studies: the first is a 22-page essay with a glossary and some text by Charles Vallancey which was published as a ‘Proceeding of the Royal Irish Academy’ in 1788. The second study is somewhat more substantial (70 pages in all) and consists again of a glossary with some texts which were collected at the end of the eighteenth century by a Protestant farmer, Jacob Poole, though not published until 1867 by an Anglican clergyman, Rev. William Barnes (see the foreword in the reprint by Dolan and Ó Muirthe 1996: 33).

The origin of the enclaves of Fingal and of Forth and Bargo can be accounted for by considering the geopolitical developments in Ireland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. After the extensive cultural and political assimilation of the Old English, Ireland became more and more Irish-speaking. The wave of gaelicization continued into the fifteenth century, and was mentioned frequently by contemporary historians such as Richard Stanihurst in his ‘Description of Ireland’ in Raphael Holinshed’s *Chronicles* (Stanihurst 1965 [1577]: 3). He maintains that English was only spoken in the area of the Pale (then encompassing Co. Dublin and north Co. Kildare) and some adjoining counties such as Meath and Louth to the north and Wicklow, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, and Waterford to the south. Stanihurst also mentions a certain county ‘Fingal’, probably meaning the area around Dublin city. A pocket in north Co. Dublin is the only area where the Fingal dialect survived in the seventeenth century.

3.7 THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The nineteenth century opened with the political union of Ireland and England in 1801, which in itself had no linguistic effect on the country. Paradoxically, it was the efforts of the Catholic community for emancipation, under their leader, Daniel

O'Connell, which had by far the greater effect. O'Connell's championing of the Catholic cause led to the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. He himself urged his fellow countrymen to abandon Irish, as he saw English as the necessary pre-condition for social advancement.

One linguistically far-reaching consequence of the emancipation was the formation of a system of National Schools (for primary education) in 1831, in which instruction was in English. This led to a marked decline in illiteracy in Ireland (see Table 3.2), but also added considerable momentum to the language shift.

Table 3.2 Illiteracy in mid- to late nineteenth-century Ireland

Illiteracy (over 5 years of age)

1841	over 70% for Galway, Mayo, and Kerry 60–70% for Cork, Roscommon, Sligo, and Donegal there is a general gradient from west to east in this respect
1861	60–70% only for Galway/Mayo under 50% for Kerry, Cork, Waterford, Donegal
1891	under 40% for Galway, Mayo, Kerry, Cork, Waterford, Donegal; under 30% for the rest of the country

The second major factor in language shift in the first half of the nineteenth century was the blow dealt to the Irish language as a result of the Great Famine of the late 1840s. There had been many previous cases of famine, some of which were confined locally (de Fréine 1965: 30–1), but the event in the middle of the nineteenth century overshadowed all that went before. The famine was triggered by a failure in the potato crop due to blight, a fungus (*phytophthora infectans*) which spread rapidly in the damp and crowded conditions of the Irish countryside. Because the pre-famine economy was heavily reliant on potatoes as the staple diet of the great majority of the rural population (Duffy et al. 1997: 88–9), the failure of the crop, above all in the three years following 1845, had particularly serious consequences. The native population was decimated, approximately 1 million dying of starvation or malnutrition (Duffy et al. 1997: 88–9). Of those who died, some 40% were from Connaught, 30% from Munster, 21% from Ulster, and 9% from Leinster. This breakdown shows clearly that it was the exclusively rural regions away from the more prosperous east coast that suffered most. The famine also provoked waves of emigration, mostly to North America. In 1847 this was anxious flight (Neal 1997), but in 1848 it was more organized. Many established farmers left, draining vital human resources from the countryside (Woodham-Smith 1991 [1962]: 371). The poverty triggered by the famine also affected the commercial life of the country in the towns, and in general weakened the structure of Irish life (Woodham-Smith 1991 [1962]: 378). Needless to say, this was not a scenario in which the Irish language could flourish. Given the prospect of emigration to less distressed parts of the anglophone world, knowledge of English achieved an even greater priority.

3.7.1 The decline of Irish

The nineteenth century, more than any previously, experienced the decline of the Irish language (Duffy et al. 1997: 94–5; Hindley 1990: 13–20; Ó Cuív 1969: 137–40). Because of the Great Famine (1845–8) Ireland may have lost anything up to two million native speakers of Irish (about a quarter of the population in the mid nineteenth century), either through starvation or emigration. Those Irish who sought work in North America or England were for the most part rural inhabitants from the west and south of the country, i.e. they were in the main native speakers of Irish.

The decline of the language proceeded rapidly during the latter half of the nineteenth century. According to the 1851 census (if anything, conservative in its figures), the entire region from Donegal in the north-west down the western seaboard and across to Waterford in the south-east was a contiguous area, with about 50% of the population Irish-speaking. There were also pockets of Irish in Ulster, for instance in mid-Tyrone and north Antrim. By 1891 the large western area had been broken into three sub-areas which continued to shrink during the first half of the twentieth century, ultimately yielding the situation today where there are only three remaining Irish-speaking regions on the western seaboard, in the south-west, the mid-west, and the north-west, with not significantly more than 40–50,000 native speakers of Irish left. The three areas furthermore speak divergent dialects none of which has been automatically accepted as a standard for modern Irish.

3.8 THE SETTLEMENT OF ULSTER

Any treatment of English in Ireland must take special account of the situation in Ulster. The reason for this lies in the settlement history of this province which led to the introduction of Scots and forms of northern English which were (and still are) distinct from all varieties of English in the south of the country. There has also been, as in the south, interaction between forms of English and Irish which has added a further dimension to the linguistic complexity in the north.

The northern part of Ireland is usually referred to as ‘Ulster’, the most northerly of the four present-day provinces. It literally means the country of the *Ulaídh*, the people who historically inhabited this area. The word *Ulster* consists of *Ulaídh* + *s* + *tír*, a Norse-Irish formation, similar to *Munster* and *Leinster*, provinces to the south and east respectively. The now opaque compound contains the Irish name of the people, *Ulaídh*, followed by a Norse genitival /s/ and a phonetically reduced form of /tí:r/, the word for ‘country’ in Irish.

The label ‘Ulster’ is also used loosely today to refer to Northern Ireland, a part of the United Kingdom, which came into existence when Ireland was partitioned in 1921. Northern Ireland consists of six counties—Antrim, Down, Armagh, Derry, Tyrone,

and Fermanagh—but the province of Ulster actually consists of nine counties: the three additional ones are Donegal (north-west Ulster), Monaghan, and Cavan (south Ulster), which are contained within the Republic, although they are linguistically northern.

The early political history of the province can be traced back at least to the various kingdoms which existed before the Middle Ages (see map of these at around 800 in Bardon 1996: 17). A prominent kingdom was that of the Dál Riata in the Glens of Antrim (in the north-east), which in the fifth century extended its range across the North Channel into Scotland (Bardon 1996: 14). The Scottish colony was so successful that the Latin term for Ireland, *Scotia*, came to be applied to the overseas lands of the Dál Riata, yielding the later name ‘Scotland’ (Duffy 2000: 40). The early period of Irish involvement in Scotland was also the beginning of the Christian era, and the settlement of Scotland was connected with religious conversion.

The people who moved up north-eastwards to Scotland took the Irish language of the time with them, and thus initiated the development of Q-Celtic in the north of Britain. The forms of Irish spoken in Scotland remained indistinguishable from those in Ulster for several hundred years. It is not until the thirteenth century that the first signs of an independent form of Q-Celtic in Scotland begin to appear in writing. With the demise of a classical language in Ireland and Scotland (based on older inherited forms of the language), Scottish Gaelic emerged as a form of Gaelic distinct from Irish. The two forms are no longer mutually comprehensible despite the dialect continuum which Ulster together with west and north-west Scotland form to this day.

The spread of Irish into Scotland and the early monastic ties were the beginning of a long association of Ulster with its north-eastern neighbour. Political and broader ecclesiastical links followed. Later on there were also military bonds, especially in the early fourteenth century, when Edward Bruce invaded Ulster and with his defeat in 1318 at the hands of the Gaelic lords of the time. Scottish mercenaries, called ‘gallowglasses’ (from Irish *gall-óglach* ‘foreigner warrior’), were recruited from western Scotland to serve in Ulster armies. There were also clan connections among the great Gaelic-speaking families, such as the Macdonnells, who in 1399 acquired Rathlin Island (off the north Antrim coast) and the Glens of Antrim (Montgomery and Gregg 1997: 572). These links (Adamson 1994) were of importance linguistically, as they led to a partial importation of Scottish Gaelic into Ulster and strengthened Ulster and Scotland as a linguistic area.

Events in the south of Ireland also had an effect on Ulster. After the Anglo-Norman conquest, several prominent Norman families established bases in Ulster. Of these, two were particularly successful in their domination of the region: the de Lacy and de Burgh families, who held the earldom of Ulster throughout the thirteenth and into the fourteenth century (Bardon 1996: 24–41). Here, as elsewhere in Ireland, a gradual resurgence of Gaelic power set in. In the south, many of the new lords were themselves Anglo-Norman in origin, but in Ulster the Gaelic element was particularly strong.

The Tudor conquest of Ireland applied equally to Ulster. The determined attitude of the English during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Bardon 1996: 43–65) meant that there were continuous battles with major Gaelic clans, such as the O’Neills and O’Donnells. This was the time of the Tudor policy of ‘surrender and regrant’ where the

strategy was to force the native lords to relinquish their territories which would then be restored to them under conditions dictated by the English.

By the late sixteenth century, the O'Neill clan had reasserted its leading position in Ulster. Strong Gaelic resistance to English rule developed in the province, and this led to more or less open rebellion, peaking with Hugh O'Neill (c.1540–1616) and his followers in Ulster engaging in what is known as the Nine Years War from 1594 to 1603. The Gaelic forces were concentrated in Ulster, and there were significant successes such as that at Yellow Ford in 1598. This convinced the Spanish to agree to O'Neill's plea for their engagement in Ireland. They intervened with an army of over 3,000 which landed in September 1601. They were besieged by English forces under Mountjoy and, despite O'Neill arriving to help, both the Irish and the Spanish were defeated in a decisive battle at Kinsale (south Co. Cork) on Christmas Eve 1601. In Ulster the rebellions ultimately led to failure, with the subsequent repression of the Irish. By the time of Elizabeth's death in 1603 the dominance of the Gaelic lords of Ulster was broken, depriving the province of effective native leadership.

3.8.1 The plantation of Ulster

The succession of James VI of Scotland (1566–1625) as James I (1603–25) to the English throne led to the establishment of the Stuart monarchy. It lasted until 1688, with an interruption during the Interregnum of 1649–60 which included the Commonwealth and the two protectorates of Cromwell. The latter ended with the restoration of the English monarchy under Charles II.

After the Irish lords left Ulster in 1607, James I moved quickly and their lands were escheated. The government decided to initiate the plantation of Ulster along the lines of the Munster plantation in the late sixteenth century. This time, however, the land was reserved for Scottish settlers, encouraged by their compatriot James I, together with Englishmen, mostly from the north Midlands and north of England (Adams 1967). Because of the union of the crowns in 1603, the Scottish were allowed to settle in Ireland without difficulty. Settlers were a mixture of private individuals along with royal officials (servitors) and some 'deserving' Irish, i.e. those loyal to the crown during the Nine Years War. The plantation settlements were to form the basis for the demographic split of the country. Due to the Scottish and English background of these immigrants, the division of Ireland came to be as much linguistic as political and confessional.

The plantation of Ulster (Robinson 1989) was initiated in 1609, and encompassed the counties of Armagh, Derry, Tyrone, Donegal, and Fermanagh. It also included most of Co. Cavan in south Ulster (now in the Republic of Ireland). Co. Monaghan, also in the Republic, was not part of this plantation, partly because it had been unofficially planted by 'regrants' before (Robinson 1994 [1984]: 67). The position of the eastern counties of Antrim and Down was special at this period. Officially, these counties were outside the plantation scheme, but most Scottish settled there (as these were nearest to Scotland). The properties they eventually came to possess were not escheated but acquired from

native owners who could not survive under the new plantation dispensation with its emphasis on a more market-style economy.

The success of the Ulster plantation was relative: the numbers envisaged by the English administration did not always reach the targets set, nor did the landlords always have the capital to carry through the agricultural and urban projects which the government had envisaged. Many of the companies retained Irish tenants (against the wishes of the English crown) and there were conspiracies against the English, notably in 1615. Furthermore, for lack of funds or because of debt, many English and Scottish withdrew from the scheme. Their land was taken over by others who extended their own estates. However, because of the Scottish credit networks, those settlements run by Scots tended to remain in Scottish hands (Canny 2001: 234), so that success or failure of the settlements did not necessarily lead to a demographic shift.

3.8.2 Mid-seventeenth-century Ulster

As the seventeenth century proceeded, the developments in Ulster were inextricably linked to those in England, especially during the reign of Charles I. Towards the end of his reign (Canny 2001: 300–401) there was uncertainty concerning who held political power in England. This led to leaders in Ireland attacking centres of English sovereignty, notably Charlemont Fort in Tyrone and Dublin Castle in October 1641 (Duffy 2000: 112). The rising was initially quite successful in Ulster, where there were two major issues for the Catholics: (i) the restoration of property misappropriated by Protestants, and (ii) the unhindered practice of their religion (Canny 2001: 469). The strategy seems to have been to take several bastions of Protestant power in Ulster and then negotiate from a position of strength. During the ensuing fighting, indiscriminate violence abounded, for instance, the attack on Protestants at Portadown or that on Catholics at Islandmagee. These and similar atrocities of the 1641 uprising—both alleged and factual—entered the folk memory of Ulster Protestants and Catholics alike, much as did the defeat of the Jacobite forces at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. In the course of the 1640s the uprising was lost by the Catholics, and finally the English were victorious over the Gaelic Ulster forces under a Parliamentarian army at the Battle of Scarifhollis in 1650 (Canny 2001: 570).

3.8.3 Presbyterianism in Ulster

Emigration of Scottish Presbyterians to Ulster continued throughout the eighteenth century. Two groups in particular sought refuge in Ulster. The Seceders were dissenters who seceded from the Church of Scotland in 1733 because of general dissatisfaction with the Williamite church settlement of 1690 and general liberal trends within the Church in Scotland. The Covenanters were a group of Presbyterians who adhered to the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, which was a religious-political pact between Scottish

and English opponents of Charles I. Their goal in Scotland was the suppression of Catholicism, and their discontent grew when the Williamite settlement failed to be fully implemented and when the church became somewhat more liberal in the early decades of the eighteenth century, leading to immigration to Ulster by many Covenanters. However, in the course of the eighteenth century many Ulster Presbyterians decided to move on from Ulster to the New World, leading to a major input of Ulster Scots there.

Among those who remained in Ulster, a sense of grievance at having been slighted by the English establishment led, at the end of the eighteenth century, to an unusual alliance with the Catholics as United Irishmen, active in the 1790s in both Belfast and Dublin and embracing northern Presbyterians as well as southern Protestants and Catholics. They joined forces briefly in the uprising of 1798 in the core Ulster Scots areas of Antrim and Down. But the sympathies between the two groups were shallow, and after the Act of Union (1801) the sectarian divide between Catholic and Protestant became as sharp as ever (Bardon 1996: 112–14).

3.9 CONCLUSION

The relationship of the Irish and English languages over the centuries, since the initial invasion by Anglo-Normans in the late twelfth century, was varied and characterized by setbacks for both languages due to political circumstances in both Ireland and England. It was not until the seventeenth century that English gained the clear upper hand, with the plantation of Ulster by large numbers of Scottish and English settlers and with the increased domination of Irish life by the determined English administration of Ireland. The consequences for the Irish language can be seen in the increasing spread of English throughout the country, first in the cities but later in rural areas as well. Famine and ensuing emigration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sealed the fate of Irish as an everyday community language, a status which Irish has continued to lose down to the present day.

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CHAPTER 4

IRISH ENGLISH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

MARIJE VAN HATTUM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

THE nineteenth century has been recognized by many scholars of Irish English (IrEng) as the formative period for present-day IrEng (e.g. Henry 1977: 20; Garvin 1977: 100; Filppula 1999: 274). Of course, IrEng as it was used in the eighteenth century did not stop abruptly in 1800, and many of the earlier features can still be found in the present day. However, the nineteenth century witnessed a dramatic increase in frequency in some of the features that are now deemed characteristic of Irish English (e.g. first person *will* or the progressive), in addition to the introduction of new features that have not been attested in earlier varieties of English in Ireland (e.g. second person plural *yous* and habitual *do be Ving*) as a result of language shift and language contact. In addition, the nineteenth century saw the development of a supraregional variety of IrEng as a result of the loss of certain older features and the relegation of other features to vernacular domains only (Hickey 2008). This chapter will provide a brief overview of previous research done on nineteenth-century IrEng, followed by a more detailed exploration of the role of language shift, increased literacy, and the rise of a native middle class in the development of the English language in Ireland.

4.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON NINETEENTH- CENTURY IRISH ENGLISH

Though the importance of the nineteenth century is widely recognized by scholars of IrEng, Hickey (2002: 42) comments that this time period is generally not given

separate treatment in scholarly literature. However, there is of course much research on the historical development of Irish English in general. The past two decades have seen a gradual increase in works focusing solely on the nineteenth century, such as Cesiri (2012), which investigates discourse markers, adverbs, and prepositions in a corpus of Irish fairy and folk tales. In addition, Hickey's (2007) monograph on present-day and historical Irish English devotes a large section on predominantly grammatical developments in Irish English during the period of rapid language shift in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, he has published on the development of a supraregional variety of Irish English in the nineteenth century (Hickey 2003b; 2007; 2008; 2012a).

Several authors have published on the impact of nineteenth-century migration on the development of other varieties of English (see for example Cesiri 2008 on Liverpool; Beal and Corrigan 2009 on Tyneside and Sheffield; Clarke 2012; Chapter 24 this volume on Newfoundland and Labrador; and Musgrave and Burridge 2014; Chapter 25 this volume on Australia). In addition, some scholarly work has focused on the portrayal of IrEng in the works of nineteenth-century authors, such as McCafferty (2005; 2008; 2009) on William Carleton (1794–1869). Finally, most of my own work published to date is based on nineteenth-century IrEng ego-documents: van Hattum (2014; 2015) traces the development of modal verbs in nineteenth-century IrEng; van Hattum (2016; 2017) focuses on issues of language and identity in the context of migration and agrarian unrest, respectively; van Hattum (2018) explores dialect divergence in the writing of first-generation migrants; and Peters and van Hattum (2021) analyses the function of pseudonyms in threatening communication.

There is not enough space in this chapter to cover all the research on nineteenth-century IrEng in detail, so the following sections will focus on two main research strands covered in previous work that includes nineteenth-century IrEng: (i) the role of Irish substratum transfer in the development of IrEng morphosyntax, and (ii) the development of a supraregional variety of IrEng which gave the Irish their own (uncodified) standard (Hickey 2012b), independent of other (codified) standard varieties of English, such as Standard British English or Standard American English. Intertwined with these two research strands is the development of a written vernacular variety of IrEng as a result of increased literacy, which is captured in corpora such as A Corpus of Irish English (Hickey 2003a), the Corpus of Irish English Correspondence (CORIECOR, McCafferty and Amador-Moreno, under construction), the Hamburg Corpus of Irish English (HCIE, Pietsch 2009), Letters of Artisans and the Labouring Poor—Ireland (LALP-Ireland, van Hattum, under construction a) and the Threatening Notices Corpus (TNC, van Hattum, under construction b). However, this increased literacy did not generally lead to an increased awareness of prescriptive norms. This written vernacular is the variety upon which most claims concerning nineteenth-century IrEng have been based, but how representative it is of nineteenth-century IrEng as a whole is a question worth scrutinizing.

4.3 LANGUAGE SHIFT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF IRISH ENGLISH MORPHOSYNTAX

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the plantations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the defeat of the old Gaelic ruling classes marked the beginning of a period where native Irish speakers gradually shifted to English over a period of several centuries. There is much debate on the actual numbers of Irish-only, English-only, and bilingual Irish-English speakers in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries, largely as a result of missing or misinterpreted information from census data and the oversight of the role of nationalist ideology both in the interpretation of census data and in contemporary commentary on the status of Irish and English in these centuries (see Corrigan 2003). Nevertheless, scholars agree that the pace with which English replaced Irish as the preferred medium of communication in the nineteenth century increased drastically (e.g. Fitzgerald 1984; Akenson 1989; Ó Cuiv 1986; Corrigan 2003; Crowley 2016).

The main contributing factors to this increased velocity of the shift seem to be: (a) the recognition by the majority of the population that English was necessary for social and economic advancement, (b) the preference for English expressed by the Catholic Emancipation movement, (c) the introduction of the National School system in 1831 which had English as its sole medium of instruction, (d) the Great Famine of the late 1840s which struck hardest among the poorer, Irish-speaking population and caused millions to die or emigrate, and, last but not least, (e) the desire for migration to English-speaking countries which led Irish-speakers to learn English. However, the precise impact and importance of each of these factors for the rapid language shift is much debated.

In cases of language shift such as that in Ireland, there tends to be a transitional stage of bilingualism. Thus, the native-Irish speaking population went from being Irish monolingual, to Irish-English bilingual, with Irish as the dominant language, to English-Irish bilingual, with English as the dominant language, to English bilingual (Filppula 1999: 10). In the bilingual stages of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Irish had to learn English. Since there was little formal education for the Irish-speaking Catholics in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Irish largely learned their English in informal settings, either from other Irish who had already acquired (some) English or through contact with English planters and their employees (Hickey 2016: 12). In other words, the Irish contact-linguistic situation was one of 'imperfect learning', where imperfect does not necessarily mean lack of ability to learn but, in the case of Ireland, that the Irish had limited availability of, or exposure to the target language (Thomason and Kaufman 1991: 39, 47).

When the Irish learned English, their speech did not exactly match the target language (TL)—i.e. the way the planters and other native speakers spoke. Instead, they developed their own version of English, something Thomason (2001) refers to as TL₂. This TL₂ consisted of a mixture of features from the original TL, features that were transferred from the source language (SL), i.e. Irish, and ‘learner errors’ that were the result of a failure to learn some of the TL features (see De Smet 2012 on the process of actualization through learner errors). Thus, the language shifters in seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century Ireland created their own TL₂ which was different from the settlers’ TL. However, this TL₂ largely remained a second language for bilingual speakers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and is rarely recorded in writing.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed what Schneider (2003) describes as the ‘Nativization’ stage of the development of postcolonial varieties. During the nativization stage, the nation tends to weaken its ties with the mother country and seeks or gains political independence, as evidenced by the drafting of the first Home Rule Bill in 1866 and the creation of the Irish Free State about half a century later. In this stage the TL-speaking community (the settlers) and the TL₂-speaking community (the indigenous) ‘become closely connected and intertwined’ (Schneider 2003: 247), which results in the integration of both speech communities. The original TL and TL₂ merge through linguistic accommodation, which is ‘the negotiation mechanism [that] is at work when speakers change their language (A) to approximate what they believe to be the patterns of another language or dialect (B)’ (Thomason 2001: 142). Features from both varieties get adopted through this process to gradually develop into a new variety of the original target language—a variety which Thomason (2001) labels TL₃. It was this new variety, TL₃, that gradually replaced Irish in the nineteenth century, and became the first language of many bilingual speakers.

Research on the form of this newly developed variety predominantly concerns discussions of the origin of grammatical features. Were they the result of grammatical transfer from Irish (substratum phenomena)? Were they retentions of older input varieties of English (superstratum phenomena)? Or did they develop independently as a result of general language acquisition processes (universal phenomena)? Though the Irish context is said to be conducive to phonological transfer, this is not as well researched (but see Hickey 1986), probably due to the difficulties with having to rely on written evidence for pronunciation. According to Hickey (2016: 13), lexical borrowings are less likely to have made it into the new variety, which is probably why it has not attracted as much scholarly attention (though see Hickey 2002 for an overview of studies on IrEng vocabulary). Since lexical transfer is usually in the direction of prestigious to non-prestigious language, and since Irish carried less prestige than English, borrowing from Irish would not have been probable (Hickey 2016: 13), though it is likely that the earlier, more rural TL₂ varieties contained substantial lexical borrowing.

Grammatical features that were the result of superstratum retention emerged prior to the nineteenth century, and are thus not relevant here. However, the nineteenth century seems to demonstrate an increase in the emergence of innovative features where

substratum transfer and language acquisition processes are likely to have played a role. It should be mentioned that the precise role of substratum transfer and universal language-contact processes has been much debated over the years. In addition, substratum transfer is seldom a straightforward case of direct calquing of both form and function (see e.g. McCafferty 2004 on the *after*-perfect exemplified in (5)). Below are some examples of features where substratum transfer has been considered to have played a role, but for more detailed accounts of each of these features see Filppula (1999; Chapter 8 this volume) and Hickey (2007).

do + be + V-ing for the expression of habituality of the lexical verb in Southern IrEng; *bí* + Verbal Noun in Irish:

- (1) He **does be buying** and selling old cars (Hickey 2007: 214)
 (2) Bíonn sé ag obair ar an dtalamh
 [BE-Habitual he at work-VN on the land]
 'He works on the land' (Hickey 2005: 120)

don't + be + V-ing as negative progressive imperative; NEG + *bí* + Verbal Noun in Irish:

- (3) **don't be saying** when things come round that you did not get notice
 (TNC, 1871, unknown)
 (4) Ná bí ag labhairt mar sin
 [Not be-IMP at speak-VN like that]
 'Don't speak like that' (Hickey 2007: 223)

be + after + V-ing to signal recent past; *tá + tréis* + Verbal Noun in Irish:

- (5) **I am after travelling** through the most part of the kingdom and in all my travels
 I never heard of so infamous a villain as that Tom Clare (TNC, 1814, Longford)
 (6) Tá sé tréis imeacht
 [Is he after go-VN]
 'He has just gone' (Filppula 1999: 101)

have + Object + Past Participle to signal a resultative state where the subject is the agent of the action; *tá + Object + Past Participle* in Irish:

- (7) **I have Ama employed** to job for me (LALP, 1871, Tipperary)
 (8) Tá an leabhar scríofa aige
 [is the book written at-him]
 'he has the book written' (Hickey 2007: 211)

Reflexive pronouns without reference to an antecedent in same sentence or clause:

- (9) **myself** did not work aday this six weeks (LALP, 1861, Dublin)
 (10) É féin a rinne an obair
 [Him self who did the work]
 'himself did the work' (Christian Brothers 1980: 86)

with in temporal contexts:

- (11) It was the hottest summer in Queensland **with** the last 20 years (Filppula 1999: 233)
 (12) Ní fhaca mé iad leis na blianta
 Not see-PAST I them with-MASC the years
 'I haven't seen them for years' (*Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* 2005: s.v. *le*^{6c})

with in agentive/instrumental contexts:

- (13) He is hired **with** ['by'] a squatter that keep a Dairy and a large farming business (Filppula 1999: 235)
 (14) Tolgadh an dún leis
 Storm-VN the fort with-him
 'the fort was stormed by him' (*Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* 2005: s.v. *le*¹⁵)

In addition to substratum transfer, the contact situation in nineteenth-century Ireland also led to the development of new forms that cannot be traced back either to the SL or the TL. These new forms could, for example, be the result of a mismatch of grammatical distinctions, where a distinction is made in the SL but not in the TL, or they could be the result of imperfect learning. An example of the former is second person plural pronoun *yous* (example 15). Irish differentiates between a second person singular (*tú*) and plural (*sibh*) pronoun. Older forms of English also differentiated, but the plural pronoun *you* had extended to singular forms long before the Irish started shifting to English. Though earlier forms of IrEng had the variant *ye* for plural uses, a new variant arose in the nineteenth century as a result of analogical formation (Filppula 1999; Hickey 2007: 135); *you*-singular + plural marker *-s* = *yous*-plural.

- (15) **Yous** will be kilt **youse** every one soon (TNC, 1839, Westmeath)

Linguistic innovations as a result of imperfect learning can also result in new forms through analogy, as is the case with epistemic *mustn't* (Hickey 2007: 128). In most other varieties of English, *must* can only be used with epistemic meaning ('it is necessarily the case that X') in positive polarity contexts, but not in negative contexts, where *cannot/can't* is used instead. However, nineteenth-century IrEng shows the first instances of a generalization of epistemic *must* to negative contexts, as in example

(16). Thus, language learners, not being aware of the distributional restriction of *must* in epistemic contexts, analogically extended positive epistemic *must* to negative contexts.

(16) He **mustn't** be Irish as he was born in France (Hickey 2007: 126)

However, instances of imperfect learning need not always involve analogical extensions or the creation of new forms, but can also involve failure to acquire frequency distributions of competing forms. For example, van Hattum (2012) investigates the use of *may* and *might* as competing variants for the expression of epistemic possibility ('it is possible that X', see example (17)). Historically, *might* was the past tense and conditional form and *may* the present tense form, but around the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, *may* and *might* started to become interchangeable. A study of the distribution of *may* and *might* across different contexts found a relatively high use of *might* in comparison to *may* in nineteenth-century IrEng emigrant letters (in comparison to similar 'English English' (EngE) data sources). This high use occurred in utterances expressing past time and in those expressing present or future time. It was argued that the IrEng preference for past tense/conditional *might* could be explained by a similar preference for past tense/conditional forms in Irish epistemic constructions (see Hickey 2007 for a similar account of the overuse of *would* in IrEng).

(17) I will very likely send you a few lines some time that he sent to me although the distance was scarsley as far from your house to the turn of the Newtownards road, and by it you may judge—it **may** be I **might** send it in this one (van Hattum 2012: 209, example taken from letter in Fitzpatrick 1994)

Another example where imperfect learning led to a difference in frequency of competing forms is the distribution of *be able to* and *can* with ability meanings, as in example (18). An analysis of the distribution of these two variants across different linguistic conditions in a corpus of nineteenth-century IrEng and EngE emigrant letters found that the use of *be able to* is clearly linguistically conditioned in EngE, but much less so in IrEng (van Hattum 2014). The EngE dataset showed a consistently low rate of *be able to* (< 10%), except in dynamic uses (40%) or positive past time contexts (36%), but *can* is always the preferred variant. In the IrEng data, on the other hand, *be able to* is the preferred variant in dynamic uses (66%), and the distribution rate of *be able to* across time (past/present) and polarity (positive/negative), is relatively stable (between 27% and 41%). Thus, language learners in all likelihood failed to acquire the subtle differences between *can* and *be able to* in past and present contexts in the TL, and as a consequence of perceived similarity used similar distribution rates for both contexts (cf. De Smet 2012).

(18) She was confined to bed for over six months, but is so far recovered that she is **able to** get up and walk about a little (van Hattum 2014: 116)

4.4 COLLOQUIALIZATION OF WRITTEN IRISH ENGLISH

Structural transfer from Irish to IrEng was not limited to the nineteenth century, and examples can be found throughout the history of IrEng. So why is it that scholars such as Henry, Filppula, and Hickey believe that the nineteenth century was so crucial for the formation of present-day IrEng, and why did so many examples of structural transfer make their first appearance in the nineteenth century? The main reason for this seems to be that it was not until the nineteenth century that bilingual speakers favoured English over Irish, and used the language as their first language rather than a second language.

In addition, the introduction of the national school system in the 1830s was not only one of the driving forces for the language shift from Irish to English, since these schools instructed through English only, it also drastically increased the literacy rates among the Irish population in the second half of the nineteenth century (Akenson 1989: 536; MacDonagh 1989a: 232–4). However, emphasis was placed first and foremost on reading and writing, and considering that attendance generally remained low throughout the nineteenth century, it is unlikely that there was a significant increase in awareness of prescriptive norms. Thus, as Fairman (2007a) puts it, there might have been an increase in letteracy, but not necessarily in literacy, and though individuals were mechanically schooled, they were not grammatically schooled (Fairman 2008). This increase in letteracy enabled a larger proportion of the Irish population to express themselves in writing, particularly among the lower social strata (McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012a: 28), thus providing us with records of their language use.

Fortunately, a number of letters written by mechanically schooled individuals survived and found their way into the public domain, thus permitting the creation of various corpora which have been used for the study of nineteenth-century IrEng, such as CORIECOR (McCafferty and Amador-Moreno, under construction), HCIE (Pietsch 2009), LALP-Ireland (van Hattum, under construction a) and the TNC (van Hattum, under construction b). These texts are likely to contain specific IrEng features that deviated from English prescriptive norms, and thus provide evidence of a process of colloquialization (see e.g. Mair 1997; Leech et al. 2009: 239–9; McCafferty 2011) of nineteenth-century IrEng writing.

However, though mechanically schooled, lower-class individuals did not follow prescriptive norms, and they did not write in dialect either (Fairman 2007b; Claridge and Kytö 2010; Kortmann and Wagner 2010; McColl-Millar 2012; Hundt 2015). They produced a kind of written vernacular which was highly heterogeneous, ranging from basilectal to acrolectal (Allen 2015). In particular family letters and poor relief or prison petitions were written in a style that the authors believed to be ‘correct’ and ‘standard’, and they followed what they perceived to be appropriate register conventions, resorting to many formulaic expressions in their letters. However, in less polite text-types, such as threatening notices, the vernacularity of their writing becomes more evident, and

authors seem less concerned with notions of correctness. Thus, the written vernacular consists of a mixture of language innovations which operated below the level of consciousness, which allow us to trace the origin of innovations in IrEng, as well as formulaic expressions and conservative language use (Pietsch 2015).

An example of one of these ‘innovations’ that seems to establish itself in the nineteenth-century writings of the lower classes is the absence of first person *shall* and the corresponding dominance of *will* in these contexts. According to McCafferty (2011: 224), first-person *will* in IrEng, as in example (19), ‘is one of the most commented on deviations from the standard language in Late Modern English’. The IrEng avoidance of first-person *shall* was a common complaint of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century grammarians (Sundby et al 1991: 90–91), yet Facchinetti found no evidence for this lack of *shall* in her *Changing Times* corpus, and instead found that ‘the Irish employed *shall* with first person subjects more frequently than the English’ (2000: 130). McCafferty (2011) suggests this discrepancy is a result of social differences, whereby the lower social classes indeed avoided the use of *shall*, but the middle and upper classes, who would have been more aware of prescriptive norms, might have been more inclined to follow those norms, to the point of hyper-correction, and avoid using first-person *will*. The fact that the speakers represented in Facchinetti’s corpus were all lawyers, landowners, and Westminster MPs supports this claim. Further supporting evidence comes from McCafferty (2011) and McCafferty and Amador-Moreno (2012b), who study the distribution of first-person *shall* and *will* in CORIECOR. They showed that *shall* was the preferred variant in the late eighteenth century (> 70%), whereas in the 1830s the difference had levelled out to almost equal distributions, and in the 1880s *will* was the clear favourite (> 80%). McCafferty (2011: 236) argues that this apparent rapid shift from *shall* to *will* is actually the result of a change in the social make-up of the corpus. Whereas in the eighteenth century, a large proportion of correspondents belonged to the middle and upper levels of society, this gradually changed in the nineteenth century, and by the late nineteenth century the lower strata were more dominant.

- (19) The first complaint I **will** receive of farmers of shephards I **actually will** have revenge of them that they woant be able to bare (TNC, 1822, Tipperary)

A similar case was found in the study by McCafferty and Amador-Moreno (2012a) of the progressive. Previous studies found that the progressive is more frequent in IrEng as opposed to standard varieties of English (e.g. Hayden and Hartog 1909; van Hamel 1912; Henry 1957), and some scholars have even suggested that Irish migration contributed substantially to the increase of the progressive in other varieties of Late Modern English (e.g. Filppula et al. 2008; 2009). In addition, it has been argued that the progressive has a wider range of uses in IrEng, for example with stative verbs (example (20); McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012b: 270–71). McCafferty and Amador-Moreno (2012b) found that the frequency of the progressive in the eighteenth-century CORIECOR data was no higher than that reported in previous work on other varieties of English, but that the

frequency increases substantially in the nineteenth century and outstrips that of other varieties of English. They again look to colloquialization for an explanation.

- (20) My father saw Sam Riddle in Belfast he **was wanting** him to go to Comber to see his wife (McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012b: 274)

The idea of colloquialization of written IrEng in the nineteenth century (see the discussion in Amador-Moreno 2019: 110) thus suggests that some of the innovations of the nineteenth century might not have been innovations at that time at all. It is possible that these so-called innovations were previously confined to an illiterate social group who were simply not represented in earlier datasets. This seems a plausible explanation for some more subtle innovations that operated below the level of consciousness, such as the progressive, which was characterized more by rates of occurrence than by a binary opposition of present versus non-present. However, though illiterate social groups did not produce their own writing, attempts at representing their English were made by eighteenth-century authors such as Swift and Farquhar. They would have picked up on the more salient innovations and attempted to reproduce them in their writings. Thus, the absence of certain stereotypical features of IrEng in these early literary sources, such as habitual *do be V+ing* or second person plural *yous*, still suggests that they were innovations of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that the absence of a feature in earlier data does not prove it was not in existence. It could be that these features first developed in the spoken language of a social group whose language had been left unrecorded until they developed their own written vernacular in the nineteenth century.

4.5 SUPRAREGIONALIZATION AS A RESULT OF A RISING NATIVE MIDDLE CLASS

The nineteenth century not only witnessed many innovations, but according to Hickey (2008: 229), ‘many features which were present in the eighteenth century were lost in the course of the nineteenth and possibly the early twentieth century’. The amount of research carried out on feature loss in the nineteenth century is minimal, especially in comparison to the research on innovation presented above. This research is represented by a handful of articles and chapters by Hickey on supraregionalization (Hickey 2000; 2003b; 2007; 2008; 2012a), with the main focus on the development of a supraregional pronunciation, though some remarks are made on morphosyntax as well.

Hickey (2003b: 356) considers the point of departure for supraregionalization to be ‘a sound system of English which developed on the east coast of Ireland [...] over many centuries and which by the end of the eighteenth century had achieved a phonetic

profile which was, and is, quite unique among varieties of English.' Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some of the features of this sound system seem to have disappeared (Hickey 2008: 241). According to Hickey (2007: 304), examples of these 'lost' features which could still be attested in the eighteenth century include:

Long A-retention in words like *place*, [pla:s], <plaace>:

- (21) Fat sort of **plaace** is dat **saam** Ireland? (George Farquhar, *The Beaux' Strategem*, 1707)

Long U-retention in words like *town*, [tu:n], <toone>:

- (22) **thoo** talkest to much the English (*Captain Thomas Stukeley*, 1596/1605)

A-back raising in words like *make*, [mɔ:k], <mauke>:

- (23) you do be **mauke** de **Rauvish** upon de young Womans (John Michelburne, *Ireland Preserved*, 1705)

WH/W-approximation in words like *when*, [fɛn], <fen>:

- (24) **fan** I get into Dundalk (*Captain Thomas Stukeley*, 1596/1605)

In addition, Hickey (2007: 304) lists the following features that could be found until the late nineteenth or early twentieth century:

ER-retraction in words like *were*, [wɔ:r], <wor>:

- (25) **Worn't** his sons gintlemen no less? (William Carleton, *The Tithe Proctor*, 1833)

SERVE-lowering in words like *serve*, [sa:rv], <sarve>:

- (26) Lord a **marsy** & you sould if not quit at the first of May (TNC, 1828, King's County)

- **-interchange** in words like *just*, [jɪst], <jist>:

- (27) the people sade twas pttty to do that **sitch** years (TNC, 1827, Wexford)

CATCH-raising in words like *catch*, [ketʃ], <ketch>:

- (28) But I will **ketch** hem yet (TNC, 1860, Westmeath)

ASK-metathesis in words like *ask*, [æks], <ax>:

- (29) **Ax** me no questions about her (William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1833)

The creation of a supraregional variety from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries did not just involve the loss of features, but also the confinement of certain features to specific linguistic contexts. The conditioned variants tend to survive because they are less salient (Kerswill and Williams 2002) than unconditioned ones (Hickey 2007: 313). The following examples from Hickey (2007; 2008) fall under this category:

Short E-raising in words such as *yes*, [jis], <yis>, now only occurs in pre-nasal positions:

- (30) If you dont **sittle** a cording to my statement (TNC, 1869, Westmeath)

R-vowel-metathesis in words such as *pretty*, [pə:ti], <purty>, now only occurs in unstressed syllables:

- (31) When he failed in selling **corps** ['crops'] he is now employed by the Baron as a gripper of horses pigs and cows (TNC, 1831, Meath)

S-palatalization in words such as *self*, [jelf], <shelf>, now only occurs in syllable-final position:

- (32) yous can accomendate **yourshelves** to your likeing (TNC, 1823, King's County)

Finally, certain features were relegated to local, vernacular varieties of English. Here, Hickey (2008: 241) mentions morphosyntactic features like *yous(e)* (example 15 above) and habitual *do be Ving* (example 1 above) alongside the phonological features below:

Unraised long E in words such as *speak*, [spe:k], <spake>:

- (33) you will not **lave** three orphins destitud without a Protector and a Mother (LALP, 1826, Cork)

OL-diphthongization in words such as *old*, [auld], <ould>:

- (34) the last of the Grameses **sould** the estate (William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1833)

According to Hickey (2008: 229), there can be no language-internal motivation for loss of features in nineteenth-century Irish English; instead we should look for external

developments. The penal laws which were in effect during the eighteenth century did not allow for the possibility of social mobility for native Irish Catholics, as they were intended to exclude Catholics from political and social life (Simms 1986). However, circumstances changed as a result of the Roman Catholic Relief Act (1829), which repelled the penal laws, and the introduction of the National School System (1831), which provided free general primary education for Catholics. Social advancement now became possible for Irish Catholics, and this led to the rise of a native Irish middle class (MacDonagh 1989b: 193–4; Hickey 2007: 310; 2008: 230). With social mobility often comes an increased linguistic awareness and desire to conform to norms of prestige. As a result, the newly formed Irish middle class developed an understanding of correct linguistic usage and a linguistic prejudice towards vernacular varieties of English which triggered the process of supraregionalization (Hickey 2003b; 2007; 2008).

Hickey (2003b: 351) defines supraregionalization as ‘an historical process whereby varieties of a language lose specifically local features and become less regionally bound’. Increased exposure to more standard language use and prescriptive norms leads to the superimposition of standard forms, which causes the emergence of a new variety that converges towards external norms of the former motherland, in this case England. This is done through several different processes: (a) feature loss, where older features are lost and replaced with a feature that resembles the external norms more closely (or entirely); (b) linguistic conditioning, where an unconditional feature becomes limited to certain linguistic contexts; and (c) vernacularization, whereby certain features are relegated to vernacular varieties. These vernacularized features are still accessible to speakers of the emerging supraregional variety for stylistic effect, for example when they wish to assert their more local identity.

The outcome of supraregionalization is not a full approximation of Standard English, as there is often a (subconscious) wish in former colonies to maintain some level of distinctiveness vis-à-vis the colonizers. For example, Hickey (2008) argues that features such as the *after*-perfect (example 5 above), the medial-object perfect (example 7 above), second person plural pronoun *ye*, the fortition of dental fricatives to dental stops, and the pronunciation of postvocalic /r/ are still part of supraregional IrEng, and thus set it apart from Standard British English. Thus, the conclusion of supraregionalization is the creation of a national standard, i.e. Standard IrEng, even though it might not always be widely recognized as a standard, given the fact that it is not formally codified, e.g. in dictionaries or grammars. It is a variety that is predominantly used by the middle classes, and that is deemed appropriate and correct in formal contexts, while maintaining a sense of national identity.

4.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has argued that the nineteenth century was the formative period of present-day IrEng, with respect both to local varieties and to written vernaculars, as

well as a supraregional, national variety. Language shift and bilingualism led to linguistic innovations—through structural transfer and imperfect learning—which first appeared in nineteenth-century documents. Furthermore, increased literacy (Fairman 2008) led to a colloquialization of written varieties of IrEng, which meant that features which had previously not been recorded (as they were confined to illiterate speakers of the lower social strata) were now emerging in textual data. Finally, the rise of a native Irish middle class, along with its increased linguistic awareness and changing attitudes towards local language use, led to the process of supraregionalization, whereby many older features were lost and replaced by more mainstream ones, while others were linguistically conditioned or vernacularized.

However, the details of these processes can still be pursued, for instance by considering to what extent the changes of the nineteenth century were innovations and to what extent they were the result of an increase in literacy, meaning that features which had previously been confined to the speech of illiterate social groups were now finally being recorded in writing. In addition, though Hickey's work on supraregionalization has provided attestations of features in earlier literary works, and a lack thereof in later works, there is still much work that needs to be done on the precise role of the middle classes in this process (see Hickey 2020 on this factor in pronunciation changes of the early twentieth century). The use of drama by authors such as John Millington Synge or Lady Augusta Gregory is problematic, as they were trying to represent the language use of local vernaculars of which they were not themselves native speakers; for example, Synge indulged in deliberate exaggerations to create his unique style of language. Though authors like William Carleton and Sean O'Casey were native speakers of the dialects they represented in their prose, their usage is still problematic because of more general issues concerning the representatives of fiction for vernacular language (see Hodson 2016 for an overview). The creation of new corpora such as CORIECOR, LALP-Ireland, and TNC will be of assistance in working out the sociolinguistic factors of the language change process, and promise to yield linguistic insights into this key period in the evolution of modern Irish English.

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CHAPTER 5

IRISH–ENGLISH BILINGUALISM

LIAM MAC MATHÚNA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

THE island of Ireland has experienced almost 1,000 years of Irish–English bilingualism since the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169. English, which came to the country together with Norman French, had been preceded by Latin, introduced with Christianity, and Old Norse spoken by the Vikings.

Prior to the development of the more resolute pro-English language policy of the Tudor administration in the sixteenth century and the defeat of the Ulster chieftains in 1603, the language situation in Ireland was quite clear-cut. The native Irish spoke Irish and that language was dominant throughout the country. For the most part, the descendants of the Anglo-Normans spoke English rather than French, and the English language was confined to urban areas and the region around Dublin, known as the Pale. Although French soon receded as a spoken language, it continued to retain administrative and scholarly functions alongside Latin, and had been used for centuries by the Norman nobility who lived in their fortified castles in the Irish countryside. Interaction between English administrators and the Gaelic elite were conducted by means of interpreters and the intermittent use of Latin as a *lingua franca*.

Linguistic pressure was experienced by speakers of English rather than Irish. Thus, 200 years after the Anglo-Norman invasion, the incomers felt the need to counteract this cultural tension and enacted the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366, which among other measures ‘ordained and established that every Englishman do use the English language, and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming used by the Irish: and that every Englishman use the English custom, fashion, mode of riding and apparel, according to his estate’. This statute also applied to the ‘Irish living among the English’ (Crowley 2000: 14–17). The statutes were originally drawn up in Norman French (Bliss 1979: 12).

The pace of anglicization was slow, even in Dublin and the surrounding area, as is shown by the legislation passed in the Irish parliament in 1465, entitled ‘An act that the Irishmen dwelling in the counties of Dublin, Myeth, Vriel, and Kildare, shall go apparelled like Englishmen, and wear their beards after the English Maner, swear Allegiance, and take English surname’ (Crowley 2005a: 11). Although English was the principal vernacular in Dublin in the late medieval period, Slattery observes that Irish was spoken at various levels of society in both city and county, 1450–1540, while the large and growing population of Irish peasantry in the four loyal shires of Dublin, Kildare, Louth, and Meath spoke Irish and continued to do so until c.1540 (Slattery 2019: 64). Summing up the situation, he states: ‘English was the language of the city but Irish was known, spoken by many and heard by everyone’ (Slattery 2019: 68).

5.2 POLICY AND PRACTICE REGARDING SPOKEN IRISH

While acquaintance with spoken English would have been of practical benefit to the Irish in their dealings with townsfolk and regional lordships, for many centuries Latin was their principal second language. Cultivation of Latin learning, not just by the Church, but in the education of students of law and medicine helped the Irish to maintain links with international scholarship on the continent. However, the fact that English began to replace Latin by c.1475 as the platform language from which new texts were translated and presented to Irish speakers is an early indication of extension in the role of English (Mac Mathúna 2007: 7–8; Simms 2018: 435–6). Furthermore, according to Simms (2013: 146–7), by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many poets were quite capable of reading printed English editions for themselves without the need for a prior translation. On the other hand, Irish competence in Latin continued to be cultivated. The English Jesuit Edmund Campion (1540–81), who served as tutor to Richard Stanihurst in Dublin in 1569–70, observed of the Irish: ‘they speak Latin like a vulgar language, learned in their common Schools of Leach-craft and Law’ (Simms 2018: 435).

Despite the advent of printing in 1440, Latin was slow to loosen its hold on intellectual discourse in western Europe in general. For example, almost a century passed before the complete Bible began to appear in printed vernacular editions, e.g. English (1535), French (1535), Polish (1551), Welsh (1588) (Fischer 2019: 254–5). It has been remarked, however, that England was especially quick to advance the vernacular: ‘Of the approximately ninety books, for example, published by the first English printer, William Caxton (c.1420–1491), during his sixteen-year career in printing, amazingly 74 of them were in English, not Latin’ (Fischer 2019: 240). Nonetheless, realism had to temper longer-term ambition. Although Richard Mulcaster, headmaster of Merchant Taylors’ School, Northwood, Hertfordshire, was a strong supporter of English, and argued for its strengths as a medium of educated expression alongside Latin, he concluded that

English could not compete with Latin as an international language. Writing in 1582, he noted: ‘Our English tongue is of small reach—it stretcheth no further than this island of ours—nay, not there over all’, and observes: ‘Our state is no Empire to hope to enlarge it by commanding over countries’ (Crystal 2005: 34).

The multilingual environment of early sixteenth-century Ireland is neatly illustrated by the four languages represented in two extant lists of the volumes contained in the library of Ireland’s leading magnates, the Fitzgerald Earls of Kildare, at Maynooth. The first list is thought to be that of Gerald fitz Thomas FitzGerald (Gearóid Mór) (d. 1513), eighth earl of Kildare, the second that of his son, Gerald (Gearóid Óg) (d. 1534). From these Byrne (2013) has compiled a composite tally of 108 books in the four languages: Latin (34), French (35), English (22), and Irish (17). All the Irish-language volumes were in manuscript form, the first printed book in Irish not being published until 1571.

Peter Burke notes early sixteenth-century indications that the Tudor authorities displayed administrative and legal antipathy to the use of Irish (and Welsh), regarding English as the language of conquest, several centuries before national identity began to prevail over social identity as a societal marker in western Europe more generally (Burke 2004: 63, 74; 2018: 36, 40; cf. Crowley 2005b: 124). Crowley even goes so far as to assert that the English were to learn a practical cultural lesson in their colonization of Ireland, namely ‘that language is key to identity and (by corollary) that linguistic difference can operate as the basis of political and national difference’ (Crowley 2005b: 122). Thus, a pro-English linguistic ideology became a policy of state and was gathering momentum by the sixteenth century. Although the authorities remained steadfastly hostile to the Irish language, they acted pragmatically, variously declaring themselves publicly to be in favour of replacing it with English, frequently ignoring it, while occasionally, and mostly for religious purposes, tolerating it as a necessary, albeit temporary evil. Significantly, however, a century and a half after the enactment of the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366, the English government’s objectives in Ireland had become much more ambitious. Henry VIII’s *Act for the English Order, Habit, and Language* (1537) sought to make English the language of Ireland, eliminating cultural and linguistic differences between the two islands:

... there is again nothing which doth more contain and keep many of his [viz. the king’s] subjects of this his said land, in a certain savage and wild kind and manner of living, than the diversity that is betwixt them in tongue, language, order, and habit, which by the eye deceiveth the multitude, and persuadeth unto them, that they should be as it were of sundry sorts, or rather of sundry countries, where indeed they be wholly together one body, whereof his highness is the only head under God. (Crowley 2000: 21)

Palmer’s (2001) detailed study of language and conquest in early modern Ireland highlights the extent to which English accounts of cross-community interactions in Ireland elided the use of the Irish language, wishing it away, as it were. Nevertheless,

interpreters were quite widely employed in the Irish courts and assizes in the late sixteenth century. For example, Cunningham notes that six of the twelve people interrogated in a series of twelve depositions and declarations made by Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam in King's and Queen's Counties in the Irish Midlands in the summer of 1575, required the services of one John Bermingham as interpreter (Cunningham 2011: 171).

The anglicization of Irish personal names and place names is a significant feature of English administrative records from the Tudor period onwards. In fact, the extension of the anglicization of Gaelic personal names, especially surnames, and place names is a reliable indicator of the progress of the entire anglicization process through society over time. The Tudor fiants or warrants directed to the Irish Chancery formed an important part of this development, as they often represented the earliest attempt to anglicize native Irish names (Ó Canann 1994: iii). The embryonic anglicized formulation of personal names may be illustrated by an example from the year 1551, during the reign of Edward VI:

Pardon to Donagh Occhonor, gent.; Nicholas O'Moynaghan, clerk; Rosse m'Quyn Occhonor, Thady m'Cahill, Maurus O'Hennys, Tereletus boye m'Lease, Thady m'Felym, Walter O'Doran, Patrick O'Heyry, David O'Kelly, and Bryan O'Kelly, kerns. (*The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns* 1994: 178)

The following series of place names, indicative of the same process, comes from a fiant of 1550, also in the reign of Edward VI:

Lease to Thomas earl of Ormond and Ossory; of the manors of Kylkennye, Gawrane, Fowkescourte, Callane, and Damaghe, county Kilkenny; Carryckmagriffyn, Cnockegraffun, Thurlez, Mohobbor, and Shancowrte, county Tipperary; Rathvilli, Clonemore, and Arclo, county Carlow; two parts of the manors of Rushe, Ballscadan, and Portraven alias Porttrarne, county Dublin; Blackcastell, and Donamore, county Meath; Oughterard, Castlewarnynge, and Cyntonscowrte, county Kyldare; (*The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns* 1994: 151)

These representative extracts show that the principal method of anglicizing Irish-based names was by orthographic rendering of the original Irish sounds, as filtered by the phonetic structure of English. Translation of the individual elements of Irish names, e.g. *Fairymount* for *Mullach na Sí* [summit of the fairies] in Co. Roscommon, rather than the phonetic approximation, e.g. *Mullanashee* for another *Mullach na Sí* in Co. Sligo, is far less common and prone to inaccuracy. It was not until the Ordnance Survey in the first half of the nineteenth century that the forms of anglicized place names were standardized, under the guidance of John O'Donovan.

With regard to ideology and policy, one sees that the same antipathy to the Irish language as that expressed in the 1537 *Act for the English Order, Habit, and Language* for Ireland was articulated at the end of the sixteenth century, during the Nine Years War in Ulster, by Edmund Spenser in his *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (circulating

in manuscript form from 1596, published 1633). Spenser believed that language was the key indicator of cultural difference: ‘first I have to find fault with the abuse of language, that is for the speaking of Irish amongst the English, which, as it is unnatural that any people should love another’s language more than their own, so it is very inconvenient and the cause of many other evils’ (Cunningham 2011: 169). In his dialogue, Spenser has Eudoxus reflect on the practice of the Romans and assert, ‘it hath ever been the use of the conqueror to despise the language of the conquered, and to force him by all means to learn his’ (Cunningham 2011: 173). Irenius responds, only to strengthen the point: ‘the words are the image of the mind, so as they proceeding [*sic*] from the mind, the mind must needs be affected with the words; so that the speech being Irish, the heart must needs be Irish, for out of the abundance of the heart the tongue speaketh’ (Crowley 2000: 48–49).

Illustrative of the ‘speak no evil, hear no evil’ elision of Irish, is the case of the celebrated English traveller Fynes Moryson. An accomplished linguist who originally wrote his *Itinerary* in Latin, Moryson knew German, Italian, Spanish, and French. Palmer observes that his effusiveness about continental languages serves to point up ‘the peculiarity of his erasure of Irish’, which he mentions only once in his 700-page account of the period he spent in Ireland from 1599 to 1603 (Palmer 2001: 67). Ironically, Moryson attests to the pervasiveness of the use of Irish among the English of the towns, with the exception of Dublin, at the very end of the sixteenth century:

But the lawe to spreade the English tongue in Ireland, was euer interrupted by Rebellions, and much more by ill affected subiectes, so at this tyme whereof I write, the meere Irish disdayned to learne or speake the English tounge, yea the English Irish and the very Cittizens (excepting those of Dublin where the lord Deputy resides) though they could speake English as well as wee, yet Commonly speake Irish among themselves, and were hardly induced by our familiar Conversation to speake English with vs, yea Common experience shewed, and my selfe and others often obserued, the Cittizens of Watterford and Corcke hauing wyues that could speake English as well as wee, bitterly to chyde them when they speake English with vs. (Kew 1998: 50)

In fact, just twenty years earlier the same situation had obtained in Dublin itself, for Lord Chancellor Gerrard reported in 1578 that ‘all English, and the most part with delight, even in Dublin, speak Irish’ (Ó Cuív 1951: 14). The fact that linguistic change continued to be slow is indicated by the complaints that were made about the prevalence of Irish in the market places of Dublin in 1630 and 1657: ‘indeed in the latter year a complaint was made that not only was Irish being spoken in the streets by country-folk, but that city-dwellers were also speaking it’ (Ó Cuív 1951: 18).

After 1600, the pressure for linguistic accommodation was felt more and more keenly by the native Irish. The progressive transfer of land ownership to incoming English speakers in the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster (Connacht, the agriculturally poorest fourth province, being the exception) copper-fastened the status

and island-wide administrative reach of English. Thus, while it may have had its ups and downs, the administrative pressure in support of English began to bear fruit in the seventeenth century. Conell Ma Geoghagan, in his translator's preface of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, criticized those 'whose profession was to Chronicle and keep in memory the state of the Kingdome as well for the time past present & to come, & now because they cannot enjoy that respect & gaine by their said profession as heretofore they and their auncestors received they set naught by the said knowledge, neglect their Bookes, and choose rather to put their children to learn english than their own native Language' (Murphy 1993: 8; cf. Cunningham 2011: 178). While there was little enough movement in the opposite direction, Sir Matthew de Renzy was an interesting exception. This German-born adventurer not only learned colloquial Irish but set himself the task of mastering the classical literary language as well, c.1620 (Mac Cuarta 1998–9). Mac Cuarta (2009: 177) observes that his 'surviving letters and notes contain topographical and genealogical material in Gaelic script, showing a knowledge of Irish perhaps unparalleled among those who settled in Ireland in the early modern period'.

Some forty years later, the Galwegian John Lynch considered the relative influence of legal precept and societal practice in his *Cambrensis Eversus* (1662). His conclusions were at odds with those of Spenser, as he felt that

self-interest rather than any express law on the matter, has been the motive that led conquered nations to adopt the language of their masters. For as the fallen race must have frequently appeared before the legal tribunals of the conquerors, a knowledge of languages spoken by the judges was indispensable for a favourable verdict. (Cunningham 2011: 173)

Reflecting too on classical comparisons, he observed, citing the Romans in Greece: 'successful invaders have frequently adopted the language of the conquered people' (Cunningham 2011: 173). As it happens, he also summarized the language situation obtaining in his day: 'We all speak Irish and many of us can read and write English' and 'The Irish language . . . is at this day so generally diffused through Ireland, that it is strictly our vernacular tongue' (Cunningham 2011: 176–7).

5.3 WRITING AND PRINTING

Understanding for the position of Irish occasionally came from unlikely quarters. For instance, Robert Huntington, provost of Trinity College, appointed by the duke of Ormond, observed in a letter dated 6 November 1686:

But methinks the Nation should make their language triumphant also, and the rather, because there are Laws against it. For why should a free people retain any marks of Slavery? Therefore perhaps they'l endure the Scriptures in their own Tong, tho' not

in ours, and it shall still be law full to read them because in Irish, and as the Empire increases so must the Language be supposed to spread. (McNeill 1930: 163)

As Huntington was writing in the context of his role in the publication of Bedell's Old Testament in Irish, it is necessary to go back to the previous century in order to understand the contested circumstances of printing and religion in the Irish language.

Fuelled by their belief that to speak Irish was to be disloyal to the English crown, antagonism to the language on the part of the authorities was so strong that they disdained to use it even when promoting the new reformed religion. This, of course, was at variance with the experience of Welsh speakers in Wales and Scottish Gaelic speakers in Scotland. Intended for the use of Scottish Presbyterians, *Foirm na nUrrnuidheadh* [the form of the prayers], Seon Carsuel's translation of *The Book of Common Order* into classical Irish, the literary form of the Gaelic language common to both Scotland and Ireland, was published in Roman font in Edinburgh in 1567 (Williams 1986: 13–20). In the case of Ireland, it was Queen Elizabeth herself who provided finance 'for making of Carecter to printe the New Testament in Irish', and so the Gaelic font came to be used in the printing of a catechism in Irish, *Aibidil Gaoidheilge agus Caiticiosma* (1571) (Williams 1986: 21–22; Ó Cuív 1994: 2). Elizabeth was competent in a range of languages and was the recipient in 1564 of an Irish primer prepared for her use by Christopher Nugent of Westmeath (Ó Macháin 2012; Casey 2016). The pioneering 1571 catechism was followed by an Irish translation of the New Testament (Dublin 1602) and *Leabhar na nVrnaightheadh gComhchoidchiond* [book of the common prayers], a translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* (Dublin 1608). However, the official lack of urgency in using the vernacular to promote the Reformation in Ireland is underscored by the delay in publishing Bishop William Bedell's Irish translation of the Old Testament. Begun in 1632 and completed either in 1638 (McCaughey) or 1640 (Williams), it was not published until 1685, more than forty years after Bedell's death in 1642 (Williams 1986: 43–56, esp. 49–50; McCaughey 2009: 1–2). Provost Huntington's reflections on the Irish language were prompted by his participation in the effort to bring the publication to fruition after so many years.

Printing Catholic books in Irish in Ireland being out of the question at the time, it was left to Irish-speaking clergy abroad to respond to the Protestant initiative. They sought to provide a number of books which would be suitable for use by the laity in Ireland, an aim which was inspired by the Counter-Reformation focus of the Council of Trent (1545–63). Having acquired a Gaelic font in 1611, the Franciscans in the College of St Anthony in Louvain produced three works in quick succession: a catechism entitled *An Teagasg Críosduidhe* [the Christian teaching] by Bonabhentura Ó hEodhasa (Antwerp 1611, Louvain, c.1614/15) and two instructional books, *Desiderius* by Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire (Louvain 1616) and *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* [reflections on the sacrament of penance] by Aodh Mac Aingil (Louvain 1618). Only a handful of other works followed as the century progressed.

It is uncertain how extensively these books circulated in Ireland. Not widely, if one is to judge by the fact that most of them were soon subsumed into the manuscript tradition,

with the result that individually transcribed copies regularly outnumber the printed volumes now extant. By way of illustration, one may cite the result of Cunningham's examination of the position with regard to Michél Ó Cléirigh's *Foclóir na Sanasan Nua* [a new lexicon or glossary] (Louvain 1643), which happens to be the only non-religious text published in Irish in the seventeenth century: whereas the library of the Royal Irish Academy holds ten pre-1800 manuscript transcripts copies of this volume, it has just one printed copy (Cunningham 2018: 26).

5.4 THE RISE OF ENGLISH: CODE-MIXING

As the Gaelic social order collapsed with the successful extension of colonial rule and land tenure in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the patronage of traditional professions such as those of poet, historian, and lawyer also ended. Many of the Gaelic literati sought to maintain their social status by adding English to their existing linguistic repertoire of Irish and Latin. One way in which they displayed their language expertise was by engaging in the practice of code-mixing, that is to say, the employment of English in an ancillary role to Irish in predominantly Irish-language texts. The genres in which code-mixing was employed reflected the ebb and flow of political and societal tensions. Thus, in the mid-seventeenth century, English phrases suffused a number of strident political poems in Irish, which expressed the vehemence of Gaelic opposition to the legal framework and stratagems being deployed against them. The poets argued that it was not legal provisions and niceties which held sway, but biased orders and judgements, expressed in the form of phrases and slogans, which were a travesty of justice and mere ploys in a conspiracy to seize land, to dispossess landowners, and to extirpate conquered enemies. The literary device of code-switching to English facilitated the articulation of Gaelic perspectives on the legal process, and included almost manic refrains of the implementation of the outcomes. They convey well the frenzied nature of the assault on some of the native Irish:

*Le execútion bhíos súil an chéidfhir,
costas buinte 'na chuinne ag an ndéanach.
Transport, transplant, mo mheabhair ar Bhéarla.
Shoot him, kill him, strip, him, tear him,
A Tory, hack him, hang him, rebel,
a rogue, a thief, a priest, a papist.*

*'The first man hopes for execútion,
the later wants the means of exaction against him.
Transport, transplant, my mind on English.
Shoot him, kill him, strip, him, tear him,
A Tory, hack him, hang him, rebel,
a rogue, a thief, a priest, a papist.'*

(O'Rahilly 1977: 90, lines 127–32, with author's translation)

As second-language English competence rose in the eighteenth century and Irish society grew increasingly bilingual, the new linguistic ability morphed into creative agility. It expressed itself in a variety of Irish/English code-mixing approaches within literary genres in Irish, spanning the legal, administrative, and creative spheres. This resulted, in particular, in compositions in the *barántas* or warrant genre and macaronic love songs, alongside religious compositions and burlesque prose tales (Mac Mathúna 2007; 2012).

In the macaronic love songs which enjoyed wide popularity in the eighteenth century, it is noteworthy that it is the young lady who regularly provides the initial English input. A quatrain from one such composition serves to illustrate the general pattern. The poet tells us that when he saw a girl, ‘I knew by her gazing she’d play the Hide and Go Seek’, and proceeds:

Do dhruideas féin léi agus d’iarras póigín nó trí,
The answer she made, ‘Young blade you are making too free’,
 Is é a dúirt mé féin léi gur bheannaigh sí domhsa róbhinn,
‘And I’d like for to teach you to play the Hide and Go Seek’.

‘I moved close to her and asked for a little kiss or three,
The answer she made, ‘Young blade you are making too free’,
 I said to her that she addressed me most sweetly,
‘And I’d like for to teach you to play the Hide and Go Seek’.

(Ó Muirthe 1980: 70; author’s translation)

5.5 LANGUAGE CHANGE, 1730–1891, AND REACTION

The Catholic clergy were amongst the first groups of native Irish to adopt the custom of using anglicized surnames themselves. An instance of the practice is noted wryly by John Dunton in *Teague Land or a Merry Ramble to the Wild Irish* (1698), where he reports that he met ‘One Father Gowan or Smith as he called himself, *a la mode de Angleterr*’ (Carpenter 2003: 112). The Dublin scholar Tadhg Ó Neachtain (1671–c.1752) was known in English as Thaddey Naghten. But the switch in language soon extended far beyond nomenclature and names. In fact, as early as the 1720s, the process of language change was referred to specifically by Tadhg Ó Neachtain, in an astute passage in his geography text, *Eólas ar an Domhan* [knowledge of the world], in which he shows his awareness of contemporary sociocultural developments. He realized that a shift of vernacular from Irish to English was taking place among the better-off native Irish at the time. He states explicitly that the upper class were turning their backs on Irish, but were steadfast in their attachment to the Catholic religion. When broaching the subject, he

contrasts the current state of affairs with the traditional attachment of the Gaelic nobles to the Irish language, stressing the regard in which it had been held until then by all classes since olden times:

Alas now there is no one of the nobility of the Gaelic people who is not denying their tongue, selling off their names and the pride of Gael Glas and the people of that Míle who journeyed to us from Spain under a great shade of bravery, poetry, and learning. And when they established themselves, Irish was respected, here and yonder, and in every place as a language of the soil, fluent, abundant, lively, precise, swift, tasty, sweet, and that for thousands of years up to now. . . .

And from all this it may be appreciated that it was held in great esteem by the king as well as the labourer; and now it is as the tallest tree, when it is cut under its base, it is much more dreadful and heavier to fell than the little shrubbery which is close to the ground. The same fate certainly befell the nobility of the Gaels as regards their language. (Ní Chléirigh 1944: 12–13; translation by the author)

Thus, there was a language shift under way from Irish to English among the native Irish in the Dublin area in Tadhg Ó Neachtain's day. Hitherto, the language divide had essentially reflected the ethnic make-up of the population of the island. English and Scottish immigrants, and their descendants, spoke English, the native population spoke Irish. The estimate made by John Windle in 1851 that as late as 1731 two-thirds of the whole community used Irish as their ordinary language is thought to be accurate (Ó Cuív: 1951: 19).

The first census figures which provide information on language use are those of 1851, gathered just after the Great Famine, when 1,524,286 (or 23.3% of a total island population of 6,552,365) were reported as Irish-speakers. Of this number, 319,602 were Irish-speaking monoglots (4.9% of the total population) (Hindley 2005: 19). The percentages in the four provinces were: Connacht 51%, Munster 44%, Ulster 6.8%, and Leinster 3.5% (Ó Cuív 1951: 23). For a variety of reasons the 1851 figures are believed to understate the extent of the Irish-speaking population. Taking 1881 as a more reliable base-line, and projecting back the percentage of Irish speakers in each ten-year age group, FitzGerald calculated the proportion and distribution of Irish-speaking among those born in the period 1771–81. He arrived at a national total of 45% Irish speakers, with the following breakdown for the four provinces: Connacht 84%, Munster 80%, Ulster 19%, and Leinster 17% (FitzGerald 1984: 127).

But even as the retreat of Irish as a spoken community language gathered momentum early in the nineteenth century, there were those who sounded the alarm about the societal implications of the impending breach in cultural transmission. Writing of Irish in the preface to his dictionary, *Sanas Gaoidhilge-Sagsbhearla: An Irish–English Dictionary* (1817), Edward O'Reilly maintained that 'the preservation of this beautiful and expressive language should be of the utmost importance' to the natives of Ireland (Crowley 2005b: 131). Indeed, he explicitly recognized and decried official antagonism towards the Irish language: 'for some hundreds of years it had been the policy of Government to use every means in their power to eradicate our language, and to deprive our people of every

opportunity to obtain education' (Crowley 2000: 145). Philip Barron, a contemporary of O'Reilly, was one of the few who took action to promote Irish. He founded an Irish college and a periodical, *Ancient Ireland* (1835), in his native Co. Waterford. However, both endeavours were ill-fated and short-lived.

Barron's concerns were shared by the celebrated diarist Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin, who lived most of his life in Callan, Co. Kilkenny, although he was born in Co. Kerry. His diary includes an entry dated 14 June 1827—four years before the national schools were founded in Ireland—in which Ó Súilleabháin predicted the impact English-medium schools would have on Irish: 'Will it be long until this Irish language in which I am writing will disappear? Fine big schools are being built daily to teach this new language, the English of England. But alas! Nobody is taking any interest in the fine subtle Irish language, apart from mean Swaddlers who try to lure the Irish to join their new cursed religion' (de Bhaldraithe 1979: 25). Ó Súilleabháin clearly appreciated the strategic importance of the increasing institutional support for English and the long-term consequences of the lack of a corresponding counterbalance for Irish. His entry for 5 January 1828, noting the establishment of a circulating library for English books, is a case in point:

Some of the townspeople are organising a circulating library for a limited number of members. It has been established for the last year. Every member of the society pays five shillings a year. Alas! Who will establish an Irish language library? No such person is available. The English language of the Saxon is every day getting the upper hand of our own native language. (de Bhaldraithe 1979: 43)

Just a few years later, quite a different view was expressed by another Kerryman, Daniel O'Connell, the foremost Irish politician of his day, who secured Catholic Emancipation from the Westminster parliament in 1829. Asked in 1833 if the use of Irish was diminishing among the peasantry, he replied as follows:

Yes, ... and I am sufficiently utilitarian not to regret its gradual abandonment. A diversity of tongues is no benefit; it was first imposed on mankind as a curse, at the building of Babel. It would be of vast advantage to mankind if all the inhabitants spoke the same language. Therefore, although the Irish language is connected with many recollections that twine around the hearts of Irishmen, yet the superior utility of the English tongue, as the medium of modern communication, is so great, that I can witness without a sigh the gradual disuse of the Irish. (Crowley 2000: 153; 2005a: 102)

However, Ó Ciosáin plausibly contends that O'Connell's stance was rather more nuanced than he is nowadays given credit for, and provides evidence for his use of Irish in speeches in Counties Louth and Kerry. Ó Ciosáin argues, more generally, that discussions of the language shift have placed undue emphasis on expressed attitudes and not enough on actual practice (Ó Ciosáin 2015: 88). At any rate, O'Connell's attitude to Irish, be it as a political leader or a native-speaking citizen, was close to that of

his fellow countrymen at the time, notwithstanding the rather severe criticism which this point of view retrospectively attracted from twentieth-century commentators as the language revival movement gathered momentum (cf. Doyle 2015: 108–13).

Sligoman Thaddaeus Connellan (c.1775–1854), who converted to the Church of Ireland from Catholicism, was another who argued forcefully in favour of bilingualism in Ireland, offering a number of apposite international comparisons:

It has been suggested, that many, otherwise enlightened persons, may fear that any encouragement to the revival of the Irish language may be injurious, by delaying its decline, and the consequent extension of the English. This decline does not appear to me so rapid as it may to others: but with respect to the extension of the English language, I think it is more likely to be promoted by the cultivation of the Irish. . . . A revival of the Irish language does not infer a depression of the English; but it is much to be wished, that many of those who speak but one of these languages, should learn to speak both. Nor is this difficult for the young: neither is it uncommon for a considerable proportion of the population of other countries to use two languages; as may be instanced in the Netherlands, in the maritime towns of Europe, in some of the smaller States of Germany, in Switzerland, in Canada, and even among several native tribes of the East Indies and America. (Connellan 1825: v)

But the voices in favour of Irish remained isolated and found little resonance among the wider community. Catholicism (with its national seminary, St Patrick's College, Maynooth, established in 1795), the new elementary national schools (founded in 1831), circulating libraries, and virtually all societal innovations opted for English as the sole official medium of activity. One exception to the pro-English language thrust was presented by the efforts of proselytizing Protestant evangelicals, who sought to extend literacy in Irish and promote Bible reading in that language (de Brún 2009). However, given that the importance of religion continued to outweigh language as a marker of community identity, these efforts actually had the unexpected consequence of weakening the people's attachment to Irish. They provoked virulent reaction from Catholic clergy and laity, resulting, in many instances, in deep distrust of the very skill of reading Irish.

One transient aspect of early nineteenth-century literacy in Irish was the rise of a third way of representing the language in print, one which complemented the use of Roman and Gaelic fonts and the traditional orthography. This was the phonetic representation of the sounds of the Irish language by means of the English spelling system, essentially an extension of the process long since adopted for the country's nomenclature by the English authorities, as noted above in the Elizabethan fiants. This phonetic spelling maximized the reading skills already mastered for English, and by being read aloud the Irish content became clear, so that a work written in this way could be mastered by 'every peasant who speaks Irish and reads English' (Ó Ciosáin 2015: 92, citing Seán Ó Dálaigh in 1858). This approach was especially favoured for printing catechisms and ballad broadsheets sold at fairs. It was pitched, not at scholars and the well-educated, but at those Irish speakers of limited schooling who could already read English and lacked the opportunity or interest to acquire a deeper level of literacy in the language. A few

lines from the beginning of the well-known folk song *Cill Chais* may suffice to show the relationship between this system and the traditional orthography:

Cod a yean hemedé fastha gan Imod,
Is tha dere na gcoillte er lawr?

Cad a dhéanfaimid feasta gan adhmaid
Is tá deireadh na gcoillte ar lár?

‘Now what will we do for timber,
with the last of the woods laid low?’

(cf. Ó Muirithe 1980; Ó Tuama 1981: 328–9)

The best-known nineteenth-century articulation of the case for the revival of Irish is that set out by Thomas Davis (1814–45), of Anglo-Irish background, in the Young Ireland newspaper, *The Nation*. It is indicative of the relative standing and influence of the two language groups at the time that it should be Davis, someone who came from outside the native tradition and who knew little Irish himself, whose ideology and words were to have the greatest public impact. A consummate journalist, many of his succinct aphorism-like expressions are still remembered and quoted to this day. His article forcefully combined effective polemic and persuasive realism:

A people without a language of its own is only half a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories—’tis a surer barrier, and more important frontier, than fortress or river. . . .

To lose your native tongue, and learn that of an alien, is the worst badge of conquest—it is the chain on the soul. To have lost entirely the national language is death; the fetter has worn through. . . .

At present the middle classes think it a sign of vulgarity to speak Irish—the children are everywhere taught English and English alone in schools—and, what is worse, they are urged by rewards and punishments to speak it at home for English is the land of their masters. (Davis, ‘Our National Language’, *The Nation*, 1843, cited in Crowley 2000: 161–3)

Writing on ‘Repeal Reading Rooms’ in the same paper a year later, Davis stated that the Repeal Association should provide a wide range of Irish-language material for rooms in the districts where Irish is spoken. In fact, he insightfully realized the need for Irish to occupy a space in the expanding world of newspapers and journalism, if it were to flourish. He therefore argued for breaking new ground by ‘establishing a newspaper, partly in English and partly in Irish, like the mixed newspapers of Switzerland, New Orleans and Hungary’ (cf. Crowley 2000: 163–4).

In *An Irish-Speaking Island, 1770–1870* (2014), Nicholas Wolf contends that our hindsight awareness of the outcome of the interplay between Irish and English has occluded the reality and vibrancy of community life as lived through Irish from 1770 to 1870,

especially in the period before the Famine. He notes that the number of Irish speakers probably reached its highest ever point, about four million, around 1830, and stresses that this population did not exclusively comprise the rural poor. Wolf marshals much convincing new evidence in support of the interactive use of Irish in a variety of settings in the public sphere.

Ultimately, however, pragmatic accommodation of bottom-up linguistic pressure could not withstand the overwhelming top-down counter-effect, and English won out. Máirtín Ó Murchú has examined the rate of language shift in two areas of Co. Limerick and shown that the percentage of Irish speakers in the barony of Pubblebrien, close to Limerick city, went from 100% for the decennial cohort born 1791–1801 to a mere 3% for those born 1851–61, a period of six decades. The shift was even more rapid in the more southerly barony of Kilmallock, declining from 100% in 1811–21 to 3% in 1861–71, a period of just five decades. The fact that the change was well under way by the time of the Great Famine in the late 1840s is shown by the percentages for the 1831–41 cohorts, which were 25% in Pubblebrien and 59% in Kilmallock. A decade later, 1841–51, the rates were 11% and 25%, respectively (Ó Murchú 1988: 81).

The overall population of the island declined precipitously from 8,175,124 in 1841 (when the number of Irish speakers was not enumerated) to 6,552,365 in 1851, a decrease of 1,622,259 (19.85%) (Hindley 2005: 19). This social upheaval was caused by the Great Famine, which is thought to have resulted in a million deaths by disease and starvation, and impelled millions more to emigrate over the next century. These national disasters were compounded by their particularly devastating effect on the poorer Irish-speaking communities, although, by then, the language was already in sharp generational retreat even in the west and south of the island. The 1871 census report had included the following prediction:

The disappearance of this ancient member of the Celtic family of tongues from living speech may be somewhat delayed or somewhat accelerated by circumstances beyond calculation or conjecture, but there can be no error in the belief that within relatively a few years [*sic*] Irish will have taken its place among the languages that have ceased to exist ... (part 3: 190, quoted in Hindley 2005: 20).

The 1891 census results brought continued angst for those concerned about the future of Irish, as they showed that the total Irish-speaking population was just 680,174 (14.5%), with 38,121 (0.8%) being recorded as speakers of Irish only (Hindley 2005: 19). These figures helped to concentrate the minds of those interested in the fate of the Irish language and were among the factors which framed the background to the founding of the Gaelic League in 1893.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The shift of vernacular from Irish to English by the people of Ireland is often deemed, retrospectively, to have had an air of inevitability about it, given the imbalances of power

and population obtaining between the linguistic communities of Britain and Ireland. Admittedly, there was no great momentum towards this change prior to the ascent of Henry VIII to the throne in London and the concomitant centralizing impulses of the Tudor era. But after that, the clarity of hindsight suggests that there was a clear process of English encroaching on the domains and registers of Irish, and a gradual shrinking of the numbers of Irish speakers, culminating in a precipitous change in the nineteenth century. It has to be stressed, however, that the language shift from Irish to English was not a linear progression, no matter how much it was cheered on by anglicizing officials and ideologues, or regarded as inevitable by fatalistic prophets from within the Irish-speaking community itself.

Examined from the perspective of individual and communal identity, a hierarchy of priorities has been postulated by the author for traditional Irish society in the nineteenth century (Mac Mathúna 2020). Religion, land, famine, and emigration, along with Home Rule, were the major social and political concerns of the nineteenth century. Language and culture had to wait in the wings. The most pressing issue which needed to be resolved was freedom of religious observance for Roman Catholics. The last barriers to full citizenship were eliminated with the passing of the Act of Catholic Emancipation (1829), followed by the removal of tithe payments by all to the Church of Ireland in the 1830s, and finally by the disestablishment of this church (1869). The focus then moved to land agitation, as those who laboured on the land sought ownership.

Beginning about 1870, a series of Land Acts was introduced which facilitated the transfer of agricultural land from large holdings, owned by a relatively small number of major landlords, to mass ownership by tens of thousands of small farmers. Politically, the Home Rule campaign of Charles Stuart Parnell was resisted by the British establishment, like that of O'Connell before him. It was in this complex mix of old grievances such as religion and land being much alleviated, if not quite resolved, and societal upheaval of various kinds (e.g. continuing local famines, rural and urban poverty, emigration, denial of Home Rule), that the cultural awakening of the late nineteenth century struck a chord with the people and released, as it were, a pent-up desire for cultural and intellectual renewal. A new focus of societal interest formed around cultural bodies such as the Gaelic Athletic Association (1884) and the Gaelic League (1893), attracting much of the energy which activists would otherwise have expended on parliamentary efforts to gain Home Rule.

The Gaelic League sought (i) to maintain the Irish language in the regions where it was still spoken, now known collectively as the *Gaeltacht*, (ii) to promote its extension throughout the rest of the country, and (iii) to foster a new modern literature in the language. 130 years later, the results of its efforts are mixed. The *Gaeltacht* areas live on, but in a much weaker form than hitherto, and are in real danger of disappearing altogether. Since the 1920s the language has been taught as a subject in all schools in the Republic of Ireland and in many in Northern Ireland. In recent decades Irish-medium instruction has become a popular option for parents in both jurisdictions. Creative writing in Irish has been one of the success stories of the revival. Irish has attained official status in the European Union, as well as in Ireland, and has a high visible presence on bilingual

public signage (though often containing grammatical errors) in the Republic of Ireland. Although the language is now heard rather less than it is seen, Irish does have its own national radio and television stations, RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta and TG4 (Irish-language television service) as well as an independent radio station in Dublin, Raidió na Life [Liffey radio].

The most recent census returns, those of 2016, provide self-reported information on Irish-language usage as well as competence. The total population of the Republic of Ireland in that year was 4,761,865, of whom 810,406 (17.3%) were born outside the state. The census shows that 612,018 Irish residents spoke a foreign language, that is to say a language other than English or Irish, at home. The numbers recorded as speaking the main foreign languages at home included the following (in descending numerical order): Polish 135,895, French 54,948, Romanian 36,683, Lithuanian 35,362, Spanish 32,405, German 28,331, Russian 21,707.¹

Of the total population aged 3 years or older, 1,761,420 (39.8%) were returned as being able to speak Irish. The figures with regard to speaking Irish outside the education system were: daily 73,803 (1.7%), weekly 111,473 (2.5%), less often 586,535 (13.2%), giving a total of 771,811 (17.4%).² As a spoken vernacular, Irish is confined to the various *Gaeltacht* communities, situated mainly in the west of the country, and networks of speakers elsewhere, living chiefly in urban areas. Almost all the linguistic pressure is felt by Irish nowadays, rather than by English, a complete reversal of the position obtaining in the initial centuries of language contact. Nonetheless, linguistic interaction lives on. It is a complex affair, dependent on ever-changing individual and communal interactions. As the Irish people move beyond 850 years of Irish–English bilingualism on the island of Ireland, it can be expected that the relationship between the two languages will remain dynamic and intricate, and will continue to play out in many fascinating and intriguing ways.

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¹ https://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/newsevents/documents/census2016summaryresultspart1/Presentation_Census_Summary_Results_Part_1.pdf, p. 13, table 25. Last accessed: 19.08.2020.

² https://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/releasespublications/documents/population/2017/7_The_Irish_language.pdf, p. 2–3. Last accessed: 19.08.2020. Summary results of the 2022 Census were published by the Central Statistics Office on 30 May 2023. Of the total population aged 3 years or older, 1,873,997 (40.4%) were returned as being able to speak Irish, an increase of 112,577 on the 2016 figure. 71,968 speakers used Irish daily outside the education system, a fall of 1,835 since 2016. The proportion of people speaking Irish weekly and less often remained stable. The comprehensive volume entitled *Census 2022 Profile 8 – The Irish Language and Education* is scheduled for publication on 19 December 2023. <https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cpsr/censusofpopulation2022-summaryresults/educationandirishlanguage/>. Last accessed: 31.05.2023.

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CHAPTER 6

CONTACT BETWEEN IRISH AND ENGLISH

RAYMOND HICKEY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

THE Irish language has been in contact with other languages for all its recorded history (Hickey 2019), so the contact between Irish and English which began in the late twelfth century with the coming of the Normans was just another instance of this interfacing of languages. The Normans arrived in the south-east of Ireland along with some English who settled in the towns of the east coast, approximately from Waterford up to Dublin, with the Normans spreading along the coast of Ireland, on the western seaboard and as far north as Carrickfergus in Co. Antrim. The Normans were speakers of Anglo-Norman, a form of medieval French, when they came in contact with Irish (Hickey 1997a), especially in the countryside where the Normans lords established their power bases. The relationship of English and Irish varied in the period after the Norman arrival, with Irish remaining the dominant language in the first few centuries. However, during the Elizabethan period and afterwards, English emerged clearly as the superstrate vis-à-vis Irish and has remained so ever since.

The linguistic effects of the contact between Irish and English (Filppula 2003; 2006) are seen most clearly in the historical language shift which took place in Ireland (and Scotland) with speakers of Irish (and Scottish Gaelic, Hickey 2013) in the past few centuries. This chapter is intended to provide the necessary historical and demographical background to understand the shift, and second to use this information as a basis for a more general review of contact scenarios (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). The discussion of such situations includes the following issues: (i) category and exponence in language shift, (ii) transfer in language shift, (iii) the search for categorial equivalence, (iii) neglect of distinctions in language shift, (v) what does not get transferred in language contact, (vi) non-binary categories in contact, and (vii) permeability of linguistic systems.

Treatments of contact-induced change do not always take into account the typological makeup of donor and receiving languages (Hickey 2001; 2008; 2012a). If this is done, however, then the nature of the contact process (at pivotal points in the structure of the donor language) and the likelihood of successful transfer can be better described. A number of well-known features from the phonology and morphosyntax of Irish English will be examined from this typological perspective to see if this approach can further our understanding of how these features arose. The specifics of language shift in Ireland are then viewed in the wider context of shift scenarios in the anglophone world (Hickey 2017a; 2017b; 2020a; 2020b).

6.2 CONTACT AND FEATURE SOURCES

In the opening decade of the present century the field of contact linguistics was served well. Individual studies and collections were published (e.g. McWhorter 2000; Myers-Scotton 2002; Migge 2003; Winford 2003; Heine and Kuteva 2004; Holm 2004; Clyne 2003), all of which consider the effect of contact between languages on their further development. These considerations have sometimes been programmatic (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2004, which pushes the case for grammaticalization as virtually the only valid model in contact linguistics), while other studies have had an explicit focus (e.g. Filppula, Klemola, and Pitkänen 2002, which is concerned with the question of contact with Celtic in the development of English, and Paulasto 2006, which is a detailed examination of the effect on English of Welsh grammar).

What all these studies have in common is the goal of putting contact explanations on a firm objective footing. Within the Irish context, such an aim is welcome, as too many former accounts of non-standard features assumed transfer during language contact as their sole source (cf. studies by authors like P. L. Henry and A. J. Bliss). The reaction which set in against contact explanations in the 1980s, and which is most obvious in Harris (1984), was modified somewhat in the 1990s by detailed objective reflections on the effects of contact, e.g. by Markku Filppula (2001), Mary O'Malley Madec (2002), Karen Corrigan (2010), and the present author (e.g. Hickey 1995). This type of approach also informs the current chapter. The different sources which may have played a role in the genesis of Irish English are listed in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Possible sources of features in Irish English

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1) | Transfer from Irish |
| 2) | a. Dialect forms of English |
| | b. Archaic forms of English |
| 3) | Features deriving from the context in which English was learned |
| 4) | Features with no recognizable source (independent developments) |

Sources (2a) and (2b) have been separated for this listing but, of course, they may well coincide with the input forms of English. The conservative nature of English in Ireland is particularly clear when one considers forms which go back to the early anglophone settlement of the island and which are found chiefly on the east coast (Hickey 2002). In early English input, there were many dialect words which have continued to exist in Irish English, e.g. *chiseler* 'young child', *mitch* 'play truant'. On the level of syntax one could mention the variable marking of verb forms with inflectional -s in the present tense.

The division of sources in Table 6.1 raises the question of whether one can assign a specific feature unambiguously to a certain source. There are really only a few traits of Irish English on which there has been general agreement among scholars with regard to their Irish origin (see Harris 1984a for a classic discussion of the issue). First and foremost, this is true of the immediate perfective, but even there the development of this construction over a few centuries has been quite intricate, and is much more than a simple case of transfer from Irish to Irish English (see the detailed history offered in McCafferty 2004).

Further factors in the genesis of Irish English must also be taken into account. The specific conditions of the language shift may well have led to characteristics of unguided second language acquisition coming to the fore (source (3) in Table 6.1). The analogical extension of epistemic *must* and the analogical plural form *youse* mentioned above are instances of this. Other instances may be gathered under the heading 'universals of language acquisition', and have been considered by a number of authors (e.g. Siemund 2006), for whom they have attained the status of a 'third way' alongside contact and retention. It is claimed here that adult speakers make certain assumptions about the structure of the language they are acquiring in a non-prescriptive environment. Siemund (2006) maintains that there are unmarked values for categories which are preferred in these situations, e.g. nominative over accusative. In individual cases, the validity of their analyses has been disputed, but the general assumption that certain unmarked, or default, characteristics of language are favoured in situations of unguided language acquisition is uncontested (Hickey 1997b). These traits also surface in so-called New Englishes (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008), where English is derived from a second-language variety used in an environment of one or more indigenous languages (see the discussion in Hickey 2004 in the context of English in Africa and Asia).

Some of these characteristics are attested in Irish English, while others are not. Of those listed in Table 6.2, the first is not found in Irish English, while (3)–(6) are. The omission of finite *be* is attested in south-east Irish English, but it is not a general feature of Irish English.

Table 6.2 Features of unguided adult language acquisition

- 1) Omission of the definite article
- 2) Omission of finite *be* (in equative sentences)
- 3) Reduction and/or generalization of verbal and nominal inflections
- 4) Reduction of tense distinctions, e.g. use of present for present perfect
- 5) Avoidance of subordinating conjunctions (parataxis favoured over hypotaxis)
- 6) Various topicalization strategies such as fronting

Table 6.2 shows features which stem from the removal of redundancy and the reduction in structural distinctions, both processes typical of unguided adult language acquisition. It also shows, in feature (6), how pragmatic highlighting can be used to foreground information in discourse. By and large, these features can be taken to have occurred during the historical language shift in Ireland because they have clear counterparts in later forms of vernacular Irish English, as will be discussed below.

6.2.1 Types of contact

There are many possible situations of contact which yield different linguistic outputs. In the main, it is the intensity and duration of contact between speakers of different languages which determines the effects which languages have on each other. The typological distance between languages is also important: where similarities are present, structural matches may well exist and be responsible for transfer, especially in a language shift scenario such as that for Irish English during its genesis. A further factor is whether the environment of the contact is prescriptive or not. Where the individuals involved in contact do not enjoy general schooling, transfer is not inhibited by notions of correctness and the effects of contact are considerable. There have also been many cases where language contact has been indirect—i.e. there was no speaker interaction, rather the contact was through the written medium. This situation is responsible for so-called ‘cultural borrowings’ (Campbell 2020: ch. 3) and is characteristic of the influence of English on so many other languages today.

Table 6.3 Types of contact	
Type	Effect
1) Indirect cultural contact, no speaker interface (German-English today). Contact, but little if any bilingualism (French in Middle English)	Only loanwords, ‘cultural borrowings’. No effect on grammar of receiving language
2) Contact with approximation of one or both languages (late Old English and Old Norse). Strong speaker interaction	Koinéization or dialect levelling, some structural permeation with typologically similar languages
3) Contact with language shift (Irish to English; Bhojpuri/Tamil to English [South Africa])	‘Speech habits’ of outset transferred to target, grammatical interference found in non-prescriptive environments
4) Contact but restricted input, unguided acquisition (Caribbean, central and south-west Pacific), often little or no continuity of indigenous languages	Pidginization, grammatical restructuring; creolization, if the pidgin is continued as the mother tongue of a later generation

Depending on the type of contact, different linguistic levels are affected. The lexicon is the most easily influenced, as it is an open class, and can show borrowings even where there is no speaker contact (scenario 1 in Table 6.3). The second type of contact is where the languages in question are similar in type and so structural borrowings can occur. The verb form *are* in the plural present tense of *be* is a well-known borrowing from Old Norse into English, illustrating this phenomenon. If the languages in question become more similar structurally, then one can speak of levelling. Should one language come to be used in the area of the other as a general means of communication, one can speak of koinéization.

Neither of these scenarios applies to the genesis of Irish English, as Irish and English are typologically very different. The dialect-levelling view is one which needs to be scrutinized carefully, as it is often posited for contact situations. For instance, a well-known view on contact specifies that ‘one of the universal constraints on change [...] is] that in contact situations, mergers expand at the expense of distinctions’ (Herzog, quoted in Labov 1972: 300). If at all, this is only true of phonology. On a grammatical level such statements do not apply or at least cannot be shown to hold for contact situations such as that between Irish and English in the early modern period. Nonetheless, on a large time-scale, transfer due to shift can lead to convergence and to the formation of a linguistic area (Hickey 2012b). This is, however, the outcome of the language shift from Irish to English; it was not the situation at the beginning of the shift in Ireland.

The third type of contact in Table 6.3 involves the speakers of one language shifting to another over time. The duration of bilingualism is an important factor, as is the manner in which the new language is presented to those shifting to it. A further subdivision can be made with type (3) in Table 6.3, where the group which shifts is in a socially superior position. This was the case in Early Modern Irish (1200–1600), where members of the French-speaking Anglo-Norman community abandoned this language and shifted to Irish in subsequent generations. Normally, superstrate speakers do not switch to a substrate language, spoken by those in a socially lower position. But if the circumstances are right, this may happen. Among the circumstances one could list as relevant here are: (i) separation of superstrate speakers from the larger community from which they stem and (ii) significant numerical inferiority vis-à-vis the substrate language community. Both these factors held for the Anglo-Normans in late medieval Ireland, who lived in the countryside surrounded by native Irish. The type of shift involved here has been termed ‘imposition’ (Guy 1990; Ross 1991) because the superstrate speakers may in time ‘impose’ (Stewart 2004) features of their variety of the substrate language on majority forms of this language.

When delimiting types (3) and (4) in Table 6.3, the additional distinction between transfer and restructuring is essential. The first process involves structural borrowings between two languages (in one or both directions), while the second involves a reorganization of grammar by children given a poverty of linguistic input during first language acquisition. The latter scenario is not one which can be assumed for the early modern period in Ireland. Nonetheless, in terms of structure, Irish English does come close to

many English-based creoles, and the question of how close language shift and creolization are as scenarios of language change has been examined (see Hickey 1997b).

6.2.1.1 *Generalizations concerning contact*

There would seem to be a general principle whereby the 'deeper kernel' of grammar of a language (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 5) is more resistant to change because it is highly structured and acquired early by native speakers. Hence it is not surprising that inflectional morphology, along with core vocabulary, is used as a defining criterion for determining genetic relationships. For any highly structured subsystem there is a standard wisdom that, if it travels, then this is most likely when it fits easily into the recipient language. Conversely, free-standing discourse elements migrate easily; cf. Irish *bhuel* for English *well* or (former) Irish English *arrah* from Irish. The reason for this is probably that such elements are not integrated into the grammatical lattice of a language, and are free to move without any structural consequences for either donor or recipient languages.

The resistance to structural influence is connected with the duration and extent of contact. Long-term substratum interference can lead to a typological reorientation of a language but within a time-frame of several centuries at least (Hickey 1995). That is definitely too long for the switch from Irish to English, which was long enough for considerable grammatical influence but not for a major typological realignment of English in Ireland.

With language contact, the various linguistic levels are affected to differing degrees. The lexicon, as an open class, enjoys a higher degree of awareness among speakers. Given the fact that Irish was the substrate language in the contact scenario, then extensive transfer of lexical material was not to be expected, and did not occur. One can generalize this point and maintain that, in a language shift situation, lexical borrowing is unlikely (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 129). Speakers orient themselves towards the target language which enjoys greater prestige for them—this is probably the reason for the shift anyway. They are not likely to take salient elements like words from the language they are shifting away from. With cultural contact, for instance, in the Middle English period with English and French, the position was quite different. Speakers were not shifting to French, so the adoption of words from the prestige code took place into English, although there may well have been a degree of imposition from the French-speaking minority who shifted to English.

In a large-scale shift scenario, the phonology of the substrate language plays a significant role. When speakers are acquiring the target language in adult life, they will retain the accent of their native language. Such massive phonological influence of Irish on early Irish English is evident in the many eye dialect representations found in the early modern period. It is true that many of these are exaggerations, but the recurrence of so many features across different genres with different authors at different times would justify the assumption that these features were indeed characteristic of early Irish English. Once the shift variety became established, subsequent generations continued it, but

there was a toning down of salient phonological features, especially as later speakers became aware of what constitutes a standard pronunciation of the target language.

6.2.2 Contact-induced change

Contact-induced change (Winford 2005) is not confined to transfer by the generations directly involved in the language shift. The seed for later change may be planted during the shift, but the effect may only be apparent much later. For instance, low-level phonetic influence from one language can lead to far-reaching changes in the other over a longer time-span. This type can be termed ‘delayed effect’ contact because the effect is not immediate. There is no structural upheaval in the recipient language but a gradual penetration due to prolonged exposure to another language by largely bilingual sections of a community. In such a scenario ‘speech habits’ migrate from one language to another. In time, this may even lead to typological change. Within the history of English, an example is provided by Celtic influence on Old English (see Hickey 2012a for details) where the speech habits of the British Celts—which included considerable phonetic lenition—may well have furthered, if not actually triggered, the phonetic reduction of unstressed syllables in Old English, and thus contributed centrally to the demise of inflectional endings, the precondition for the typological shift from synthetic to analytic in the history of English. Furthermore, given that speech habits are largely unconscious, the question of the relative prestige of languages does not play an important role, i.e. they can be adopted from a language of relatively low social status.

This kind of delay in the appearance of contact-induced features may be evident in the rise of the *do(es) be* habitual in Irish English. This is only attested on a wide scale after the middle of the nineteenth century, a time when the language shift was past its peak.

6.2.3 Features traceable to transfer

Despite their different origins in England and Scotland, varieties of English in Ireland share many traits. The range of accents across the entire island (Hickey 2004) should not disguise the fact that vernacular varieties share many more traits amongst each other than they do with varieties outside of Ireland. This applies most clearly to the two major blocks in Ireland, the north and the centre-south; but commonalities are also apparent across this divide, suggesting that the shared features are areal traits which have diffused with time over the entire island (Hickey 2012b). For the south of Ireland (and in many instances for the north also), the features shown in Table 6.4 are shared by all vernacular varieties. It is true that some of them are found outside Ireland, in England and at overseas anglophone locations, but the combinations of features would appear to be unique to Ireland.

Table 6.4 Shared features in vernacular varieties of (southern) Irish English*Phonology*

- 1) Lenition of alveolar stops in positions of high sonority, e.g., *city* [sɪtʲ]
- 2) Use of clear [l] in all positions in a word (now recessive), e.g., *field* [fi:lɪd]
- 3) Retention of syllable-final /r/, e.g., *board* [bo:rd]
- 4) Distinction of short vowels before /r/ (now recessive), e.g., *tern* [tɛrn] versus *turn* [tɜrn]
- 5) Retention of the distinction between /m/ and /w/ (now recessive), e.g., *which* [mɪtʃ] and *witch* [wtʃ]

Morphology

- 1) Distinction between second singular and plural personal pronouns, e.g., *you* [ju] versus *youse* [juz] / *ye* [ji] / *yeez* [jiz]
- 2) Epistemic negative *must*, e.g., *He mustn't be Scottish.*
- 3) *Them* as demonstrative, e.g., *Them shoes in the hall.*

Syntax

- 1) Perfective aspect with two subtypes:
 - a) Immediate perfective, e.g., *She's after spilling the milk.*
 - b) Resultative perfective, e.g., *She's the housework done* (OV word order)
- 2) Habitual aspect, expressed by *do + be* or *bees* or inflectional -s in the first person singular. There are two types: (i) a durative habitual—as in (a) and (b)—and a punctual habitual as in (c), see Hickey (2007: 213–218). Note that the durative with an inflected form of *be* is typical of Ulster and that with *do + be* is found outside Ulster.
 - a) *They do be out clubbing at the weekend.*
 - b) *They bees up late at night.*
 - c) *I gets up at about half seven in the morning.*
- 3) Reduced number of verb forms, e.g., *seen* and *done* as preterit, *went* as past participle
- 4) Negative concord, e.g., *He's not interested in no computers.*
- 5) Clefting for topicalization purposes, e.g., *It's to Galway he's going.*
- 6) Greater range of the present tense, e.g., *I know him for more than six years now.*
- 7) Lack of *do* in questions, e.g., *Have you had your breakfast yet?*
- 8) *Be* as auxiliary, e.g., *They're finished the work now.*
- 9) *Till* in the sense of 'in order that', e.g., *Come here till I tell you.*
- 10) Singular time reference for *never*, e.g., *She never rang yesterday evening.*
- 11) *For to* infinitives of purpose, e.g., *He went to Dublin for to buy a car.*
- 12) Subordinating *and* (frequently concessive), e.g., *We went for a walk and it raining.*

The features in Table 6.4 can be arranged according to the sources which can be postulated for them. Both transfer from Irish and English input have been suggested, with convergence also considered as a likely scenario for some of these features (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Suggestions for sources of key features of (Southern) Irish English (Hickey 2004, 2007)

<i>Phonological features</i>	<i>Possible source</i>
Dental/alveolar stops for fricatives	Transfer of nearest Irish equivalent, coronal stops
Intervocalic and pre-pausal lenition of /t/	Lenition as a phonological directive from Irish
Alveolar /l/ in all positions (now recessive in syllable-final position)	Use of non-velar, non-palatal [l] from Irish
Retention of [ʌ] for <wh>	Convergence of input with the realization of Irish /f/ [ɸ]
Retention of syllable-final /r/	Convergence of English input and Irish
Distinction of short vowels before /r/	Convergence of English input and Irish
<i>Morphological features</i>	<i>Possible source</i>
Distinct pronominal forms 2 p.sg. + pl.	Convergence of English input and Irish
Epistemic negative <i>must</i>	Generalization made by Irish based on positive use
<i>Them</i> as demonstrative	English input only
<i>Syntactic features</i>	<i>Possible source</i>
Habitual aspect	Convergence with South-West English input on east coast, possibly with influence from Scots via Ulster. Otherwise transfer of category from Irish
Immediate perfective aspect with <i>after</i>	Transfer from Irish
Resultative perfective with OV word order	Possible convergence, primarily from Irish
Subordinating <i>and</i>	Transfer from Irish
Variant use of suffixal -s in present	South-west input in first period on east coast
Clefting for topicalization	Transfer from Irish, with some possible convergence
Greater range of the present tense	Transfer from Irish, with some possible convergence
Negative concord	Convergence of English input and Irish
<i>For to</i> infinitives indicating purpose	Convergence of English input and Irish
Reduced number of verb forms	English input only
<i>Be</i> as auxiliary	English input only
Single time reference for <i>never</i>	Transfer from Irish, English input

Apart from the putative source of specifically IrEng features, there have been various suggestions concerning the linguistic models to use in interpreting such features. For instance, in the area of aspect, there have been attempts to use grammaticalization models (Kallen 1990) and prototype theory (Hickey 2000) to arrive at alternative descriptions.

Greene (1979) and Ó Sé (1992; 2004) are influential articles describing the verbal system of Irish and its possible effect on IrEng.

A number of specifically IrEng lexical items (Kallen 1996) represent archaic or regional usage which has survived in Ireland, e.g. *cog* 'cheat', *chisler* 'child', *mitch* 'play truant'. One can also notice semantic extensions which are typical of Ireland, e.g. *mad* 'keen on', *bold* 'misbehaved', *yoke* with the general meaning of a thing or device. An additional feature here is the merger or reversal of words which are complementary in meaning: *ditch* is used for *dyke*; *bring* and *take*, *rent* and *let*, *borrow* and *lend* are often interchanged, while *learn* can be used in the sense of *teach* in vernacular varieties, e.g. *That'll learn yah!* 'That will teach you a lesson.'

Although Irish today is spoken natively by less than 1% of the population (Hickey 2011: 9–25), and although the knowledge of Irish among the majority is, in general, very poor, there is a curious habit of flavouring one's speech by adding a few words from Irish, which is sometimes referred to as using the *cúpla focal* (lit. 'couple of words'). These words are always alternatives to English terms readily available, e.g., *ciúnas* 'silence', *piseog* 'superstition' (anglicized as *pishogue*), *sláinte* 'health', *plámás* 'flattery', *grá* 'love'. Such incursions into the lexicon of Irish are brief and superficial. Borrowings can go both ways; for example, the common term *craic* for social enjoyment is a loan from Irish, itself originally a borrowing from English.

6.3 LANGUAGE SHIFT

The most remarkable fact in the linguistic history of Ireland since the seventeenth century is the abandonment of the Irish language by successive generations, to such an extent that the remaining Irish-speaking areas today are only a fraction of the size of the country and contain not much more than 1% of the population. Bilingualism did not establish itself in Ireland, though it characterized the transition from Irish to English. No matter how long this bilingualism lasted, the goal of the shift was obvious and those who shifted to English ultimately abandoned Irish, even though this took many generations. The remaining bilinguals today are mostly native speakers of Irish in the Irish-speaking districts, all of whom also speak English. There was never any functional distribution of Irish and English, either in the towns or the countryside, so that stable diglossia could not have developed.

For external reasons, connected with employment opportunities and social advancement, the Irish relinquished their native language for that of the colonial power. The process most likely began in earnest after the defeat of the old Gaelic order by the English (Ross 1998) at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Before that Irish was, if anything, stronger than it had been immediately after the initial invasion in the late twelfth century. The shift also shows a clear geographical distribution. It is most obvious in the east of the country, where it actually began in the first period, i.e. before 1600. The number of Irish monolinguals has always been greatest along the western seaboard.

Furthermore, there is an urban/rural split for the historical language shift (Filppula 1991). The cities of the east coast were the first to adopt English and the rural areas along the western coast were the last, if one neglects the dispersed language enthusiasts throughout Ireland who support the language where they can. The gradual retreat of the language to the western seaboard can be seen clearly in maps documenting the decline (see Ó Cuív 1969: 137–40; Hindley 1990: 21–42).

The situation in Ulster is somewhat different. Ulster Irish today is only found in parts of Co. Donegal on the west coast. But up to the beginning of the twentieth century, there were pockets of Irish still to be found in the province: in central Ulster (Co. Tyrone), in south Armagh, in parts of Antrim, and on Rathlin Island off the north coast of this county. The linguistic situation in Ulster is further complicated by Ulster Scots which did not interact significantly with Irish. The shift from this variety, if any, has been towards more general forms of Ulster English which derive from northern forms of English brought to the province.

The shift in Ireland must have involved considerable bilingualism over several centuries. The native language for the majority of the population was initially Irish, and recourse to this was always there. English would have been used in contact with English speakers (administrators, bailiffs, or those few urbanites who only spoke English, Kallen 1994: 156–63). There was also considerable interaction between the planters and the native Irish, certainly in the countryside where this group of English speakers had settled. Indeed, there may be grounds for assuming that a proportion of the planters by the mid-seventeenth century would have had at least a rudimentary knowledge of Irish. They would have been a source of bilingualism for the native Irish population, at the interface between themselves and those planters without any Irish. However, this source of bilingual interaction should not be overestimated. There would seem to be little evidence for the view that key features of Irish English arose through the interaction with bilingual people of English origin.

The importance of the contact situation and the precise nature of the speaker interaction—inasmuch as this can be reconstructed—are matters which have been given particular attention by Terence Odlin in a number of publications (see Odlin 1991; 1994; 1997). The view that the planters were cared for by Irish nurses and had contact with the children of native Irish is supported by authors like Bliss (1976: 557). The ultimate effect of this would have been to render the language of the planters more like that of the native Irish, so that no specific variety of planter English arose.

The language shift did not progress evenly across the centuries (Corrigan 1996; 1999). Major external events, chiefly famine and emigration, accelerated the pace. During such setbacks, Irish lost ground quickly which it was not to recover. Famine struck throughout the eighteenth century, especially in the 1720s, and emigration from Ulster was considerable during this century, though this largely involved settlers of Scottish origin who moved to North America.

The most significant setback for the Irish language was the Great Famine of the late 1840s, which hit the poorer rural areas of Ireland hardest. The twin factors of death and emigration reduced the number of Irish speakers by anything up to two million

in the course of less than a decade. The famine also brought home to the remaining Irish speakers the necessity to switch to English to survive in an increasingly English-speaking society, and to prepare for possible emigration.

6.3.1 Access to English

Before the seventeenth century, English was spoken mostly by small numbers of settlers, chiefly in the towns of the east coast. The only significant remnant of this period was to be found in the extreme south-east corner of Ireland, in the baronies of Forth and Bargo, and the area of Fingal just north of Dublin.

At the beginning of the early modern period, access to this older type of English would only have been available in towns and a few pockets on the east coast. For the majority of Irish living elsewhere in the countryside, there was little or no contact with speakers of English. Only gradually did this situation change with informal contacts between speakers of Irish and English. The latter was used by relatively small numbers, consisting of English people, and their direct descendants, living in Ireland, as well as a limited group of Irish who had acquired English either by contact with town-dwellers or through self-education. The opportunities for this were, however, minimal. Indeed, education for the native Catholics was forbidden under the Penal Laws (Lydon 1998: 218–38), which were not repealed until the end of the eighteenth century. Primary schooling for the native Irish was not introduced until the 1830s.

The scenario at the beginning of the early modern period is one in which a small number of English speakers conveyed the language to the native Irish. This would also explain why the language of the planters had apparently been so strongly influenced by Irish. The quantitative relationship was skewed in favour of the Irish so that the English planters could not but have been influenced by the numerically superior, albeit socially inferior Irish. This kind of distribution also held in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries vis-à-vis the Anglo-Norman overlords who, under pressure of numbers (among other reasons), yielded to Irish and adopted it as their native language in later generations (Hickey 1997a).

The situation just sketched can be taken to have applied on a broad front for the seventeenth century. But the transmission of English to following generations of Irish was not always directly from the settlers. Rather, the Irish of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries must have learned English from Irish compatriots who had been exposed to English, however imperfectly. Again one must stress that there was little if any formal education. While it is true that so-called 'hedge schools' existed whereby self-educated teachers gave instruction to Irish on an informal basis (Dowling 1971), these could not have serviced any significant section of the population.

In present-day southern Ireland, there is no discernible difference in the speech of those who are of native Irish descent and those whose ancestors were English planters in the seventeenth century. This situation is markedly different from that in northern

Ireland, where this distinction is made above all on ethnic-religious grounds—that is, it forms the basis for the segregation of the Protestant (English and Scottish) and Catholic (Irish) sections of northern Irish society. In the south, there is a small number of Protestants. The language of this section of the southern population does not, however, differ substantially from that of the Catholic majority.

The historical picture one is left with is that of a gradual dissemination of English from east to west and from urban centres to rural districts, essentially over a period of at least two and a half centuries, from the early seventeenth century to the post-Famine period, i.e. to the second half of the nineteenth century. The use of speech habits and the transfer of grammatical structures from Irish at an individual level lasted long enough for these to spread to entire communities of speakers and to become general features of their forms of English.

When, and for how long, the Irish were exposed to English is one facet of the complex of language access. The second and equally important one is what varieties of English the Irish had as their input when acquiring the new language. Broadly speaking, western varieties of English predominated in the south from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. For the first period there is evidence of a south-western input. For the north of Ireland there was also much English input, frequently from the north-west, for instance from Lancashire (Adams 1967).

The western nature of early modern English input is relevant when considering the development of such grammatical categories as the habitual in Irish English. The west/south-west of England is an area which retained periphrastic *do* for longer than did the north and east (Ihalainen 1994). This supports the assumption that it was represented in the input to southern Irish English in the seventeenth century. There are other indications of western/south-western input. For instance, in vernacular forms of southern Irish English the verbs *have* and *do* occur without inflectional *-s* in the third person singular present tense.

On a more general level, the role of input is important because it can account for why certain features occur in vernacular Irish English today which cannot be traced back to the shift from Irish. For instance, non-standard verbal concord is a feature which can only be accounted for by assuming that it was present in the input varieties of English to Ireland in the early modern period, both in the south and north of the country. A phonological feature of early English input is the fortition of sibilants in pre-nasal position, e.g. *wasn't* [wɒdɪt], a south-west English feature which gained a foothold in Ireland and has continued since.

The critical importance of the early period does not apply to language shift, however. Here one does not have features acting as seeds which are continued into later forms (Mufwene 1996). Rather, transfer features arise during shift and then establish themselves as the shift variety stabilizes. Because of this, some features which can be traced to the shift situation may be of a much later date. For instance, the habitual with *do(es) be* is not attested abundantly until after the mid-nineteenth century. This would imply that this use has its origin in language shift, although the formal basis for

it, periphrastic *do*, was probably present in forms of English input in the seventeenth century.

6.3.2 Unguided adult language acquisition

To assess the role which transfer from Irish possibly played in the genesis of Irish English, it is necessary to consider the type of situation in which the native Irish acquired English. Given that there was little if any formal education for the majority of the population, the environment for acquisition was non-prescriptive, indeed uncontrolled, in the technical sense that no external restrictions would have been placed on the use of non-standard features (Odlin 1991: 188) stemming from the influence of Irish, the native language of virtually all speakers.

During the language shift one can distinguish two groups, that of younger language learners, for whom English would have been a language acquired relatively early, and an adult group acquiring it much later. Children may well have played a role in the rise of non-standard features based on analogical levelling (Odlin's 'regularization'). Two examples can be quoted to illustrate this. The first is the rise of *youse* as a plural form for *you* (Hickey 2003). This form is almost certainly of Irish origin, its present-day distribution in the anglophone world is due to the spread of Irish English during the transportation of English in the colonial period (Hickey 2021). In all likelihood, it arose through language learners applying a productive plural morpheme to a personal pronoun, *you*, perceived as singular. The second example involves the epistemic use of negated *must*, regarded as distinctively Irish (Trudgill 1986: 140–41), seen in (1a), which is equivalent to the standard structure in (1b).

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|-------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>He mustn't be Irish as he was born in France.</i> | Irish English |
| | b. | <i>He can't be Irish as he was born in France.</i> | non-Irish English |

This would appear to derive from a generalization of the positive epistemic use to the negative by language learners.

Another scholar who has concerned herself with the characteristics of language shift varieties is Sarah Thomason, who has maintained that 'the shifters' variety of English was able to influence the English of Ireland as a whole because the shifters were numerous relative to the original native speakers of English in Ireland', and that in such situations 'the shifters' interference features will become fixed in the target language' (Thomason 2001: 78–9).

Language shift does not always proceed in the same manner. There are cases where education plays a significant role, for instance in South Africa. Here the shift from Indian languages, mainly Bhojpuri and Tamil, for the Indian population in KwaZulu-Natal was accelerated considerably by children learning English in school, bringing this back into the home, and thus exposing older family members to the language (Mesthrie 1992: 27–33; 1996; Hickey 2020b).

6.3.3 Source language interference

There is no proof in contact linguistics. If a structure in one language is suspected of having arisen through contact with another, then a case can be made for contact when there is a good structural match between both languages. Take as an example the phrases at the beginning of the following sentences which have an exact equivalent in Irish:

- (2) a. *More is the pity, I suppose.* (TRS-D, M42, M)
Is mór an trua, is dóigh liom.
 [is big the pity, is suppose with-me]
- b. *Outside of that, I don't know.* (TRS-D, C42-2, F)
Taobh amuigh de sin, níl a fhios agam.
 [side out of that, not-is COMP know at-me]
- c. *There's a share of jobs alright.* (TRS-D, M7, M)
Tá roinnt jabbana ann, ceart go leor.
 [is share jobs-GEN in-it right enough]

However, the case for contact as a source, at least as the sole source, is considerably weakened if the structure in question is attested in older forms of the language which has come to show it. Many of the features of Irish English are of this type—that is, they could have a source either in older forms of English taken to Ireland or in Irish through contact. An example of this is provided by doubly marked comparatives. In Irish, comparatives are formed by placing the particle *níos* 'more' and inflecting the adjective as well. For instance, *déanach* 'late', consisting of the stem *déan-* and the stem-extending suffix *-ach*, changes to *déanaí* in the comparative although the comparative particle *níos* is used as well.

- (3) *Beimid ag teacht níos déanaí.* 'We will be coming later.'
 [will-be-we at coming more later]

This double marking may have been transferred in the language shift situation. But such marking is also typical of earlier forms of English (Barber 1997 [1976]: 200–1.) and may well have been present in input forms of English in Ireland. It is found with writers like Carleton and O'Casey (see Taniguchi 1956: 42), and is still well attested today as in the following examples.

- (4) a. *He's working more harder with the new job.* (WER, F50+)
 b. *We got there more later than we thought.* (DER, M60+)

In such cases it is impossible to decide what the source is; indeed, it is probably more sensible to postulate a double source, and to interpret the structure as a case of convergence.

Before broaching the details of the case for contact, it is important to consider the difference between the presence of a grammatical category in a certain language and the exponence of this category. For instance, the category ‘future’ exists in the verb systems of both English and Irish but the exponence is different, i.e. via an auxiliary *will/shall* in the first language, but via a suffix in the second. This type of distinction is useful when comparing Irish English with Irish (Ó Sé 2001: 123–5), for instance when viewing habitual aspect in both languages, as can be seen from Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 Factors favouring transfer of grammatical categories
1) The target language has a formal means of expressing this category
2) There is little variation in the expression of this category
3) The expression of this category is not homophonous with another one
4) The category marker in the outset language can be identified—is structurally transparent—and can be easily extracted from source contexts

6.3.4 The search for categorial equivalence

Many scholars who have considered the initial stages of language change have posited that low-profile sites in the syntax of a language, such as subordinate clauses or weak affirmatives, are often the loci for variables which are incoming and are being adopted by diffusion into a community (Cheshire 1996). Authors also distinguish between pronunciation, which is always available for sociolinguistic assessment, and grammar, which is linked more to situational or stylistic conditioning. These factors are mentioned because they show the major difference between change being adopted into a variety and change resulting from language contact and shift.

When switching to another language, temporarily or permanently, adults expect the same grammatical distinctions in the target which they know from their native language. To this end they search for equivalents in the target to categories they are familiar with. This process is an unconscious one, and persists even with speakers who have considerable target language proficiency. If the categories of the outset language are semantically motivated, then the search to find an equivalent in the target is all the more obvious. A simple example can be taken to illustrate this. In Irish there is a distinction between the second person singular and plural pronoun, but not in standard English. In the genesis of Irish English, speakers would seem to have felt the need for this nonexistent distinction in English, and three solutions to this quandary arose.

- (5) a. the use of available material, yielding *you # ye*
(*ye* available from early English input)
- b. the analogical formation of a plural: *you # youse < you + {S}*
(not attested before early to mid-nineteenth century)

- c. a combination of both (a) and (b) as in *you # yez < ye + {S}*
(not found before mid-nineteenth century)

In all these cases the search for an equivalent category of second person plural was solved in English by the manipulation of material already in this language. At no stage does the Irish *sibh* [ʃiv] 'you-PL' seem to have been used, in contrast, for instance, to the use of West African *unu* 'you-PL' found in Caribbean English (Hickey 2003).

Apart from restructuring elements in the target, speakers can transfer elements from their native language. This transfer of grammatical categories is favoured, if the conditions in Table 6.7 apply.

Table 6.7 Category and exponence in Irish and Irish English

Category	Exponence in Irish English	Exponence in Irish
Habitual	1) <i>do(es) be + V-ing</i> They do be fighting a lot.	<i>bíonn</i> + non-finite verb form <i>Bíonn siad ag troid go minic.</i> [is-HABITUAL they at fighting often]
	2) <i>bees</i> (northern) <i>The lads bees out a lot.</i>	
	3) verbal <i>-s</i> (first person) <i>I gets tired of waiting for things to change.</i>	

In a language shift situation, transfer must first occur at an individual level, perhaps with several individuals at the same time. But for it to become established, it must be accepted by the community as a whole. If such transfer is to be successful, then it must adhere to the principle of economy: it must embody only as much change in the target as is necessary for other speakers in the community to recognize what native structure it is intended to reflect.

To illustrate how this process of transfer is imagined to have occurred in the historical Irish context, consider the example of the immediate perfective formed by the use of the prepositional phrase *tar éis* 'after', which is employed temporally in this case.

- (6) *Tá siad tar éis an obair a dhéanamh.*
[is they after the work COMP do]
'They are after doing the work.'

The pivotal elements in this construction are listed in (7) below; the complementizer *a* is of no semantic significance.

- (7) a. adverbial phrase *tar éis* 'after'
b. non-finite verb form *déanamh* 'doing'
c. direct object *obair* 'work'

It would appear that the Irish constructed an equivalent to the output structure using English syntactic means. Item (a) was translated literally as ‘after’, (b) was rendered by the non-finite *V-ing* form yielding sentences like *They’re after doing the work*. With a translation for *tar éis* and a corresponding non-finite form the task of reaching a categorial equivalent would appear to have been completed. Importantly, the Irish word order ‘object + verb’ was not carried over into English (**They’re after the work doing*).

The fact that the order of non-finite verb form and object is different in Irish and English Harris (1991: 205) in the construction being discussed here is not relevant. The aim in the contact situation was to arrive at a construction which was functionally equivalent to that in the outset language. A word order such as that in *John is after the house selling* would not only unnecessarily flout the sequence of verb and object in English (unnecessary as it would not convey additional information) but also give rise to possible confusion with the resultative perfective which in Irish English is realized by means of a past participle following its object.

In the transfer of structure during language shift, it would seem both necessary and sufficient to achieve correlates to the key elements in the source structure. Another instance of this principle can be seen with the resultative perfective of Irish English.

- (8) *Tá an obair déanta acu.* ‘They have finished the work.’
 [is the work done at-them]
 IrEng: ‘They have the work done.’

Essential to the semantics of the Irish construction is the order ‘object + past participle’. Consequently, it is this order which is realized in the Irish English equivalent. The prepositional pronoun *acu* ‘at-them’ (or any other similar form) plays no role in the formation of the resultative perfective in Irish, but is the means to express the semantic subject of the sentence. As this is incidental to the perfective aspect expressed in the sentence, it was neglected in Irish English.

The immediate perfective with *after* does not appear to have had any model in archaic or regional English (Filppula 1999: 99–107). With the resultative perfective, on the other hand, there was previously a formal equivalent, i.e. the word order ‘object + past participle’. However, even if there were instances of this word order in the input varieties of English in Ireland, this does not mean that these are responsible for its continuing existence in Irish English. This word order could just as well have disappeared from Irish English as it has in forms of mainland English (van der Wurff and Foster 1997). However, the retention in Irish English and the use of this word order to express a resultative perfective can in large part be accounted for by the wish of Irish learners of English to reach an equivalent to the category of resultative perfective which they had in their native language.

The additive transfer of syntactic features to a target can be captured by the notion of imposition (Guy 1990: 49–50, following work done previously by Frans van Coetsem, see Coetsem 2000 as summary of his previous work) whereby speakers in a shift

situation impose categorial equivalents to structures of the outset language onto the target language.

Another issue to consider, when the question of contact has been discussed, is whether the structures which were transferred still apply in the same sense in which they were used in previous centuries. It would be too simplistic to assume that the structures which historically derive from Irish by transfer have precisely the same meaning in present-day Irish English. For instance, the immediate perfective with *after* has continued to develop shades of meaning not necessarily found in the Irish original, as Kallen (1989) has shown in his study.

6.3.5 What does not get transferred?

If the expectation of categories in the target language which are present in the outset language is a guiding principle in language shift, then it is not surprising to find that grammatical distinctions which are only found in the target language tend to be neglected by speakers undergoing the shift.

The reason for this neglect is that speakers tend not to be aware of grammatical distinctions which are not present in their native language—at least this is true in situations of unguided adult learning of a second language. What is termed here ‘neglect of distinctions’ is closely related to the phenomenon of underdifferentiation which is known from second-language teaching (Major 2001). This can be illustrated by the use of *and* as a clause coordinator with a qualifying or concessive meaning in Irish English.

- (9) *Chuaigh sé amach agus é ag cur báistí.*
 [went he out and it at putting rain-GEN]
 IrEng: ‘He went out and it raining.’
 ‘He went out although it was raining.’

To account for the neglect of distinctions in more detail, one must introduce a distinction between features which carry semantic value and those which are of a more formal character. Word order is an example of the latter type: Irish is a consistently post-specifying language with VSO as the canonical word order along with Noun + Adjective, Noun + Genitive for nominal modifiers. There is no trace of post-specification in Irish English, either historically or in present-day contact varieties of English in Ireland. The use of the specifically Irish word order would, per se, have had no informational value for Irish speakers of English in the language shift situation.

Several features from Irish syntax are conspicuously absent from historical documents in Irish English. That this is not an accident of the textual record was confirmed by the material in *A Collection of Contact English*, a data collection consisting of the English of good present-day speakers of Irish. Table 6.8 lists the salient features of Irish grammar which were never transferred into English in this collection, even in discourse situations with considerable code-switching.

Table 6.8 Non-occurring features of Irish in *A Collection of Contact English*

1) Verb-initial sentences or clauses	<i>Tiocfaidh mé thart ar a hocht.</i> 'I'll come by around eight,' lit. 'come-FUTURE I...'
2) Pro-drop (absence of personal pronoun in present tense)	<i>Ní thuigim an dream óg.</i> 'I don't understand the young crowd,' lit. 'not understand-1ST_PERS_SG ...'
3) Post-posed adjectives	<i>an fear bocht</i> 'the poor man,' lit. 'the man poor'
4) Post-posed genitives	<i>teach Sheáin</i> 'John's house,' lit. 'house John-GEN'
5) Order prepositional object + pronominal object	<i>Chonaic mé thuas ar an trá í.</i> 'I saw her up on the strand,' lit. 'saw I up on the strand her'
6) Split demonstratives	<i>an gluaisteán sin</i> 'that car,' lit. 'the car that'
7) Autonomous verb form	<i>Rinneadh an obair.</i> 'The work was done,' lit. 'done-was the work' <i>Rugadh mac di.</i> 'She bore a son,' lit. 'born-was a son to-her'
8) Zero realisation of indefinite article	<i>Chas sí le déagóir.</i> 'She met a teenager,' lit. 'met she with teenager'
9) Initial mutation	<i>Chuir [ch x < k] mé an cheist [ch x < k] chuici.</i> 'I put the question to her,' lit. 'put me the question to-her'
10) WH-word plus relative pronoun	<i>Cathain a tharla an timpiste?</i> 'When did the accident happen?', lit. 'when that happened the accident' <i>Cad a dhéanfaidís leis?</i> 'What would they do with him?', lit. 'what that do-CONDITIONAL they with-him'
11) Possessive pronoun and 'verbal noun'	<i>Bhí sé á bhagairt.</i> 'He was threatening him.' / 'He was threatening (to do) it,' lit. 'was he at-his threatening' <i>Bhí sé á bagairt.</i> 'He was threatening her,' lit. 'was he at-her threatening'

6.3.5.1 *The argument from parameter setting*

Irish is a post-specifying language (VSO, N+Gen, N+Adj) and the fact that English is pre-specifying (SVO, Gen+N, Adj+N) is recognized quickly by language learners, and would have been in the historical language shift as well. This recognition then blocks (and blocked in the past) the transfer of any post-specifying strategies from Irish to English. The view that the direction of specification is a parameter of language, which needs to be recognized by only one setting and which is then fixed for all others, is supported by the data in *A Collection of Contact English* and by the history of Irish English.

6.3.5.2 *The question of structural match*

Initial mutation in Irish (see last item in Table 6.8) is a central device for indicating essential grammatical categories such as tense, number, gender, or case. And yet it is a

structural principle which is never transferred to English. The reason probably lies in its unique phonological character. There is no way of matching it to any grammatical process in English and then transferring it—something which has been possible with many syntactic structures which can be mapped reasonable well onto English syntax.

6.3.5.3 *Other factors in neglect of features*

The neglect of a form in the target language may in some instances be motivated not so much by its absence in the outset language but by some other factor. Take, for example, the lack of *do* support with negated *have* in Irish English (Trudgill, Schreier, Long, and Williams 2004). Here *not* is cliticized onto *have* and not onto *do*, which is absent in negated sentences of this type.

- (10) a. *You haven't much trouble at all with it.* (WER, M55+)
 (cf. *You don't have ...*)
 b. *You haven't to dry it or anything.* (WER, F55+)
 (cf. *You don't have ...*)

One explanation for this is that the use of *do* in habitual structures (as of the nineteenth century in Irish English) may well have triggered its avoidance in sentences with negated *have*. Another instance of this avoidance would be the past of *use to*, which does not occur with *do* in (southern) Irish English, e.g. *He usen't to drive to work*, not *He didn't use to drive to work*.

6.3.5.4 *Overrepresentation*

The mirror image of the neglect of distinctions is the overrepresentation of features: the scope of a feature in the outset is applied to the target language, where this scope is usually smaller. The Irish English use of the conditional illustrates this phenomenon. It is non-standard inasmuch as it represents an overuse compared with other forms of English, e.g. as an equivalent to the imperative or in interrogatives as in the following examples.

- (11) a. *Would you hurry up with your tea!* (WER, M55+)
 b. *Would the both of youse get off out of here!* (DER, M35+)
 c. *Would you be able to cook if you had to?* (WER, M50+)

This overrepresentation also applied to the definite article (Filppula, Chapter 8 this volume). Curiously, the indefinite article, which does not exist in Irish, is not dropped in English. This might be expected because it is known from other languages, such as Russian, that the lack of an article (here the definite article) leads to its neglect in a target language, such as English, which has one.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The nature of contact between Irish and English in previous centuries determined the linguistic outcomes we can observe today. The contact was initially between native speakers of English and native Irish in the towns, mainly on the east coast. Later this expanded to other urban centres and then to the rural areas. Before the introduction of formal schooling in the 1830s, English was acquired by adults in an unguided second-language acquisition scenario, this frequently determining the amount of transfer from Irish to English. In the lengthy period of this communal acquisition process, the Irish gradually moved from functional bilingualism to a language shift situation, mainly in the nineteenth century. The result was that by the end of that century Irish had been abandoned completely by the vast majority of the population of Ireland.

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PART II

INVESTIGATING
IRISH ENGLISH

CHAPTER 7

THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH IN IRELAND

RAYMOND HICKEY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

FROM the beginnings of documentation for Irish English, it is clear that its pronunciation differed from that in England. The pronunciation of English in Ireland is documented already in the early fourteenth century in the pieces of the *Kildare Poems* (Hickey 1993; 2007), which via the non-standard spellings of Middle English in Ireland indicate a number of pronunciation idiosyncrasies which were to remain part of the domain of variation typical of Irish English throughout the centuries. Among these features are (i) the use of stops for dental fricatives, (ii) the variation in the realization of /v/ (as [v], [β], or [w]), (iii) some indication that the lenited form of /t/, for which Irish English is well known, i.e. [t̪] (Hickey 1984), was already present in late medieval Irish English, and (iv) signs of vacillation between /s/ and /ʃ/. This variation apparently became established and was passed on to further generations of English speakers in Ireland. There is a gap in the documentation of Irish English until the late sixteenth century, when dramatic sketches begin to appear which indicate features of Irish English via non-standard spellings as a satirical device (Hickey 2010).

The pronunciation of Irish English has not been stable over time, and many of the traits which are apparent in the early modern period have since been lost, e.g. the use of /ʃ/ for /s/, especially before high vowels as in *ish* 'is', *Chrisht* 'Christ' (Hickey 2008). Furthermore, the English long vowel shift was slow in being implemented, and during the past three centuries, it was adopted piecemeal in most varieties of English in Ireland. The high vowels /i:/ and /u:/ were replaced by diphthongs first; only later were mid vowels raised, with the front mid vowels often not being raised at all so that pronunciations like *easy* [e:si] or *leave* [le:v] remained longest and ended up becoming enregistered features of vernacular varieties.

Supraregional Irish English (Hickey 2013) continued to develop throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, and maintained some traits now lost in Standard Southern British English (Upton 2008) such as a long vowel in words like *lost*, *across*, *frost*. Furthermore, the largely British model of pronunciation which was operative in Ireland up to independence in 1922 began to shift to a more locally flavoured version of Irish English as a result of the endonormative reorientation which set in during the early twentieth century. Rhoticity, HAPPY-tensing, and a retracted STRUT vowel were all part of this realignment (see the discussion in Hickey 2020 and section 7.3).

In the late twentieth century, non-local English in Dublin went through a series of changes, notably a raising of back vowels and a fronting of the MOUTH vowel (Hickey 2005) along with the development of a retroflex [ɻ] and a velarized, syllable-final [ɫ]. These features are now typical of general supraregional Irish English in the Republic of Ireland (see section 7.6).

A further change, this time probably under external influence from North America (Hickey 2003), became apparent during the early years of the twenty-first century. This is the lowering of short front vowels, e.g. /æ/ for DRESS and /a/ for TRAP—changes which testify to the continual dynamic nature of varieties of Irish English (Hickey 2018, and see section 7.7).

For both English and Irish writers without a dialect background, there existed a repertoire of stock features which were generally assumed to be representative of Irish English. For instance, in his *Soldiers Three* (1890), Rudyard Kipling makes use of two orthographical devices to add Irish flavour to direct speech, as in *Those are the Black Oirish* and *'Tis they that bring dishgrace upon the name av Oirland*, where the spelling *dishgrace* implies the use of /ʃ/ for /s/. The second device is seen in the spellings *Oirish* and *Oirland*, where *oi* can be taken to represent [əɪ], a traditional pronunciation in Dublin and surroundings and something for which the playwright R. B. Sheridan was taunted by Fanny Burney (1752–1840) at the beginning of the nineteenth century (although he did not try to represent this in his own writings). George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) occasionally used such features in his plays. For example, in *John Bull's Other Island* one finds raising of short vowels before nasals and dentalization of alveolars before /r/, as in *I'm taking the gintleman that pays the rint for a dhrive*.

7.2 HISTORICAL FEATURES

The history of Irish English can be divided into two periods, an early one which began in the late Middle Ages and continued until the sixteenth century and a second period which began around 1600 and continues to the present day. The features of the early period have already been discussed, and Table 7.1 lists only those which can be attributed to forms of Irish English from the early seventeenth century onwards.

Table 7.1 Historical features of Irish English pronunciation

Feature	Realization	Representation	Attested until
<i>Vowels</i>			
1. Long U-retention	<i>town</i> [tuːn]	<oo>, <i>toone</i>	early 18c
2. Long I-retention	<i>dry</i> [driː]	<ee>, <i>dree</i>	early 18c
3. A-back raising	<i>make</i> [mɔːk]	<au>, <i>mauke</i>	late 18c
4. ER-retraction	<i>were</i> [wɔːr]	<or>, <i>wor</i>	late 19c
5. SERVE-lowering	<i>serve</i> [saːrv]	<ar>, <i>sarve</i>	late 19c
6. I-ʌ-interchange	<i>just</i> [jʰst]	<i>, <i>jist</i>	early 20c
7. CATCH-raising	<i>catch</i> [kɛʰ]	<(k)e>, <i>ketch</i>	early 20c
8. Long O-raising	<i>floor</i> [fluːr]	<uCe>, <i>flure</i>	today, recessive
9. Short E-raising	<i>yes</i> [jIs]	<i>, <i>yis</i>	now only pre-nasally
10. Unraised long E	<i>speak</i> [spɛːk]	<aCe>, <i>spake</i>	today, recessive
11. Final-O-fronting	<i>follow</i> [ˈfɔli]	<i>, <i>folly</i>	today
12. OL-diphthongization	<i>old</i> [auld]	<ou>, <i>ould</i>	today
<i>Consonants</i>			
13. WH/W-approximation	<i>when</i> [ʰɛn]	<f, ph> <i>fen</i>	mid-18c
14. ASK-metathesis	<i>ask</i> [æks]	<x>, <i>ax</i>	early 20c
15. S-palatalization	<i>self</i> [ʃɛlf]	<sh>, <i>shelf</i>	today, recessive
16. T/D-dentalization	<i>drop</i> [d̪rɒp]	<dh>, <i>dhrop</i>	today
17. TH/DH-stopping	<i>thank</i> [tæŋk]	<t>, <i>tank</i>	today
18. SOFT-lengthening	<i>soft</i> [sɔːft]	–	today
<i>Phonological processes</i>			
19. Post-sonorant devoicing	<i>killed</i> [kɪlt]	<i>kilt</i>	today
20. Post-sonorant stop deletion	<i>poun</i> ˈ [pɛʊn]	ˈ	today
21. R-vowel-metathesis	<i>pretty</i> [pɛːti]	<i>purty</i>	today, but now only in unstressed syllables

Notes

- 1/2 The English long vowel shift (formerly labelled the ‘Great Vowel Shift’, Pyles and Algeo 1993 [1964]: 170–3), which began in the late Middle English period, was slow to be implemented in Ireland. /uː/ and /iː/ were recorded in the MOUTH and PRICE lexical sets respectively until the early 18th century. Unraised long E is also connected to the English long vowel shift: the vowel stems from Middle English /ɛː/ (and by extension from words with /eː/) which was not raised to /iː/ in Ireland. In the 19th century, non-local Irish English adopted an /iː/ pronunciation in line with mainstream British English.
- 3 This feature was censured by Thomas Sheridan in the late 18th century (see Sheridan 1781: 141). Its origin is uncertain.
- 4 Rounding after /w/ is probably responsible for this retraction. It is most likely a feature of the West Midland dialect of Middle English (Mossé 1952: 84) which was present in later

(continued)

Table 7.1 Continued

- input varieties of English in Ireland. Earlier Irish English (from the *Kildare Poems* to the 18th century) contains no attestations of this retraction. However, in the 19th century it is common, e.g. with both William Carleton and Dion Boucicault.
- 5 This is the same feature as produced *barn*, *dark*, *Berkshire*, *Hertfordshire*, etc. in British English. It had a much wider range in Irish English, probably due to its quantitative representation in input varieties.
 - 6 A shift of [ɪ] to [ʌ] is a basilectal Ulster Scots feature and found occasionally with speakers from Scots-settled parts of Ulster: *If you'd be lucky enough to win* [wʌn] *anything*. Some words with this shift are lexicalized vernacular forms used by supraregional speakers for local flavour, e.g. *onions* ['ɪnənz].
 - 7 This feature appears to have been continued among the Anglo-Irish land-owning class into the 20th century (it was a prominent characteristic of conservative Received Pronunciation until the mid-20th century (Bauer 1994: 120–21). For example, the novelist Elizabeth Bowen, a native of Co. Cork, had this feature in her speech. It is still recorded in vernacular varieties in Cork City and County, e.g. *Mallow* ['mɛlə], *You'd catch* [kɛtʃ] *the churn*...
 - 8 The pronunciation [flu:r] for *floor* was only found with one speaker for Antrim in *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* (Hickey 2004a), but it is known to occur in west Ulster as well (Kevin McCafferty, p.c.)
 - 9 Short E-raising is common today, but only in south-west and mid-west rural Irish English and only in pre-nasal position, e.g. *when* [mɪn], *pen* [pɪn]. Joyce (1979 [1910]: 100) states that 'short e is always sounded before n and m, and sometimes in other positions, like short i: 'How many arrived? *Tin min* and five women.' Occasionally, some speakers have this raising outside a pre-nasal environment: *They used be skimming the well* [wɪl] *on May mornings. He's very clever* [klɪvəɪ] *you know*.
 - 10 Unraised long E has a special status as a stereotypically Irish feature which has been lexicalized in the expletive *Jaysus!* [dʒɛːzɪz] and in set expressions like *lea'* [lɛː] *me alone!* It is found regularly in vernacular varieties throughout Ireland, e.g. *I didn't know I'd be eatin'* ['ɛːtɪn] *German cake, ... to sing in either* ['ɛːdʒə], ... *a decent* ['dɛːsɪnt] *way of living*.
 - 11 Final-O-fronting is common in southern rural Irish English, e.g. *We were doing it and the old people followed* [faliːd] *on*, and also in parts of the north. It can appear as a reduction of the vowel to schwa. This leads to alternative pronunciations and lexical splits with non-local and vernacular forms of words.
 - 12 OL-diphthongization is most common with *old* and *bold* today. Joyce (1979 [1910]: 99) mentions it with reference to these words and to *hould* where it is not found today in supraregional speech. However, in vernacular varieties, both north and south, there is a greater range of forms with OL-diphthongization. On its occurrence in British English, see Tagliamonte and Temple (2005).
 - 13 What appears to have happened here is that Irish non-palatal /f/ (phonetically [ɸ]) was used as an equivalent for [ʍ] and Irish non-palatal /v/ (phonetically [β]) for [w] by individuals during the language shift. In dialect writing the bilabial fricative [ɸ] is rendered as *f* or *ph*, and its voiced counterpart [β] as *v*. This development would appear to be independent of developments in Britain, although a case might be made for the transportation of [ɸ] and [β] to the Caribbean by indentured Irish in the 17th century (see Trudgill, Schreier, Long, and Williams 2004 on approximants in this context but without a consideration of the Irish situation).
 - 14 Metathesis of /s/ + stop was already a feature of Old English (Lass 1984: 188) and the sequence /ks/ in *ask* is attested there. It was most likely a feature of input varieties to Ireland which was retained.

Table 7.1 Continued

- 15 S-palatalization is still a feature of contact Irish English, and attested in the data collections used for this chapter: *Hone*[ʃt, they believe in *hone*[ʃt people. Related to this is the feature noted by Joyce (1979 [1910]: 98) that ‘there is a curious tendency among us to reverse the sounds of certain letters, as for instance *sh* and *ch* ‘When you’re coming to-morrow bring the spade and *chovel*, and a pound of butter *frech* from the *shurn*’. No confirmation of this was found when collecting data for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* (Hickey 2004a), and it is not represented in any literary portrayals of Irish English.
- 16 T/D-dentalization is a feature which is confined to vernacular varieties and found across Ireland. It occurs before /r/, e.g. *trap* [tɾæp], *drip* [dɾɪp].
- 17 TH/DH-stopping takes on two forms (i) fortition to dental stops and (ii) fortition to alveolar stops. The former is part of supraregional Irish English, e.g. *thin* [tɪn], *this* [dɪs], whereas the latter is stigmatized. For a sociolinguistically oriented study of these variables, see Peters (2016).
- 18 SOFT-lengthening is a regular feature of Dublin English which has only sporadically spread outside the capital by imitation of its speech.
- 19/20 Post-sonorant devoicing (19) is generally a rural feature. Post-sonorant stop deletion (20), in a way its mirror image, is typical of urban vernaculars of the east coast.
- 21 R-Vowel-metathesis is still very common in many varieties but is now confined to unstressed syllables and the metathesis of /r/ and a short vowel, e.g. *modern* [ˈmɒd.rən], *secretary* [ˈsek.ə.teri]. The form *purty* ‘pretty’, so common in 19th-century literature, is no longer found.

7.3 POST-INDEPENDENCE REORIENTATION

The development of vernacular Irish English can be traced from the early modern period down to the present day. This would seem to imply that there was a continuous process of variety evolution for English in Ireland. However, a fortuitous examination of the earliest records of Irish English, done for the Listening to the Past project (see Hickey 2017), revealed that non-local, educated Irish accents of English of individuals born in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries were distinctly different from the accents of comparable individuals later in the twentieth century. The earlier non-local accents were much closer to southern British educated accents of the time (see Table 7.2).

The reason for this lies probably in the educational system. While Ireland was still a colony of Britain, British models of pronunciation represented the norm within the Irish education system, hence the predominance of these features among educated Irish people before 1922. After the south of Ireland achieved independence from Britain as the Irish Free State, a gradual endonormative reorientation took place at all levels of society, and the Irish educational system no longer promoted English pronunciation models.

By looking at key public figures who grew up before and after 1922, Hickey (2020) was able to show that vernacular features percolated upwards into non-local speech,

Table 7.2 Non-local accents of Irish English prior to independence in 1922

- 1) Non-rhotic, e.g. *burn* [bɜːn].
- 2) Low, forward STRUT vowel, e.g. *come* [kɛm].
- 3) Lack of HAPPY-tensing, e.g. *country* [kɛntri]
- 4) Raised onset of PRICE vowel, e.g. *fight* [fɛɪt]
- 5) Raised TRAP vowel, e.g. *snatch* [snɛʃ]

thus weaning pronunciation away from external British norms (Figure 7.1). Table 7.3 shows how features changed, but also that some others, such as the use of stops for dental fricatives, were characteristic of both older and younger generations of this key period.

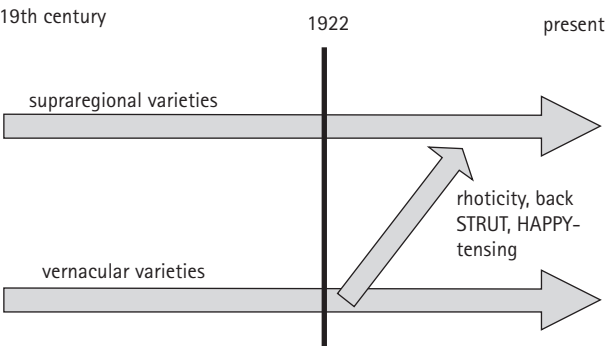


FIGURE 7.1 Upward percolation of vernacular features into suprasegmental Irish English in the decades after 1922

Table 7.3 Comparison of two generations of Irish politicians

	W. T. Cosgrave (1880–1965)	Liam Cosgrave (1920–2017)
Rhotic speech	No	Yes
Back STRUT vowel	No	Yes
HAPPY-tensing	No	Yes
Raised PRICE onset	Yes	No
Raised TRAP vowel	Yes	No
TH/DH-stopping	Yes	Yes
T-frication	Yes	Yes
GOAT-monophthong	Yes	Yes
FOR ≠ FOUR	Yes	Yes
WHAT ≠ WATT	Yes	Yes

The developments in the post-independence period led to a new supraregional variety of Irish English which has maintained key features into the twentieth-first century, e.g. rhoticity, a back STRUT vowel, and a tense final vowel in words of the HAPPY lexical set.

7.3.1 Lifespan changes and the adoption of rhoticity

The transition from the features in the left column to those in the right column of Table 7.3 is a movement which can be documented in a few instances with changes over the lifespan of individuals who lived through this cross-over period. A case in point is the former Irish Taoiseach, Garret Fitzgerald (1926–2011), who, on the basis of recordings of his speaking, would seem to have adopted rhoticity at a fairly advanced stage of his life. In 1984, speaking to the US House of Representatives, he was 58 and his speech still showed very low or absent rhoticity with a lax /aɪ/ vowel in the key word *Ireland*, which occurs several times during this speech as [aɪ^(l)lænd]. However, in an interview on the occasion of his 80th birthday some 22 years later, in 2006, his speech had become clearly rhotic, above all with the central vowel in both stressed and unstressed positions, e.g. *murder* [mɜːɹdə]. This adoption of rhoticity for the vowel in the NURSE lexical set is in keeping with the situation for the loss of rhoticity: here the central vowel is the preferred site for rhoticity.¹ New Zealand English of the lower South Island (Hay and Clendon 2012) shows this in the loss of rhoticity throughout the late twentieth century—that is the adoption of rhoticity seems to mirror the loss of rhoticity in the central vowel site where rhoticity appears first and lasts longest.

7.4 LEXICAL SETS FOR IRISH ENGLISH

A lexical set consists of a group of words all of which have the same pronunciation for a certain sound in a given variety. For instance, the lexical set TRAP is used to refer to the pronunciation which speakers of a variety have for the sound which is traditionally /æ/ in Received Pronunciation (RP). So if speakers use [a] or [ɛ] in TRAP, it is taken that they will use [a] or [ɛ] in all other words which contain this vowel, e.g. *bad*, *latter*, *shall*.

Historical distinctions, still present in some varieties of English, require that extensions are made to Wells's standard lexical sets (Wells 1982; Hickey 2023). In local Dublin English, for instance, short high vowels after labials and before tautosyllabic /r/, and back vowels after /w/ in the same position, have developed into a vowel which is phonetically [ʊː], e.g. *first* [fʊː(ɪ)st], *work* [wʊː(ɪ)k]. Mid front vowels in this position,

¹ There would appear to be a good phonetic reason for this: for the central vowel, the tongue is in an optimal position for its tip to be curled back somewhat for an apical /r/.

however, are realized by [ɛ:], e.g. *germ* [gɛ:(ɪ)m], thus merging with the vowel realization in the SQUARE lexical set. Because of this, Wells’s NURSE lexical set is represented by two lexical sets in vernacular Dublin English, NURSE illustrating the [ʊ:] pronunciation and TERM showing the [ɛ:] realization. This distinction is also found in rural vernaculars, albeit with a contrast between [Δɪ] versus [ɛɪ] as in *turn* and *term* respectively.

Table 7.4 indicates the lexical sets necessary for a comprehensive treatment of present-day Irish English. The realizations indicated after the keywords are those found in supraregional Irish English.

Table 7.4 Lexical sets for Irish English: vowels and consonants					
Short vowels		Long vowels		‘Wide’ diphthongs	
KIT	/ɪ/	FLEECE	/i:/	PRICE/PRIDE	/aɪ/
DRESS	/ɛ/	BATH	/a:/	MOUTH	/aʊ/
TRAP	/æ, a/	THOUGHT	/ɒ:/	CHOICE	/ɔɪ/
LOT	/ɒ/	SOFT	/ɒ(:)/	‘Narrow’ diphthongs	
STRUT	/ʌ/	GOOSE	/u:/	GOAT	/oʊ/
FOOT	/ʊ/			FACE	/eɪ, e:/
Centring diphthongs / rhotacized vowels; unstressed vowels					
NEAR	/iə-/	SQUARE	/eə-/	CURE	/uə-/
START	/ɑ:r/	NORTH	/ɒ:r/	FORCE	/o:r/
NURSE	/ə:/	TERM	/ə:/	LETTER	/-ə-/
COMMA	/-ə/	HAPPY	/-i/		
Dental stops/fricatives		Alveolar stops			
THIN	/t̪ (θ)/	TWO	/t-/	WATER	/-t-/
THIS	/d̪ (ð)/	DO	/d-/	READY	/-d-/
				SAID	/-d/
L-sounds		R-sounds			
LAP	/l-/	RAP	/r-/		
PAL	/-l/	PAR	/-r/		
Velar stops		Velar nasal			
CAP	/k-/	SONG	/-ŋ/		
GAP	/g-/				
Alveolar and alveolo-palatal sibilants					
SIP	/s/	ASSURE	/ʃ/		
ZIP	/z/	AZURE	/ʒ/		
Labio-velar glide, voiced and voiceless					
WET	/w-/	WHICH	/hw-/		

There are several negative diagnostics for contemporary Irish English: TH-fronting does not occur anywhere and the use of a glottal stop intervocally and word-finally

is only found in local Dublin English and other East Coast vernaculars. The vowels in TRAP and BATH show the same quality and only differ in length: [træp/trap] and [bæ:t̚/ba:t̚]. A retracted [ɑ:] in the BATH set is regarded as affected and is avoided by most Irish people. As part of the recent short front vowel lowering, young Dubliners may have a centralized [a] in the TRAP set (with [æ] in the DRESS though rarely [e] in the KIT set).

7.5 SUPRAREGIONAL IRISH ENGLISH

In the following, the sound system of supraregional southern Irish English (Hickey 2004b) is described with remarks on possible variants both within this form and in more vernacular varieties. Many of the statements made here will probably be superseded when the recent forms of Dublin English (Hickey 1999, 2005) have spread completely throughout the south of Ireland and have ousted the older supraregional variety permanently.

7.5.1 Vowels

In many respects the vowel system of Irish English is different from that of more mainstream varieties of British English. The differences are almost exclusively due to the conservative character of Irish English. There is a greater resemblance to the vowel system of early modern English as has been noted by many authors (see Bliss 1972, 1979) than to that of mainstream British English. For the purposes of comparison the reference values for English are those of RP as described, for instance, in Cruttenden (2014). Realizations which refer to Advanced Dublin English are indicated by AdvDE in brackets below.

(1) a. Long vowels

/i:/		/u:/
/e:/	/o:/	(AdvDE: /əʊ/)
/a:/	/ɒ:/	(AdvDE: /ɔ:/)

b. Diphthongs

/aɪ/	/aʊ/ (AdvE: /æʊ/)	/ɔɪ/ (AdvDE: /ɔɪ/)
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c. Short vowels

/ɪ/		/ʊ/
/ɛ/	/ə/	/ʌ/
/æ/	/ɒ/	(AdvDE: /ɔ/)

7.5.1.1 Long vowels

Almost all vowels which occur independently are also to be found before /r/. As Irish English is rhotic there are no diphthongs corresponding to /ɪə, ɛə, ʊə/ in RP. Short

vowels normally merge with /r/ to yield a long rhotacized vowel [əː]. The original distinction between a front and back short vowel before /r/, as in *term* [tɛ.ɹm] and *turn* [tʌ.ɹn] (Hogan 1927: 65, 77), does not apply to supraregional Irish English.

For many speakers, word pairs such as *morning* and *mourning* are not homophonous, that is, the first word has /-ɒːr-/ and the second word /-oːr-/ (Wells's NORTH ≠ FORCE distinction). For those speakers who observe this distinction, it is lexically determined. Nonetheless, one can say that the majority of words with /oːr/ derive from French loanwords in Middle English. The higher vowel would seem to occur preferentially before /-rt/, /-rs/ or just /-r/. In pre-nasal position, i.e. before /-rn/, the lower vowel predominates.

- (2) a. /oːr/ *court, sport, force, forge, fort, port, source, fore, lore, pore,*
 score; hoarse
 b. /ɒːr/ *horse, gorse, Morse, Norse, born, corn, scorn* but: *forlorn*
 (of Dutch origin)

This distinction has disappeared in more recent varieties of Irish English, and will probably be lost entirely in the near future, assuming that the merger of FOR and FOUR spreads to the entire population.

7.5.1.2 *The diphthongs /a / and /a /*

These have realizations with a common starting point, [a]. Here the supraregional variety differs strongly from other varieties: both local and Advanced Dublin English show a front onset for /aʊ/, i.e. [æʊ]. Local Dublin English has a centralized onset for /aɪ/, i.e. [əɪ].

The diphthong /ɒɪ/ has the same lowered and unrounded onset as the short vowel /ɒ/. Here advanced Dublin English differs, showing considerably raised realizations for both these segments.

7.5.1.3 *Short vowels*

The distinction between /æ/ and /a:/ is weak, as there is a tendency to retract /æ/ and lengthen it somewhat, especially before voiced consonants: *man* /mæn/ [mæːn] ~ [maːn]; *staff* [staːf], *pass* [paːs], *past* [paːst]. Conservative speakers may have [æ] for [ɛ] in *many* and *any*.

The low back vowel /ɒ/ is typical of supraregional Irish English, e.g. *wash* [wɒʃ], *want* [wɒnt], *wasp* [wɒsp]. The non-retraction of early modern /a/, as in *want* [want], is stigmatized supraregionally. This vowel is raised considerably in Advanced Dublin English. Word pairs like *cot/caught* are distinguished on the basis of quantity, i.e. one has [kɒt] vs [kɒːt].

The mid back unrounded cardinal vowel /ʌ/ has a realization which is further back than that found in RP, i.e. *bun* is [bʌ̃n] and not [ben] (RP). In vernacular varieties there can be a degree of rounding for this vowel, which is why many Irish scholars have

transcribed it as [ʊ]. In general, one can say that this realization is similar to that in most forms of Irish (certainly outside the north of the country): *fliuch* [flʲʌx] ‘wet’, *moch* [mʌx] ‘early’, *rud* [rʌd] ‘thing’.

7.5.1.4 Vowel reduction

Schwa is found as a pretonic short vowel as in about [ə'baʊt̪]. It is rhotacized before /r/: *butter* ['bʌɾə] and occurs in unstressed *-ed* as in *naked* ['ne:kəd], *wanted* ['wɒntəd]—a feature which distinguishes it from RP and links it to overseas varieties like Australian English (Musgrave and Burridge, Chapter 25 this volume). Schwa also occurs outside the supraregional variety as a reduced form of unstressed mid-high back vowels, cf. *windows* ['wɪndəz].

HAPPY-tensing (Wells 1982: 257–8; Fabricius 2002), a high vowel [i] in final, open position, e.g. *pity* [pɪt̪i], applies across the board in Ireland. However, for Irish (outside the north) there appears to have been a reduction of long vowels when borrowing English words. Thus the English first name *Bartley* appears in Irish as *Beartla* with a final schwa.

7.5.2 Consonants

7.5.2.1 Dentals and alveolars

The area of coronal obstruents, those in front of the palate and behind the lips, is the most complex in Irish English phonology (Hickey 1984). In most varieties of English the segments of this area look like the following.

(3) a. dental fricatives	/θ/	:	/ð/
b. alveolar stops	/t/	:	/d/
c. alveolar fricatives	/s/	:	/z/
d. palato-alveolar affricates	/tʃ/	:	/dʒ/

In supraregional Irish English the situation is complicated by the fortition of the dental fricatives. This means that there is a systemic distinction between dental and alveolar stop articulations: *thank* [t̪æŋk] versus *tank* [tæŋk]. The fortition of dental fricatives to dental stops can be interpreted as a result of language contact: the Irish used the nearest phonetic equivalent to the English sounds, i.e. the dental stops of Irish as in *tuí* [t̪i:] ‘straw’ and *daor* [d̪i:r] ‘expensive’. However, an additional factor could have been the non-prescriptive language acquisition scenario for the majority of the population during the historical language shift. In such situations ‘natural sound change’ (Blevins 2006: 10–12) would be favoured. Given that dental fricatives are ‘highly marked sounds’ and ‘are rare in the languages of the world and learned late by children’ (Dubois and Horvath 2004: 111) it is not surprising that fortition of these to corresponding stops should have taken place during the unguided second language acquisition of the language shift, irrespective of the phonology of the background language Irish.

The complex allophony of T in Irish English is discussed in section 7.5.3.

7.5.2.2 *Labio-velars*

A conservative feature of Irish English is the distinction between voiced and voiceless labio-velar glides. The voiceless glide is to be found in all instances where there is *wh*- in the orthography (except *who* and *whole*): cf. *witch* [wɪtʃ] versus *which* [mɪtʃ]. In the phonological analysis of the sound [ɱ], it is interesting to review the arguments for assuming two segments /h/ + /w/ or just one /ɱ/. There is strong system-based evidence for analysing [ɱ] in Irish English as consisting of /h/ + /w/. One might think to begin with that /w - ɱ/ form a voiced-voiceless pair in English like /s-z, t-d, p-b/, etc. However, the arguments for regarding [ɱ] as /h/ + /w/ are more compelling.

The first segment in /hw/ correlates with /h/ word-initially, that is, to postulate /h/ + /w/ has additional justification in the fact that initial /h-/ occurs anyway (in all varieties with [ɱ]). Conversely, no variety of English with /h/-dropping also has [ɱ], i.e. lack of /h-/ precludes the cluster /hw-/, i.e. [ɱ]. There is a further argument from syllable position. Syllable structure normally sees an increase of sonority from edge to centre. Analysing [ɱ] as /hw/ means that one has a fricative /h/, then a glide /w/ (a continuant with open articulation) and a following vowel which is in keeping with the sonority cline for sound segments.

In recent varieties of Irish English, the WHICH ≠ WITCH distinction has been lost with the merger of the two sounds being to the voiced approximant [w] (as in all other varieties of English with this merger).

7.5.2.3 *Types of R*

In Irish English, R appears in all instances where it is etymologically justified, i.e. it occurs both syllable-initially and syllable-finally. Neither the 'linking-r' nor the 'intrusive-r' of RP (Wells 1982: 222-7) are to be found. There are three main realizations of R as outlined in the following.

7.5.2.3.1 *Velarized alveolar continuant*

Conservative mainstream varieties of southern Irish English have a velarized alveolar continuant which can be indicated, in narrow transcription, by the normal symbol for a frictionless continuant together with the diacritic for velarization, [ɹ̠], e.g. *core* [ko:ɹ̠], *barn* [ba:ɹ̠n]. An offglide from a front vowel to this velarized [ɹ̠] can be heard, e.g. *tear* [te:ɹ̠].

7.5.2.3.2 *Uvular R*

In north-east Leinster (in Co. Meath and Co. Louth), a uvular R, [ʁ], is found in local varieties of English. This is clearly documented in the recordings for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* (see Hickey 2004a: 79), e.g. *square* [skwɛəʁ], *beer* [biəʁ]. This uvular [ʁ] is recessive and now only found in syllable-final position. However, it is obviously the remnant of a much wider distribution. Further westwards, along the counties of southern Ulster (Co. Monaghan, Co. Cavan) and north Leinster (Co. Westmeath, Co. Longford), a retraction of vowels before syllable-final R with attendant lip-rounding is

found, indicating that these localities previously had uvular R before it was replaced by a more mainstream alveolar [ɹ].

Support for the assumption that uvular R was previously much more widespread in Ireland comes from recordings of Irish. In areas as far apart as west Connemara (Co. Galway) and Dingle Peninsula (Co. Kerry), older Irish speakers with uvular R have been found (Hickey 2014).

7.5.2.3.3 *Retroflex R*

The changes in Dublin English, which mainly took place in the 1990s (Hickey 1999), led to the rise of a retroflex [ɻ], in all likelihood as a reaction to the low rhoticity of local Dublin English (Hickey 2005: 76–7). This realization has become ubiquitous with younger speakers and has spread very rapidly outside the Dublin area. With time, it will most probably become the dominant realization of R for all mainstream varieties of Irish English in the south. Retroflex [ɻ] is found in Ulster, both in Ulster Scots and Ulster English. This is not a new realization, and it is very unlikely that the recent retroflex R in the south of Ireland is related to it.

7.5.2.4 *Types of L*

Traditionally, L in Irish English has been alveolar in all syllable positions. Conservative varieties, both mainstream and local, still show this realization. The only exception to this is contact Irish English, where Irish speakers tend to use the velarized [ɫ] they have in Irish in positions in which it would occur in their first language, e.g. word-initially before /aɪ/ as in *like* [ɫaɪk], cf. Irish (*ar a*) *laghad* [ɫaɪd] ‘(at) least’.

However, changes in Dublin English in the past few decades include a velarized realization of L in syllable-final position (Hickey 2005: 77), e.g. *field* [fi:ɫd], *meal* [mi:ɫ], *deal* [di:ɫ]. Again, because of the spread of this Dublin pronunciation, velarized [ɫ] has become a characteristic of younger speakers in the south of Ireland.

7.5.2.5 *The position of H*

Etymological H is to be found in all positions in Irish English. *H*-dropping, so characteristic of present-day urban English in Britain, is unknown in Ireland and so not part of any sociolinguistic assessment of speakers (Mugglestone 2003: 107–59). Due to the influence of Irish, H also occurs word-medially and word-finally, above all in names of Irish origin, e.g. *Fahy* [ˈfæhi], *Haughey* [ˈhɒ:hi], *MacGrath* /məˈgra:h/.

The H of Irish English involves a particular distribution of forms of the indefinite article. Where H is the onset of a stressed syllable, the simple form *a* is used, where the syllable of which it is a part is unstressed the longer form *an* is found (Schlüter 2003: 83–8), contrast *a history of drama* but *an historical drama*.

7.5.2.6 *Yod dropping*

The sequence /ju:/ arose out of the Middle English diphthongs /εʊ/ and /ɪʊ/: cf. *beauty* from Anglo-Norman *beuté* and *suit* from Anglo-Norman *siute* respectively. In many dialects of English the sequence has been simplified to /u:/, a process commonly

known as ‘yod-dropping’ (Wells 1982: 247). In Irish English there are clearly definable conditions for the deletion of yod as outlined below.

- (4) a. Deletion assumes that /j/ is not in absolute initial position, i.e. it must be preceded by another segment, hence *year* /ji:r/.
 b. The segment before /j/, in the onset in which it is deleted, is regularly a homorganic sonorant, in effect /n/ or /l/ as /j/ does not occur after /r/ in an onset, cf. *lute* /lu:t/, *news* /nu:z/. After /s/ yod is also deleted, cf. *suit* /su:t/.
 c. Heterorganic sonorants block yod dropping as do non-sonorants, cf. *mews* /mju:z/ and *cute* /kju:t/ with a non-sonorant velar stop.
 d. The syllable to which the onset in question belongs is stressed, cf. *numerous* /nu:mərəs/ but *numerical* /njə'merɪkl/, *Italian* /'tæljən/.

7.5.3 Lenition in Irish English

The term ‘lenition’ refers to phonetic weakening, that is an increase in sonority with a given segment, e.g. when a stop changes to a fricative as in /k/ to /x/. This is a common diachronic development, and in some cases such changes have become part of the inflectional morphology of a language—for instance, in Irish and the other Celtic languages. Lenition usually manifests itself as a shift from stop to fricative or a shift from voiceless to voiced sound with fricatives. It normally consists of several steps, and diachronically a language may exhibit a shift from stop to zero via a number of intermediary stages.

The alveolar point of articulation represents a favoured site for phonetic lenition in English (Hickey 2009). This can involve different types of alternation, three of which are summarized below, the labels on the left indicating sets of varieties in which these realizations are frequently found.

(5)	Variety or group	Lenited form of stop	Example
a.	American English	Tap	<i>water</i> ['wɑ:rə]
b.	urban British English	Glottal stop	<i>water</i> ['wɔ:ʔə]
c.	southern Irish English	Fricative	<i>water</i> ['wɑ:t̪ə]

Glottalling involves the removal of the oral gesture from a segment. Tapping is also lenition, as it is a reduction in the duration of a segment. However, there are differences between tapping, glottalling, and frication.

Tapping can only occur with alveolars (labials and velars are excluded). Furthermore, it is only found in word-internal position and only in immediately post-stress environments. As tapping is phonetically an uncontrolled articulation, it cannot occur word-finally (except for sandhi situations) and cannot initiate a stressed syllable. For some younger speakers in Ireland, it is fashionable to use tapping as an alternative to frication, e.g. *Waterford* ['wɔ:rəfəd], *better* ['berə] (Hickey 2005: 77–8).

Glottalling can in principle apply to labials, alveolars, and velars, but for those varieties of English best known for it, e.g. vernacular London English, it is characteristic of alveolars as in *bottle* [bʊʔl], *butter* [bʌʔə]. It can also occur medially and finally, e.g. *but* [bʌʔ]. Varieties with glottalling may vary in the environments which allow this.

Frication is a type of lenition which is in fact a cline, with a stop at one end and zero at the other. For the supraregional variety of southern Irish English, it encompasses only one sound. According to a transcription introduced in Hickey (1984: 235), this fricative is indicated by placing a subscript caret below the relevant voiceless stop, i.e. [t̟]. As [t̟] is an apical fricative, it is kept clearly apart from the corresponding laminal-fricative /s/ and from the alveolo-palatal fricative /ʃ/. The sets of forms in the following are thus not homophones.

- (6) a. *puss* [pʌs] b. *putt* [pʌt̟]
 c. *push* [pʊʃ] d. *put* [pʊt̟]

The distinction between the final sounds in the first set is between a laminal and an apical articulation, and in the second set between a broad-grooved fricative and an apical articulation. In addition, the lip-rounding accompanying /ʃ/ is lacking with [t̟]. The realizations of /s/ and /z/ and of /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in Irish English are essentially the same as in other varieties of English as are the realizations of the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/.

The fricative realization of alveolar stops is particularly audible with /t/, given the fortis nature of this consonant. Because of the sensitivity of frication to stress, lenited and non-lenited realizations may be found within a pair of morphologically related words, e.g. *Italy* ['ɪt̟li] versus *Italian* ['ɪt̟əljən].

The fricative [t̟] is maintained through different style levels, and functions as an indicator of Irish English. However, in more colloquial urban varieties of the east coast (including Dublin) there are other attested points on a scale of lenition. These other realizations are sociolinguistically sensitive markers which disappear with an increase of formality in speech.

- (7) t > t̟ > h ~ ʔ > Ø
 button *but* *water* *water* *what*

The removal of the oral gesture, as seen in glottal realizations of /t/, can result in either a glottal fricative [h] or glottal stop [ʔ]. An alveolar [ɹ], as a further reduction of [t̟], also occurs in local Dublin English, especially as a sandhi phenomenon across word boundaries, e.g. *Get off, will you!* [geɹ ʋf wɪl jə]. This can be interpreted as a stage before the complete loss of the oral gesture, i.e. it is less than [t̟], as it involves a frictionless continuant, but more than [h] or [ʔ], which have no oral component.

In one or two words, a lenition stage is lexicalized. Thus the colloquial pronunciation of *Saturday*, even with speakers who do not lenite beyond [t̟], is commonly ['sæhə-de], perhaps influenced by the Irish pronunciation of the word *Sathairn* ['sahə-ni] 'Saturday'. This is true of non-local forms of Irish English, which generally do not permit lenition beyond [t̟].

From the above discussion it is obvious that Irish English lenition is found in syllable codas. But to account for attestations exhaustively, the nature of the coda must be taken into account. The fricative realizations of lenition are found where the input /t/ comes after a vowel and immediately before a further vowel, or is word-final (1 and 2 in Table 7.5). If the /t/ is followed by a consonant, in effect by a syllabic /l/ or /n/, then a glottal stop or /h/ is permitted (in local varieties of Dublin English, but not usually any continuant realization of lenition like [t̪] (3)). The same is true in post-consonantal position (4), although here a slow release may lead to slight affrication (this is phonetically a prolongation of articulation and hence does not have to be classified as lenition). In the position after /r/, e.g. *cart*, *port*, fricative realizations are often to be found because of the continuant nature of /r/.

Table 7.5 Syllable position and lenition in Irish English

<i>Position</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Permitted realizations of lenition</i>
(1) intervocalic	<i>pity</i>	t̪, h, ʔ, Ø
(2) word-final	<i>pit</i>	t̪, h, ʔ, Ø
(3) pre-consonantal	<i>little</i> [-t̪l]	ʔ, h, Ø
(4) post-consonantal	<i>spent</i>	ʔ, Ø ([-t̪ʰ])

It is true that lenition, of the type discussed above, does not occur in syllable-initial position. What one does find, especially among younger female speakers, is a slight affrication of /t/ in pre-vocalic initial position, e.g. *two* [t̪ʰuː], *town* [t̪ʰæʊn]. This is independent of the realizations of lenition in syllable codas and may well be an age-graded phenomenon, as it is not represented among middle-aged or older female speakers.

Lenition in Irish English is of interest as a general phenomenon which shows several stages with specifiable conditions for their occurrence. In Table 7.6, the different types of lenition are classified according to the type of change made to underlying stops which provide the input. There are two default environments for lenition (i) intervocalically, (ii) in postvocalic and pre-pausal position. These can in fact be collapsed to a single environment: open or no articulation on both flanks of the input segment, here /t/. This will allow lenition in *putty*, *putt*, but block lenition in words like *belt*, *bent*, *fact*, *cupped*, *button*, *little*. However, lenition which involves the removal of the oral gesture, i.e. types (4) and (5) in Table 7.6, can occur in post-consonantal and pre-consonantal position (before syllabic [l] or [ŋ]), e.g. *fact* [fækʔ], *little* [lɪh!]. Lenition (3) is largely a sandhi phenomenon and occurs across word boundaries.

The overriding condition on lenition in Irish English, i.e. that it only occurs in syllable codas, holds for all the types shown in Table 7.6. This condition assumes that /t/ between two vowels belongs to the coda of the first syllable when this is stressed, e.g. *pretty* [ˈpɹɪ.t̪.i], *city* [sɪ.t̪.i], but to the onset of the second syllable if this carries the stress, e.g. *pre-tence* [pɹɪ.ˈtens], *titanic* [taɪ.ˈtænɪk] (no lenition).

Table 7.6 Classification of lenition alternatives in Irish English

	Type of change	Segment	Example	Environment
lenition 1	reduction of effort	ɾ	<i>sitter</i> ['sɪɾə]	only intervocalic
lenition 2	stop to fricative	ɬ	<i>sit</i> [sɪɬ]	(default)
lenition 3	stop to continuant	ɹ	<i>sit</i> [sɪɹ ɒp]	mainly sandhi
lenition 4	removal of oral gesture	h, ʔ	<i>sit</i> [sɪh, sɪʔ]	(default)
lenition 5	segment deletion	Ø	<i>sit</i> [sɪ]	(default)

Lenition of stops at other points of articulation is not taken to occur in present-day Irish English. However, /k/ can be lenited to /x/ locally in Co. Limerick, an observation confirmed by recordings in the sound archives of the Department of Folklore, University College Dublin, e.g. *They had a live wake* [we:x] (Bruff, Co. Limerick), ... *a bar of chocolate* ['tʃɒxlət] (Lough Gur, Co. Limerick). Whether this is an independent development in the English of this area or a remnant of lenition with a wider scope is difficult to say. The matter could well be of relevance in the context of lenition in Liverpool and Middlesbrough (see Hickey, Chapter 23).

7.5.4 Stress patterning

Non-standard stress patterns are a common feature of Irish English (Ó Sé 1986), and typically involve the placement of stress on the last syllable of a trisyllabic form, usually a verb: *edu'cate*, *adver'tise*, *rea'lize*, *investi'gate*, *distri'bute*, *concen'trate*. Various reasons for this phenomenon have been put forward. One common view, propounded by Alan Bliss, is that the Irish learned their English from hedge schoolmasters who did not know the standard pronunciation of English, and thus the non-standard pronunciation perpetuated itself (Bliss 1977a). Another reason could well have been the variable stress patterns among input sources of English. In the early modern period, initial stress on trisyllabic verbs was by no means universally established (Lass 1994). However, there is another possible cause, a language-internal reason that does not require resource to external factors. In southern Irish (Munster Irish), the prosodic pattern which arose in the late medieval period required that long syllables towards the end of a word be stressed, as the equation of length with stress position had taken place (Hickey 1997). The Munster stress rule demands that the stress placement be worked out by moving backwards from the end of a word, the stress resting on the first heavy syllable or the first syllable, if there is no non-initial heavy syllable in a word. Significantly, this stress placement rule will account for the non-standard stress patterning with verbs of three or more syllables in Irish English because the long vowel of the final syllables of such words make these phonologically heavy.

7.6 THE DUBLIN VOWEL SHIFT

During the 1990s major changes took place in non-vernacular Dublin English, essentially making this more different from traditional colloquial speech in the city (Hickey 1999; 2005). The essence of the shift is a raising of low back vowels and diphthong onsets (Figure 7.2), something which contrasts clearly with the traditionally open realization of such vowels, e.g. *north* [nɒ:ɹ̥t̪] ⇒ [nɔ:ɹ̥t̪] ⇒ [no:ɹ̥t̪], *choice* [tʃɔɪs] ⇒ [tʃɔ̩ɪs] ⇒ [tʃoɪs]. A HORSE = HOARSE merger also occurred, i.e. [ho:ɹ̥s] is the present pronunciation for both these words which contrasts with the traditional distinction of [hɒ:ɹ̥s] and [ho:ɹ̥s]. The vowel raising probably triggered the centralization of the GOAT diphthong onset, especially in the speech of females: *home* [hoʊm] > [həʊm]; it also provided impetus for the fronting of the GOOSE vowel (see Figure 7.2). These developments can be interpreted as dissociation (Hickey 2013) from vernacular varieties which have very open realizations of back vowels. In addition the new non-vernacular pronunciation of the 1990s has a retroflex [ɹ̥] which is in marked contrast to the low rhoticity or non-rhoticity of local Dublin English: compare *sore* [so:ɹ̥] with vernacular [sɒ:(ɹ̥)].

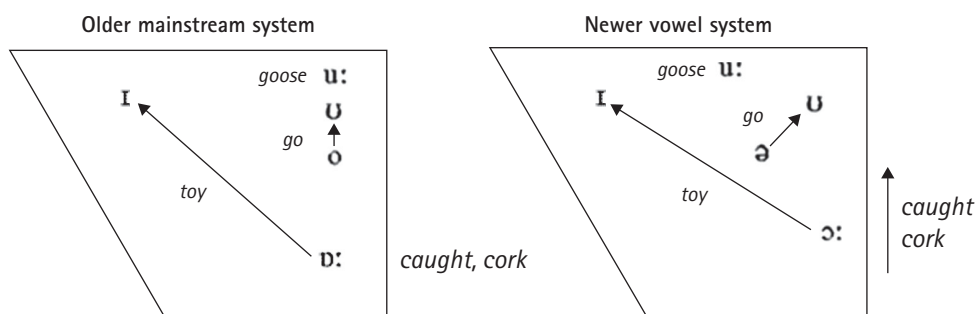


FIGURE 7.2 Movements of the Dublin Vowel Shift in the 1990s

The new pronunciation spread quickly throughout the Republic of Ireland and has become the supraregional form of Irish English used by most males and all females under about 40 at present (mid-2022); see Table 7.7.

Despite these changes, a southern Irish English accent can still be easily recognized. Dental stops are used for dental fricatives, especially in syllable onsets, e.g. *think* [tɪŋk]. The STRUT vowel is quite far back, a slightly centralized version of cardinal vowel [ʌ] and may be somewhat rounded for some speakers. Intervocalic and word-final/ pre-pausal /t/ is realized as [t̪], e.g. *cut* [kʌt̪].

Table 7.7 Comparison of older and newer pronunciation

Speakers	Over 40	Under 40	Comment
<i>Consonants</i>			
WHICH	[wɪtʃ]	[wɪtʃ]	lack of [w] # [ɹ] distinction
MEAL	[mi:l]	[mi:t]	use of syllable-final [t]
SORE	[so:ɹ]	[so:t]	use of syllable-final retroflex [ɹ]
<i>Vowels</i>			
NORTH	[nɒ:ɹ̩]	[no:t̩]	considerable raising of vowel
MOUTH	[maʊ̩]	[mɛʊ̩]	fronting of diphthong onset
GOAT	[gɔʊ̩]	[gəʊ̩]	centralization of onset, (mostly confined to females)
GOOSE	[gu:s]	[gu:s,gy:s]	greatest degree of fronting found with young females
HORSE	[hɒ:ɹs]	[ho:t̩s]	merger of HORSE-HOARSE sets

7.7 SHORT FRONT VOWEL LOWERING

During the 2010s a further vowel shift (Hickey 2018) seems to have taken place and it also seems to have been adopted from an external source, this time North American varieties which show a lowering of short front vowels, shown in Table 7.8 (originally associated with Californian and Canadian English). The DRESS vowel was the most affected with pronunciations like *dress* [dræs], *fresh* [fræʃ] *yes* [jæs] becoming common, along with the centring of the TRAP vowel: *trap* [træp] > [trap]. However, the KIT vowel was not affected by this shift, except in the environment of R or L, as in *rid* [red], *lid* [led].

Table 7.8 Short front vowel lowering

<i>kit</i> ↓	(before L and R)
[e]	
<i>dress</i> ↓	
[æ]	
<i>trap</i> ⇒ [a]	

The adoption of a change does not happen in a single step. Rather it begins to appear with certain speakers to a greater or lesser extent. The group of speakers who show short front vowel lowering (SFVL) in Dublin do not use the local vernacular, a stable form of English in the city. Rather, they are non-vernacular speakers who use general

supraregional (southern) Irish English but, importantly, with the changes described here. The group consists (at present) of young females, but does not appear to encompass all members of this group. That is, not all young females engage in SFVL, but certainly enough of them to make this a recognizable feature of this group's speech. Figure 7.3 shows degrees of vowel lowering for three young female Dubliners. In the spectrogram F1 and F2 are progressively closer to each other from left to right due to the raising of F1 (a sign of increased lowering of the vowel).

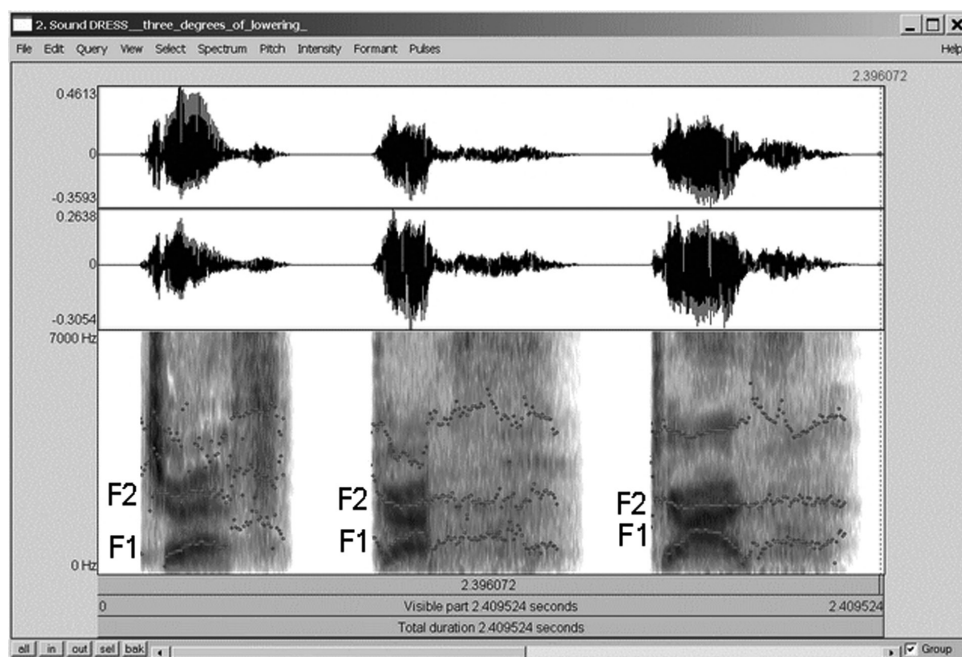


FIGURE 7.3 Three degrees of lowering for the DRESS vowel (Dublin, three young females)

The movements indicated in Figure 7.4 would seem to illustrate a Rotation Principle because they also include the fronting of mid to high back vowels. Indeed this fronting could have been a contributory cause to the lowering and retraction of mid to low front vowels in the first place.

In favour of this interpretation is the fact that all speakers with SFVL also have GOOSE-MOUTH-GOAT Fronting as well as THOUGHT-CHOICE raising. The latter preceded the former, and hence SFVL would be an example of a push-shift from the top of vowel space and of a pull shift from the bottom of this space. Possible objections to this interpretation could be that vowels of various types are involved (long and short monophthongs as well as diphthongs), which is unusual for a vowel shift. In addition, the FLEECE, FACE, and PRICE vowels do not appear to be affected by these movements in varieties showing SFVL. The Rotation Principle of vowel movements has a number of advantages including the following: it renders the question of an exclusively external or internal motivation for SFVL less relevant in those varieties outside North America.

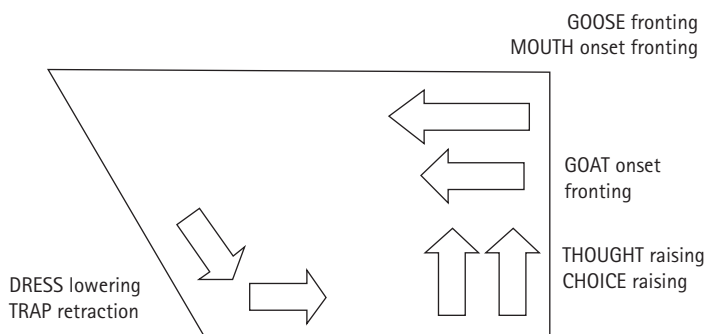


FIGURE 7.4 Rotation principle for vowels in English (outside North America)

Instead, it provides a pre-existing internal argument which, given an appropriate external stimulus, can manifest itself as a rotation in vowel space which, while not necessarily identical in the donor and receiving varieties, will nonetheless show sufficient likeness to be classified as the same type of change.

7.8 CONCLUSION

Varieties of English in Ireland share a series of features which lend them a unique phonetic profile among forms of English world-wide. Some of these features are island-wide, such as the lack of BATH-retraction, a fairly back realization of the STRUT vowel and rhoticity, while others are more prevalent in the south, e.g. the use of dental stops in the THIN and THIS lexical sets and T-lenition in sites of high sonority. In addition to this, there are other axes along which varieties of Irish English can be and are distinguished. The two most important of these are the urban/rural split and the generational difference among speakers of a single variety. The rural forms of Irish English retain traditional features most, e.g. a distinction between the NURSE and TERM vowels, as do the vernacular urban varieties on the east coast. The generational difference reflects the variation and change which has been particularly prevalent in (the Republic of) Ireland in the past few decades. This shows a delicate interplay of external influences, chiefly from North America, and internal factors determined by the existing sound system from which new varieties of Irish English are continuously emerging.

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CHAPTER 8

THE GRAMMAR OF IRISH ENGLISH

MARKKU FILPPULA

8.1 INTRODUCTION

IN research into Irish English it is customary to distinguish between southern and northern varieties. The former refers to varieties spoken mainly in the Republic of Ireland, while the latter term is used for the more Scots-influenced varieties, Ulster English and Ulster Scots, spoken in the northern provinces of the island of Ireland. This distinction does not, however, follow the political border between the Republic and Northern Ireland; instead, one should speak of ‘dialect continua’ where elements from southern and northern varieties merge into one another to varying degrees. An appropriate collective term for both types of varieties is ‘Irish English’ (IrEng).

From a sociocultural and historical point of view, IrEng can be characterized as one of the L2 varieties of English, as it has evolved as a result of long-standing coexistence and contacts with the indigenous Celtic language of the Irish people, Irish. From a synchronic point of view, IrEng grammar largely follows the patterns found in the other varieties of English spoken in the British Isles. This is particularly true of ‘educated’ IrEng, which is fairly similar to British Standard English. Indeed, the latter has traditionally provided the principal (though mostly implicit, Hickey 2012) norm for the teaching of English in Irish schools. However, the regional dialects of IrEng and also urban working-class varieties present a different picture. They contain many features which distinguish these varieties from most other regional or social dialects of BrE either with respect to their syntactic properties or frequency of use.

The distinctive nature of IrEng grammar is based on four main factors which have affected the development of both southern and northern IrEng:

- (i) conservatism, which means retention of some features of earlier ‘mainstream’ English that are now mostly archaic or defunct in BrE;

- (ii) dialect contact with other varieties of English spoken especially in the British Isles; of particular importance here is the diffusion of influences from the Scottish varieties of English to northern IrEng (some of these are also found in the southern varieties);
- (iii) contact influences from Irish, the indigenous language of Ireland, which is still spoken in some parts of Ireland and has for centuries exercised a considerable amount of 'substratal' influence upon IrEng;
- (iv) universal features associated with second-language acquisition in the kind of intense language shift conditions which existed in Ireland especially from the early nineteenth century onwards and which were characterized by a fairly rapid shift involving large numbers of speakers and a general lack of formal schooling up until the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The following description of IrEng grammar is based on data drawn from a number of sources, all representing authentic speech recorded from Irish people in various parts of Ireland at different points of time. For present-day IrEng, the main source is the so-called ICE-Ireland corpus, which consists of 1 million words representing both spoken and written IrEng, different registers and styles (see Kallen and Kirk 2008 for a detailed description). This corpus was compiled in the early 2000s and forms part of the International Corpus of English project, which is based on the same corpus design and currently covers 13 national varieties of English all over the world. From the point of view of IrEng, a particularly important point of comparison is the ICE-Great Britain corpus (ICE-GB), which was the very first ICE corpus and provided the starting point for the subsequent series of ICE corpora. The ICE-Scotland corpus, currently being completed by Ulrike Gut at the University of Münster, will provide a useful set of data with which to compare forms of English in the north of Ireland.

For non-standard forms of IrEng, this chapter relies on two corpora. The first was collected by Markku Filppula and a number of other fieldworkers in the late 1970s and early 1980s from four different areas, one urban and three rural: Dublin City, Co. Wicklow, Co. Clare, and Co. Kerry. These areas were chosen on the basis of the supposed recency and strength of contact with the Irish language. The size of this corpus is approximately 159,000 words (see Filppula 1999: 37–9). The northern IrEng varieties, comprising different varieties of Ulster English and Ulster Scots, are represented by the so-called Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech, which dates to the late 1980s and early 1990s (henceforth abbreviated as NITCS; see Kirk 1992 for details). It consists of c.240,300 words of traditional vernacular as it is spoken in the northern counties of Ireland.

Earlier IrEng is here represented by two kinds of sources, the first of which is nineteenth-century emigrants' letters written by Irish emigrants and their relatives who stayed at home. Though restricted to written language, these letters have proved to be useful sources for documenting the type of English that the Irish people used in the most intense periods of language shift in nineteenth-century Ireland (see e.g. Fitzpatrick 1994; Filppula 1999; Hickey 2007; 2019; McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2014; McCafferty 2017).

The second source is provided by the extensive collection of material kept in the National Folklore Collection (NFC) in University College Dublin. The Main Manuscript Collection of the NFC is based on material collected by the Irish Folklore Commission and its successors. The Collection provides a unique record of Ireland's oral tradition and material culture. It consists of recordings of local history and customs, tales, stories and other kinds of folklore from all the 32 counties of Ireland, recorded in both Irish and English. The fieldwork was mostly done by full-time collectors working for the Irish Folklore Commission. A large proportion of this material consists of verbatim transcripts of field recordings. The overall extent of the Main Manuscript Collection is approximately 700,000 pages. Of these, selected sample texts have been digitized since 2018 and made available to researchers as part of the *Dúchas* project, which commenced in 2012 and is ongoing at the time of writing this chapter. For the present purposes, the digitized texts of the NFC were used as an additional source to illustrate traditional vernacular forms of IrEng. The recordings used for this chapter date from the 1930s, so from almost 100 years ago. The localities were chosen to depict language use in three main regions: Co. Carlow in the eastern part of Ireland, Co. Kerry in the south-west, and Co. Cavan in the north. Searches had to be made manually, as the *Dúchas* website does not lend itself to machine-readable data retrieval.

8.2 PRONOMINAL FORMS

8.2.1 Use of second-person pronouns

The most notable feature of IrEng second-person pronominal forms is the distinction between singular *you* and plural *yous* (sometimes spelt *youse* or *yez/yiz*). It is a well-known characteristic of non-standard IrEng (Hickey 2003), but also found in other varieties like Tyneside English, Scots, and Liverpool dialects. A more recent variant, particularly common in the speech of the younger generation, is *you guys*, which may well be due to AmE influence.

Research has shown interesting differences between the northern (Northern Ireland) and southern (Republic of Ireland) counties with respect to the use of second-person plural pronouns. Thus, Hickey's (2007) *Survey of Irish English Usage* revealed that informants from the NI counties were more accepting of sentences such as *What are youse up to?* than those in the Republic, who generally preferred the plural form *ye*. The acceptance rates for *youse* in the NI counties varied between 79% (in Armagh) and 98% (Antrim), whereas the figures for the southern counties ranged between 70% and 78%. By contrast, the acceptance figures for *ye* were over 90% in the Munster (Clare, Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, Cork, Kerry) and Connaught counties (Galway, Mayo, Sligo), but under 70% for *youse* (see Hickey 2007: 237–42). Also confirming Hickey's findings, Corrigan's study of Northern Ireland English

showed that the pronoun forms *yous* and *yiz* were ‘extremely robust’ in her northern IrEng and Ulster Scots data-set, and occurred in the speech of both genders and different age-groups (Corrigan 2010: 54).

The same north/south division emerged in Kallen’s (2013) comparative study based on the ICE-Ireland corpora. He notes ‘a striking discrepancy between Northern Ireland and the Republic in the use of second person plural pronouns’ (Kallen 2013: 119). The spoken text files in ICE-Ireland yielded 52 realizations of *youse* from ICE (NI), but only 18 in ICE (ROI). Conversely, the figures for the plural form *ye* confirm the same division: there were 40 instances of *ye* in ICE (ROI), but none in ICE (NI). Kallen’s examples from ICE-Ireland include (1) to (3) (cited in Kallen 2013: 119):

- (1) *Youse’re* all being really healthy (ICE [NI] S1A-010)
- (2) Ah *youse* didn’t have to buy me anything you know (ICE [ROI] S1A-075)
- (3) Did *ye* go anywhere else (S1A-065)

Several scholars have suggested that the IrEng singular/plural distinction in the second person pronoun is the result of transfer from Irish (see, e.g., Beal 2004; Dolan 2004; Hickey 2007; Corrigan 2010). Unlike present-day English, Irish makes a distinction between singular *tú* and plural *sibh*. The substratist argument rests on the idea that speakers shifting to English in nineteenth-century Ireland would have felt a need to distinguish between singular and plural reference to *you* in the same way as their native Irish language did, and this was achieved by simply adding the plural suffix to *you*. In support of the substratum account, Hickey (2007: 239–40) adduces the fact that the two major databases for earlier mainstream English, viz. the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler* and the Early Modern English section of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*, do not contain a single instance of *youse/yous*. Kallen (2013: 120), in turn, refers to Wright’s *English Dialect Dictionary* (EDD, 1896–1905), which cites the *yous* form in Ireland, America, and Australia. He also refers to Beal (2004), who, after noting the use of *yous* in Tyneside, Liverpool, and Manchester, concludes that *yous* is ultimately Irish English in origin.

8.2.2 ‘Unbound’ or absolute use of reflexive pronouns

Perhaps the most notable feature of IrEng pronominal forms is the absolute or ‘unbound’ use of reflexive pronouns in syntactic contexts where they would normally require the presence in the same clause or sentence of another nominal element with which they stand in a coreferential relation. In IrEng, unbound reflexives can occur as subject, object, or prepositional complement in adverbial prepositional phrases. Their referent is implicit and assumes shared knowledge between interlocutors. Instances occur in both standard and non-standard varieties of IrEng. The example in (4) is from ICE-Ireland, written section; those in (5) and (6) are cited from Kallen (2013).

- (4) Did you hear from anyone that Seamus was reported to the cops for underage drinking. <#> Megan and [[*himself* and]] 2 others bought cider, drank it and one of the girls in the party went home drunk. (ICE-Ireland\W1B-002)
- (5) Such an appeal process might work simply by inviting disappointed candidates to send their views in writing to *yourself*, as Provost, if they felt that their treatment had been in any way unsatisfactory (ICE-Ireland\W1B-028; cited from Kallen 2013: 121)
- (6) *Myself* and John were locked ['drunk'] anyway (ICE-Ireland\S1A-070; cited from Kallen 2013: 121)

Many more examples can be found in traditional dialect speech, as in (7) from dialectal IrEng from Co. Clare. The traditional vernacular recorded by the NFC collectors yielded examples such as (8) from Kenmare in Co. Kerry. Nineteenth-century emigrant letters also contain a good number of instances of unbound reflexives, witness (9) from a letter written by a prospective emigrant to a Liverpool-based shipping agent. Occurrences such as these show that this feature of IrEng goes back at least to the most intensive period of language shift, if not earlier.

- (7) And d'you hear me, you didn't know the minute they'd burn *yourself* an' the house. (MF corpus; Clare: J.N.)
- (8) He brought him to Kenmare. Then they (*himself* and the Fianna) killed him and ate him. (NFC/Dúchas, Co. Kerry, Kenmare_1936_0304)
- (9) [...] there is a friend of mine to be along with me that day a young Girl and she wants to know how much will you charge her from liverpool to newyork and *herself* to buy ½ provision [...] (The Grimshaw Papers, No. 3, 1865; National Library of Ireland MS 15,784; quoted here from Filppula 1999: 81)

Unbound use of reflexives has been observed in several previous studies. The earliest treatments are Hayden and Hartog (1909: 941), who refer to it as the 'absolute' use of the reflexive pronouns. The same term is used by Henry (1958: 92). In more recent studies, Bliss (1979), Harris (1993), Odlin (1997), Filppula (1999), Hickey (2007), Corrigan (2010), and Kallen (2013) all note this phenomenon, which is based on implicitly shared knowledge of the speaker and the hearer. According to Hickey (2007: 243), unbound reflexives are used most often in the third person singular and in discourse scenarios where the focus is on a single person who is in a position of some kind of authority in the particular context of discourse.

There is evidence which suggests that unbound reflexives are the result of transfer from Irish. Thus, Odlin (1997) observes that the preferred order of constituents in conjoined subjects involving a reflexive pronoun is the same in Irish and IrEng; the reflexive-first order is the canonical pattern in Irish (and other

Celtic languages) and has in all probability provided the model for IrEng in this respect (Odlin 1997: 44–5). Hickey (2007: 243) notes another type of connection between IrEng unbound reflexives and the Irish pronoun + reflexive patterns, which can also be interpreted as an indication of substratal transfer: the Irish patterns are prosodically equivalent to the bare reflexive in English in consisting of a weak-strong foot structure.

8.3 NOUN PHRASE

8.3.1 Non-standard uses of the definite article

Extensive use of the definite article has been a recognized feature of IrEng from early on. It has been commented on in the pioneering work by Joyce (1988 [1910]: 82–3) and in several later works such as Henry (1957: 117), Bliss (1984: 149), Harris (1993: 144–5), Moylan (1996: 275), Filppula (1999: section 5.2), Filppula et al. (2009: 241–7), Hickey (2007: 251–4), Corrigan (2010: 52–3), and Kallen (2013: 122–5). The most striking aspect of the definite article in IrEng is its frequent use in contexts where it is realized as zero in British Standard English and many other regional varieties. Certain uses are, however, shared by Scottish English and Welsh English, which both have a Celtic contact background like that of IrEng. Some similar uses of the definite article have been documented in some other, geographically distant varieties such as Indian English (see e.g. Sand 2004; Sharma 2005). For these, one has to find other than substratal explanatory factors. Sand (2004), for instance, proposes universal semantic or pragmatic properties associated with the use of articles.

Non-standard uses can be classified in different ways. Here, an attempt is made to capture the most prominent categories or groups of words and expressions in the databases and in previous studies of IrEng.

- (i) Names of languages, abstract nouns, and branches of learning:
- (10) And err, when I do be listen' to *the Irish* here, I do be sorry now, when you're in a local having a drink, nobody seems to understand it. Whoever is speaking *the Irish*, might as well be, as the saying says, speaking Dutch... (MF corpus; Dublin: P.T.)
- (11) They all have *the longing* for Ireland. (*Survey of Irish English Usage*; cited in Hickey 2007: 251)
- (12) Do you do any o' *the fishing*? (Moylan 1996: 275)
- (13) Now the kids have to do *the biology* from sixth class on. (*Survey of Irish English Usage*; cited in Hickey 2007: 251)
- (14) Oh, *the maths*, *the maths* nowadays seems to be complicated. (NITCS: RF21)

(ii) (Unpleasant) physical sensations or states:

- (15) I think Jim Larkin, Big Jim, err, brought it [a ship] here, called The Heir, with food ... for this, this is the poor people were starved with *the hunger*. (MF corpus; Dublin: W.H.)
- (16) Me stomach is rollin around with *the hunger*. (Kallen 2013: 124)

(iii) Names of diseases and ailments:

- (17) And what about your woman that had the ... the woman with the ginger hair that had *the cancer*. (ICE-Ireland\S1A-040)
- (18) And that cured *the whooping cough* Some children does be terrible bad with it, whooping cough. (MF corpus; Wicklow: T.F.)
- (19) But he's *the measles*, and he, he's off school for a while. (NITCS: NK43)
- (20) I had a bout of *the flu* the past few weeks. (*Survey of Irish English Usage*; cited in Hickey 2007: 252)
- (21) *The arthritis* does be bothering her a lot these days. (*Survey of Irish English Usage*; cited in Hickey 2007: 252)

(iv) Names of social and domestic institutions:

- (22) I left *the school* in early age, nearly fourteen, you know. (MF corpus; Dublin: W.H.)
- (23) ... mm, best singer now, he's away in, in, the present time in *the hospital* [i.e., as a patient]. (NITCS: CM129)
- (24) ... no she puts them in *the bed* at night ... with her ... (ICE-Ireland\S1A-056)

(v) Units of measurement; quantifying expressions involving *most*, *both*, *half* followed by a postmodifying *of* phrase:

- (25) Would they be all *the one*? I suppose they would. (*Survey of Irish English Usage*; cited in Hickey 2007: 252)
- (26) He must be near *the ninety*. (Moylan 1996: 275)
- (27) I had more brothers, two more brothers there with 'im at the time. And *the both* of them is dead. (MF corpus; Wicklow: J.F.)
- (28) Oh, well, down round Arboe *the most* of them was all small kind of farms,... (NITCS: FC73)
- (29) Now Lough Melvin's a good salmon place. It's down here, *the half* of it's in, eh, Eire, you know, in the Free State. (NITCS: JH80)

(vi) Days of the week, months, names of festive days or seasons:

- (30) So we went into town on *the Saturday*. (*Survey of Irish English Usage*; cited in Hickey 2007: 252)

- (31) And I hate myself for it. I started on them and I didn't eat many at all over *the Christmas*, you know. (ICE-Ireland; S1A-096 Sisters)
- (32) Well, how did *the Christmas* go for you? (*Survey of Irish English Usage*; cited in Hickey 2007: 252)
- (vii) Plural count nouns with generic reference:
- (33) Do they keep *the goats*? (MF corpus; Kerry: D.B.)
- (34) He joined *the soldiers* ('the army'). (Moylan 1996: 275)
- (viii) Non-count abstract nouns and concrete mass nouns:
- (35) I don't know when *the coffee* came. I s'pose it did, came later. *The tea, the tea, the tea* weren't there at all. (MF corpus; Kerry: M.C.)
- (36) 'Tisn't a dinner without *the spud*. (Moylan 1996: 275)
- (ix) Expressions involving reference to body parts:
- (37) And what really scared her then was she went to kind of put her arm forward and *the arm* locked on her. (ICE [ROI] S1A-053; cited in Kallen 2013: 123)
- (38) Well, John Doolan cut a branch off it, and a crowd of birds come and they nearly took *the head* off him. They all collected round his head. (MF corpus; Wicklow: T.F.)
- (39) It nearly broke *the leg* on me. (*Survey of Irish English Usage*; cited in Hickey 2007: 252)
- (x) Names of geographical areas and localities:
- (40) But I'm sure now, if you went out to Glendalough, you would get people that'd give you a good deal of the lowdown of *the County Wicklow*. (MF corpus; Wicklow: M.K.)
- (41) *The County Galway*. (Northern Ireland English; cited in Corrigan 2010: 53)
- (xi) Relatives, spouses, in-laws
- (42) *The husband* said, she was getting out of the bed that night. (*Survey of Irish English Usage*; cited in Hickey 2007: 252)
- (43) He lucky he have *the wife* there. (*Survey of Irish English Usage*; cited in Hickey 2007: 252)

The discussions in Moylan (1996), Filppula (1999), Hickey (2007), Corrigan (2010), and many other studies show that most of these uses have parallels in the Irish language, which

has only a single article, a definite one. Extensive use of the definite article in IrEng is most probably a transfer feature based on the Irish usages, or at least it has been reinforced by the Irish substratum in those cases in which there are similar earlier or dialectal English usages (for a detailed discussion, see Filppula 1999: 56–77; Hickey 2007: 253–4). Following the suggestion by Sand (2004), a third possible source is some universal semantic or pragmatic properties associated with the use of articles. This would explain the occurrence of similar uses across geographically distant and socio-historically different varieties.

8.3.2 Use of *them* as a determiner

Another noteworthy feature of the IrEng noun phrase is the use of *them* as a determiner or ‘demonstrative adjective’ instead of *those*, as in *them houses*. This feature is particularly common in nonstandard IrEng. It is occasionally found also in more standard speech, as can be seen from example (44), which is from ICE-Ireland and its section on political speeches. Example (45) is from dialectal IrEng.

- (44) But what they but *them people* tell me they were under threat ... (ICE-Ireland\ S1B-055 Multi-party talks 2.txt, line 12)
- (45) ... that time the people were rich that used to live in *them* houses. (MF corpus; Dublin: J.O’B.)

Use of *them* as a determiner is by no means unique to IrEng. In fact, there is research which has shown that the determiner use of *them* is one of the most commonly occurring features of non-standard British English dialects, whether urban or rural (see e.g. Cheshire et al. 1989).

8.4 VERB PHRASE

8.4.1 Modal auxiliaries

A striking feature of the IrEng system of modal auxiliaries is the almost complete non-occurrence of *shall* and *shan’t* in vernacular IrEng, north and south. Even in educated speech *shall* occurs only rarely. Filppula (2009) showed that ICE-Ireland (both spoken and written) contained only 54 tokens of *shall* and no instances of *shan’t*. This gives a normalized frequency of 0.54 per 10,000 words, whereas the corresponding figures for ICE-GB are 221 tokens of *shall*, 3 of *shan’t*, which means 2.24 per 10,000 words (Filppula 2009). In the MF corpus, there is just one instance of *shall*, given in (46):

- (46) I *shall* tell you a little thing, if you, if you are, if it’s interesting to you.
(MF corpus; Dublin: J.O.)

The non-occurrence of *shall* in vernacular IrEng could be expected on the basis of previous studies of IrEng. Corrigan (2010: 65), referring to her earlier study based on the NFC materials from the north of Ireland (Corrigan 2000), writes that *shall* (and *ought to*) were not found in that corpus. In his description of IrEng, Hickey (2007: 179) states 'For present-day varieties *shall* virtually does not exist.' That this is probably also true of earlier IrEng, reaching back to the eighteenth century, becomes evident from Hickey's (2007: 179) reference to Noah Webster's *Dissertations on the English Language*, dating from 1789. In this work Webster notes the Irish (and Scottish) usage of *will* instead of *shall* in the first person. In the same context, Hickey quotes Peter Walkdenn Fogg's *Elementa Anglicana* from the year 1792, where Fogg writes that 'our fellow citizens of North-Britain and Ireland, find much difficulty in these auxiliaries' (Fogg 1792: 129; quoted here from Hickey 2007: 179). Another, somewhat later guidebook aimed at the Irish audience is the late nineteenth-century treatise by Dr Gerald Molloy, entitled *The Irish Difficulty, Shall and Will* (Molloy 1897). His description of the 'Irish Difficulty' goes as follows:

It is often laid down in books that an Irishman, as a rule, uses *will* where he ought to use *shall*, and *shall* where he ought to use *will*; [...] But the fact is, that an Irishman, as an Irishman, never uses *shall* at all; with him *will* is the auxiliary for the future tense in all persons, and in all circumstances. (Molloy 1897: 32)

The perennial problems faced by the Irish in the 'correct' use of these auxiliaries are also treated by P.W. Joyce (1988 [1910]), who mentions the Irish predilection for *will* even in interrogative phrases like *Will I sing you a song?* Joyce refers here to the similar American usage, which he considers to be based on the influence of the Irish immigrants to America (Joyce 1988 [1910]: 77). Important in this context is also the study by McCafferty and Amador-Moreno (2014), who have written a detailed history of the decline of first-person *shall* in Irish English.

As a predictable corollary to the avoidance of *shall*, there is a clear preference for *would* at the expense of *should* in any other than the obligation meaning. Thus, instead of phrases like *I should think/say* most Irish people, north and south, would use *I would think/say*, as in the following examples from the NITCS and ICE-Ireland:

- (47) Well, they have table tennis, and they have bowls, and, eh, darts. That's the three main sports, I *would* think. (NITCS: BC44)
- (48) My own uhm view is that generally speaking the presentation of the of the war has been reasonably fair particularly on, I *would* say, on RTÉ and BBC. (ICE-IRE; S1B-038)

Ought (to) is another auxiliary which is virtually nonexistent in vernacular IrEng dialects, including Ulster Scots (see Robinson 1997: 171 on the latter). No instances were found in the NITCS nor in the dialectal IrEng materials from the south of Ireland, which suggests that *ought (to)* is confined to the educated and more formal styles. Indeed,

ICE-Ireland contains 25 instances of *ought to*, 16 of which occur in the spoken part, while the written part contains only 9 instances.

The so-called primary auxiliaries *be*, *have*, and *do* also exhibit some features peculiar to the Irish dialects of English. *Be* and *do* will be dealt with in more detail in the section on habitual aspect (8.4.2.3). Of their other, main-verb uses, suffice it to mention here that IrEng allows the interrogative form *amn't (I)* in tag questions. *Have* as a main verb indicating possession is in conservative IrEng often used on its own without *got*, which marks a clear difference with BrE (for discussion, see Corrigan 2010: 65; Kallen 2013: 109).

In interrogative or negative contexts, *have* often appears without the *do*-auxiliary, as in example (49) from the NITCS, where not even the interviewer's use of *do*-support prompts the informant to use the same pattern. Similar usages also occur in ICE-Ireland, as in (50).

- (49) {What kind of farms do they have, mostly?}
 They *haven't* all that much. They just have cows, and... (NITCS: SM99)
- (50) I *haven't* much news for you. (ICE-Ireland; W1B-005 Mum's letters)

8.4.2 Tense and aspect

The tense, aspect, and modality (TMA for short) systems form an area which perhaps most clearly distinguishes IrEng from the other British Isles Englishes and, more widely, from most varieties of English in other parts of the world. This is what could be expected on the basis of the general cross-linguistic evidence from other varieties which share a similar background of intense language contact and shift.

8.4.2.1 *IrEng* perfects

The overall coding of tense/aspect distinctions in IrEng is much more complex than in Standard English, for example, and has given rise to an extensive literature, starting with Henry's (1957) description and followed by a long series of more recent accounts (see e.g. Harris 1984a and 1993; Kallen 1989; 1994; 2013; Filppula 1999; 2016; Ronan 2005; Hickey 2007; Corrigan 2010). Two factors are behind the complexity of the IrEng grammar. First, IrEng makes prominent use of the present and past tenses for meanings of perfects which are in other dialects (including Standard English) expressed by distinct forms such as the 'periphrastic' *have* perfect. Secondly, IrEng has developed separate forms for some temporal and aspectual meanings which are either not found or extremely rare in other varieties. The so-called *after* perfect, to be described below, is a prime example of such a feature.

As many as six different categories of IrEng perfects can be distinguished, and they are described and illustrated below with examples drawn from the above-mentioned databases. Before that, however, a note is needed on the category of 'perfect', and how it

is understood in this chapter. The present discussion follows the approach adopted by Comrie (1976: 62), who defines the perfect as something that 'links a present state to a past situation whether this past situation was an individual event, or a state, or a process not yet completed'. An important difference between the perfect and the past tense is that the latter implies a 'gap' between a specific point of time in the past and the present, i.e. the moment of utterance (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 183). Furthermore, in accordance with Comrie (1976), a distinction is here made between the categories of 'perfect' and 'perfective'. The latter term implies a contrast with 'imperfective', which has to do with the 'internal temporal constitution of a situation', a sense which is not directly relevant to the discussion on perfects (Comrie 1976: 52).

8.4.2.1.1 'Indefinite anterior' perfect

According to Harris's (1984a: 308) description, indefinite anterior perfects refer to events or states of affairs which take place 'at (an) unspecified point(s) in a period leading up to the present'. In the linguistic literature, several different terms have been used for this type of time reference. Brinton's (1988: 11) survey lists the following, among others: 'experiential perfect' (Comrie 1976: 58–9), 'indefinite past' (Leech 1971: 32–3), and 'existential perfect' (McCawley (1971: 104). In Standard English, the usual means of expression is the *have* perfect. Brinton's paradigmatic examples include sentences like *I have been abroad several times* and *I have read that novel* (Brinton 1988: 10). *The Electronic World Atlas of Vernacular English* (eWAVE; see Kortmann and Lunkenheimer 2013 for details) treats this type of perfect under the heading of 'levelling of the difference between present perfect and simple past: simple past for StE present perfect' (feature no. 99). The example sentence given there is *Were you ever in London?* This type is attested in 59% of the varieties, and its rate of pervasiveness in these amounts to 61%, thus making it cross-dialectally quite a common feature.

Examples from the databases are (51)–(53) from the MF corpus, NITCS, and emigrant letters. The last mentioned (and several other similar ones) show that the indefinite anterior perfect was a feature of nineteenth-century IrEng, that is, in the early period of language shift. These examples also illustrate the typical verbs and adverbials occurring with the indefinite anterior perfect. Among the verbs, the most common are *hear*, *see*, *be*, *have*, *go*, *get*, *know*, *do* (as lexical verb), *come*, and *tell*, which semantically correspond well to the 'experiential' meaning often associated with this type of perfect. The most common adverbials are *never* and *ever*, followed by *always* and *often* (for further discussion, see Filppula 1999: 93).

- (51) *Were you ever in Kenmare?* (MF corpus; Kerry: J.F.)
- (52) {And do you go up to see it [a car race]?}
I *never went* till it yet. (NITCS: CM119)
- (53) Dear son I am unwell in my health this length of time if I do be one day up I do be two days lying down and I *never wrote* that to any of ye in any of your letters. (Nancy Oldham, letter 19 to son in America, 3 January, 1861; Trinity College Dublin MS 10,435)

In the field of IrEng studies, the indefinite anterior perfect has given rise to differences of opinion as regards the possible role of Irish influence on it. For Harris (1984a), the most likely origin of the indefinite anterior perfect is to be found in earlier English, when the division of labour between the simple past and the *have* perfect was not yet established. Hickey (2007: 195), by contrast, derives the IrEng indefinite anterior perfect from the Irish substratum, which has a direct parallel for the IrEng perfect. This could then have provided the principal model for Irish speakers learning English in the period of the intense language shift in nineteenth-century Ireland. For Kallen (1989) and (2013), the indefinite anterior perfect, as described here, should not be considered a perfect at all because of its formal dependence on the past tense form.

8.4.2.1.2 *The after perfect*

The *after* perfect (also labelled ‘immediate perfective’, see Hickey 2007) typically refers to events or states in the more or less recent past. According to *eWAVE*, it is unique to IrEng and other Celtic-influenced varieties of English, such as Newfoundland Irish English (Clarke, Chapter 24 this volume) and Hebridean English. From early on, writers on IrEng have considered the *after* perfect to be a calque on the corresponding Irish *tar éis/tréis* construction (see e.g. Hayden and Hartog 1909: 933; Joyce 1988 [1910]: 85; Henry 1957: 177–9; Bliss 1979: 300; Greene 1979: 125–6). It is a widely known hallmark of informal IrEng speech and is not necessarily avoided by educated speakers unless in formal contexts. It is not surprising that ICE-Ireland contains only very few *after* perfects,¹ and in *eWAVE* its rate of attestation is one of the lowest at only 5% of the varieties, though it must be borne in mind that an appropriate context for its use is necessary. *After* perfects are exemplified here by (54) and (55) from ICE-Ireland, but there are many more in recordings of dialectal speech. Consider examples (56) to (59) from the MF corpus, NITCS, NFC data, and emigrant letters.

- (54) They thought he *was after going* into a coma with diabetes... (ICE-Ireland\\S1A-055)
- (55) There’s nothing new *after coming* in anyway so (ICE [ROI] S1Bo77; cited in Kallen 2013: 99)
- (56) You’re *after ruinin’* me. (MF corpus; Dublin: M.L.)
‘You have (just) ruined me.’
- (57) And when the bell goes at six you just think you *were only after going* over, and you get out and up again. (NITCS: OM53)
- (58) ... & when they got back a boggler of a croppy *was after trying* to rob them & they fired at him but missed him. (NFC, Co. Carlow, CBE_026)

¹ According to Kirk and Kallen (2007: 275), the entire spoken component of ICE-Ireland, which has just over 713,000 words, contains only seven examples of the *after*-perfect. They all occur in southern IrEng texts. It also only contains one example of the *do + be* habitual (in a spoken item of conversation from the Southern section of the corpus).

- (59) Dear Thomas it is with Sorrow I answer your letter *I was just after writing* to your Father Isent the letter on the 23 of March Dear Thomas it is very sad indeed I never felt so bad in my life *I was just after comming* from the hospital I was to see my son he is bad with hip disease [...] (*The Green Papers*, No. 1, 1904; National Library of Ireland MS 11,428)

The *after* perfect continues to attract the attention of linguists interested in IrEng, and a host of studies has been published in the last few decades commenting on it from one point of view or another. They include Kallen (1989), Harris (1993), Filppula (1999), Ronan (2005), McCafferty (2006), Hickey (2000, 2007), and O'Keeffe and Amador-Moreno (2009). Most of these writers agree on the special nature of the *after* perfect, and none have suggested any other than an Irish origin for it. What also supports substratal origin is the fact that no plausible parallels have been documented in earlier or dialectal varieties of English. There seems to be general consensus that the *after* perfect made its way into IrEng grammar in the early nineteenth century when the language shift was at its most intensive stage (see, e.g. Ronan 2005; McCafferty 2006; Hickey 2007; O'Keeffe and Moreno 2009).

8.4.2.1.3 The 'medial object' or 'resultative' perfect

The medial-object perfect focuses on the result, or resulting state, of an action rather than the action itself; therefore the term 'resultative' is perhaps more appropriate and is used by, for example, Hickey (2007: 286–7). However, he calls this type 'resultative perfective' rather than 'perfect' in order to underline the aspectual meaning, which for him is 'completion of a planned action' (Hickey 2007: 286). Another kind of aspectual-semantic approach is proposed by Kallen (1989), who prefers the term 'accomplishment perfect'. In his later work (see Kirk and Kallen 2007), he prefers to use the term 'pseudo-perfect', implying that this type of perfect should not be treated as a variant of the category of perfects at all but rather as one type of possessive construction involving the verb *have* followed by the object and the past participle of a lexical verb (see also Kallen 2013: 105). Despite differences in terminology, the object of description and its main characteristics remain largely the same: verbs used in this way are typically dynamic and transitive, as in (60) and (61) from ICE-Ireland, cited here from Kirk and Kallen (2007: 279):

- (60) I won't draw it out for you because I *have it already drawn* on a piece of yellow crepe paper. (ICE-Ireland; S2A-058\$A)
 (61) They probably *have him chained* so he won't get out. (ICE-Ireland; S1A-087\$A)

Further examples can be found in the present author's databases: (62) is drawn from the MF corpus and (63) from the NITCS.

- (62) When he'd come home, the father [would say to his daughter], 'Mary, I *have your match made*'. (MF corpus; Clare: J.N.)
 (63) Take your shoes off then {aye}, and go round the stations on your bare feet. And you... you eat nothing till you're, *have the stations made*. (NITCS: OM51)

8.4.2.1.4 *The be perfect*

The *be* perfect is the intransitive counterpart of the resultative medial-object perfect described in 8.4.2.1.3. It is used with ‘mutative’ verbs, i.e. verbs indicating motion or change, such as *go*, *change*, *leave*, or *die* (see e.g. Harris 1984a: 308; Kallen 1989: 18–19). According to Kallen (2013: 102), *be* perfects ‘are formally similar to constructions that can be found in other types of English, but are more widely extended and more frequent than in most other modern English dialects’. The more extensive use in IrEng raises the question of possible contact influence from Irish, which has a formal parallel to IrEng *be* perfects. Substratal influence has indeed been suggested in the literature on IrEng, for example, by Bliss (1979: 294) and Hickey (2009: 261). Matters are, however, complicated by the fact that *be* perfects occur quite frequently in the Early Modern English period, when the *be/have* variation had not yet stabilized, and *be* was in fact still preferred to *have* in a majority of instances (for quantitative data on this, see Kytö 1994: 183).

Examples of *be* perfects are given in (64)–(66):

- (64) Oh *she’s gone* about oh I suppose five or six years she was with us there like (ICE [ROI] S1A-o83; cited in Kallen 2013: 103)
- (65) I think the younger generations *are gone* idle over it. (MF corpus; Kerry: M.C.)
- (66) ... particularly the valley up the, mm, Cranagh road {mm}, *is* drastically *changed*, and *improved* for the better. (NITCS: JM51)

8.4.2.1.5 *The extended-now perfect*

The extended-now perfect (ENP) refers to events or states initiated in the past but leading up to the moment of utterance or some other point of time orientation in those cases where the past tense is used. This type of perfect also involves obligatory presence of a time adverbial expressing duration. The description used by *eWAVE* for the ENP is ‘simple present for continuative or experiential perfect’ (feature no. 101). The rates of attestation and pervasiveness are 49% and 61% respectively, thus making this type of perfect cross-dialectally somewhat less common than the indefinite anterior perfect (attested in 59% of varieties). The typical examples cited in *eWAVE* are: *I’m in here about four months; I know her since she was a child; I’m here for twenty years*.

In IrEng, the extended-now perfect is frequently used in dialectal speech, but it also occurs in informal educated speech, witness (67) and (68):

- (67) She’s in America since since May (ICE [ROI] S1A-o70; cited in Kallen 2013: 101)
- (68) I *knew* her since I was four. (Kallen 1989: 15)

Examples of the ENP abound in dialectal IrEng where both present and past tense variants occur:

- (69) I'm *not* in this [caravan] long... Only *have* this here a few year.
(MF corpus; Wicklow: D.M.)
- (70) I *didn't* hear him playin' with years an' years. Maybe he isn't able to play at all now.
(MF corpus; Clare: C.O'B.)
- (71) {Well, how long are you [have you been] in here now?}
Oh, I'm in, *I'm* in here about four months. (NITCS: I PT91)

The common occurrence of the ENP in nineteenth-century emigrant letters indicates that this feature was already well established in the contact variety which was developing. The following instance is from a letter written by an Irish emigrant to Australia, originally from Co. Galway in the west of Ireland:

- (72) My brother Patt *is* out the Bush *with the last 14 Mounths*. (*The Burke Letters*, No. 3, 1884; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994: 156)

As regards the origins of the ENP in IrEng, it is similar to the *be* perfect in that plausible parallels exist in both earlier English and Irish. Harris (1984a) considers superstratal origin to be the most likely one for the ENP and, in fact, for all the other IrEng perfects except the *after* perfect. According to him, Irish interference 'can best be regarded as reinforcing and indirect ("preservative" in Weinreich's (1953/1974) terminology) rather than exclusive and direct' (Harris 1984a: 322–3). An alternative, substratum view is represented most notably by Bliss (1984), who notes that Irish lacks the perfect and pluperfect. Furthermore, as he points out, 'Southern Hiberno-English [i.e. Irish English] has precisely the same range of tenses as Irish has, but the forms are built up out of English material' (Bliss 1984: 143).

Despite the existence of superstratal parallels, a strong case can be made for direct Irish influence on the IrEng ENPs on the following grounds. First, Filppula (1999) found that ENPs occurred more frequently in the regions close to the Gaeltacht areas than in the east of Ireland. Secondly, they were very closely modelled on the corresponding Irish patterns; and thirdly, they had very close parallels in Hebridean English, which is another Celtic-influenced variety of English (Filppula 1999: 128). Fourthly, substratal influence is supported by the frequent use of the preposition *with* in connection with the time adverbial, as in (72). As becomes evident from Ó hÚrdail's (1997: 188) comparison between IrEng temporal *with* and the corresponding Irish usage involving the preposition *le* 'with, for (a certain length of time)', they are used in exactly similar contexts, which strongly suggests direct Irish influence on the IrEng usage.

8.4.2.1.6 *The standard have perfect*

Educated, especially written IrEng uses mainly what can be called the 'standard *have* perfect', which can express all of the above meanings and is so used in standard varieties of English world-wide.

8.4.2.1.7 *Concluding remarks on IrEng perfects*

On the whole, the IrEng system of perfects and the patterns of variation within it provide a good example of complexification rather than simplification. This goes somewhat counter to the expected development in varieties that have evolved in conditions of intense language contact. For further discussion, see e.g. Harris (1993), Kallen (1989; 2013), Filppula (1999), and Hickey (2007).

8.4.2.2 *Progressive aspect*

Progressive aspect in IrEng has attracted a great deal of attention in the literature on IrEng. This is mainly due to the relative freedom with which the progressive form (PF for short) can be used in IrEng, not only as a marker of progressivity as in StE but in a number of other contexts. Of the latter, the most striking is the use of the PF with *stative* verbs, such as those denoting ‘intellectual states’ (or ‘cognition’), ‘states of emotion or attitude’, other states of ‘being’, and ‘having’ (so-called ‘relational verbs’), and ‘stance’. These are illustrated in the following:

(i) Intellectual states (or ‘cognition’):

- (73) *I’m thinking* the screensavers would be our home page (ICE [ROI] S1B-076; cited in Kallen 2013: 87)
- (74) There was a lot about fairies long ago... but *I’m thinkin’* that most of ’em are vanished. (MF corpus; Clare: M.R.)
- (75) *I was knowing* your face. (North Roscommon; cited in Henry 1957: 169)

(ii) States of emotion or attitude:

- (76) If you’re ever *wanting* to impress give give your visitors the scones you make in the first cut-out (ICE [NI] S2A-055; cited in Kallen 2013: 87)
- (77) There was a school in Ballynew, and they *were wantin’* to build a new school. (MF corpus; Clare: C.O’B.)
- (78) Well, of course, Semperit is a, an Austrian firm ... They *are not caring* about the Irish people, they are only looking after their own interest, ... (MF corpus; Dublin: M.L.)

(iii) Other states of being and having (‘relational verbs’):

- (79) But if you’re *depending* on your peripheral vision which is uh what most people do ... (ICE-Ireland\S1B-063)
- (80) I think two of the lads was lost at sea during the War. They *were belonging* to the, them men here. (MF corpus; Dublin: P.L.)
- (81) The money that they had saved they were actually waiting on it then ... They *were depending* on it. (NITCS: PT14)

(iv) Stance:

- (82) [They] call it the Golf Stream... And that's *flowing* into the Atlantic. It *is flowing* into the Atlantic Ocean. (MF corpus; Kerry: M.C.)
- (83) And it [a road] *is going* a way up...Up into the mountain. And it *is leading* up to this...old graveyard. (MF corpus; Kerry: M.McG.)

Besides stative verbs, another frequent context of the PF is with inherently *dynamic* verbs in contexts where StE would not normally allow the progressive. Instead, it would use the simple present or simple past tense forms or (in past-time contexts) *used to* + Infinitive to indicate *habitual* activities. Examples from IrEng are given in (96)–(98).

(v) Habitual activity (with dynamic verbs):

- (84) ... but there, there's no bogland here now.
{Yeah. And do people go up there to cut turf?}
They *were going* there long ago but the roads got the, like everything else, they got a bit too-o rich and ... (MF corpus; Kerry: M.C.)

Thirdly, the PF is commonly found after the auxiliaries *would*/'d/ *used* (to) indicating habitual activity in contexts where the simple infinitive is preferred in StE. For example:

- (85) So, when the young lads'd *be going* to bathing, like, they'd have to go by his house, and they used to all... (MF corpus; Clare: M.F.)
- (86) But they, I heard my father and uncle saying they *used be dancing* there long ago, like, you know. (MF corpus; Clare: M.F.)

Fourthly, the PF is frequently used with other auxiliaries, such as *do/does* and *will*/'ll. The former usage is generally considered unique to IrEng and will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. The latter, exemplified in (87), is a general vernacular feature common in other varieties of English, too.

- (87) ... this fellow now, Jack Lynch, that's going to come into power now, that he'll, he'll *be forgetting* the North. (MF corpus; Wicklow: M.K.)

The freer use of the PF in IrEng quite plausibly derives from Irish, which relies heavily on the so-called verbal noun construction in similar contexts. The role of the Irish substratum is further supported by the fact that some Welsh and Scottish English dialects (especially those spoken in the Hebrides) display the same tendency, suggesting that it is due to similar substrate influence from Welsh and Scottish Gaelic on those varieties (see e.g. Paulasto 2006 on Welsh English; Sabban 1982 on Hebridean English). Apart from

substratal influences, one should also keep in mind that the use of the PF has been continually on the rise in ‘mainstream’ English itself from the Early Modern English period onwards (see esp. Elsness 1994).

8.4.2.3 *Habitual aspect*

Some habitual aspect markers have already been mentioned in section 8.4.2.2, viz. the use of the progressive form with dynamic verbs, the auxiliaries *would/d/ used [to]* followed by *be* plus the *-ing* form, and the auxiliary *do/does* followed by *be* and the *-ing* form. Further examples of the last-mentioned are given in (88)–(90):

- (88) I am in Dublin for the cattle show, but I *do be living* in Cork. (Shee 1882: 365; quoted in Kallen 2013: 90)
- (89) She *does be sitting* there at nights watching Seven Days. (Kallen 1989: 7)
- (90) Yeah, that’s, that’s the camp. Military camp they call it ... They *do be shooting* there couple of times a week or so. (MF corpus Wicklow: D.M.)

The *do be + V-ing* construction is one of the most distinctive features of vernacular IrEng and not found in other varieties spoken in the British Isles nor hardly anywhere else, for that matter. According to *eWAVE*, the rate of attestation for this feature is 27%, which makes it rather rare. Besides this construction, another common pattern consists of *do(es)* followed by the infinitive form of a lexical verb, as in (91), or by *be* + an adjective or a noun, as in (92).

- (91) Two lorries of them [turf] now in the year we *do burn*. (MF corpus; Kerry: M.C.)
- (92) They *does be* lonesome by night, the priest does, surely. (MF corpus; Clare: M.R.)

Further examples of *do be + V-ing* and *do + V* structures can be found in nineteenth-century emigrant letters, for example:

- (93) I *do be disputing* with my mother sometimes that I’ll go to America and my mother gets angry with me for saying that I would go [...] (*The Oldham Papers*, No. 15, 1857; TCD MS 10,435/15)
- (94) My Dear son I am unwell in my health this length of time if I *do be* one day up I *do be* two days lying down and I never wrote that to any of ye in any of your letters. (*The Oldham Papers*, No. 19, 1861; TCD MS 10,435/19)

All of the *do (be)* forms are highly stigmatized and avoided in educated speech. Thus, it is not surprising that ICE-Ireland contains only one instance of *does be*, given in (95), and no *do be* forms.

- (95) You know ... who he looks like <#> That <.> m </.> that buck that *does be* on the television on the video... (ICE-Ireland txt\S1A-o87)

Do (be) forms can be regularly heard in the speech of urban working-class people and in southern rural dialects of IrEng. Northern IrEng dialects, including Ulster Scots, favour somewhat different constructions, viz. *be* or *be's* (sometimes also spelt *bees*) followed either by the *-ing* form or by an adjective or a noun. As with the *do (be)* constructions, the meaning is habitual or generic (see e.g., Harris 1984b; Kallen 1989; Robinson 1997). Examples (96) and (97) from Corrigan (2010: 64) and (98) and (99) from the NITCS illustrate this usage:

- (96) He *bees* mad for the bath. [Female/32/SUE]
- (97) The wee cheeks on him *bees* really red. [Female/32/MUE]
- (98) {Where do they [tourists] stay, and what kind of pastimes do they have?}
Well, they stay, some of them, in the forestry caravan sites. They bring caravans.
They *be shooting*, and *fishing* out at the forestry lakes. (NITCS: MC16)
- (99) {And what do you do in your play centre? Do you think it's a good idea in the
holidays?}
It's better, because you *be's* bored doing nothing {mm} at home. (NITCS: KO121)

The north-south divide with respect to *do (be)* vs. *be(es)* was also confirmed by the acceptability tests reported in Hickey (2007: 235–6). The test sentence *The kids bees up late at night* produced clearly higher acceptance figures in the north than in the south. By comparison, the corresponding figures for the test sentence involving the use of *do(es) be* (*She does be worrying about the children*) were markedly lower in the north than in the south.

In both southern and northern IrEng, the negated forms involve nonstandard use of the auxiliary *do*, as can be seen from the following examples:

- (100) Well, it's [oats] generally cut, but sometimes it gets, it *doesn't be* up, to the mark, don't you know, it'd be bad, like oats, if you met a bad year ... (MF corpus; Wicklow: J.F.)
- (101) And they k(eep), they always keep the horse up above. It *doesn't be* usually down in the field now. (NITCS: SM109)

While the southern IrEng forms have by many scholars been ascribed to the influence of Irish (see esp. Henry 1957 and Bliss 1972), there is less agreement about the origins of the northern *be/bees* forms, with dialect diffusion from the Scottish dialects presenting itself as another possible source (for discussion, see e.g. Montgomery and Gregg 1997; Hickey 2007; Corrigan 2010). Further parallels to the IrEng patterns can be found in Welsh English and in some conservative south-western dialects of English English but, in contrast to IrEng, they generally involve the uninflected form of *do* followed by the infinitive (on the former, see e.g. Paulasto 2006; on the latter, Ihalainen 1976). The possible Celtic influence on all of these varieties has long been a subject of debate, but has turned out to be hard to substantiate (for discussion, see Filppula 1999: 136–50; Filppula et al. 2009: 247–57).

8.5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

8.5.1 Subordinating uses of *and*

The term ‘subordinating *and*’ refers to the use of the conjunction *and* to introduce a subordinate instead of the usual coordinate clause. The subordinate clause can contain a subject noun or pronoun (either in the objective or nominative form), a past participle form, an adjective, or an adverbial phrase, followed by the *-ing* form of a verb. The examples in (102) from the NFC database, (103) and (104) from the MF corpus, (105) from Hickey (2007), and (106) from Ulster Scots illustrate this construction:

- (102) ... so young Jackson was hanged *and he knowing* nothing about it. (NFC, Co. Carlow_CBE_0265_0114)
- (103) I only thought of him there *and I cooking* my dinner. (MF corpus; Dublin: P.L.)
- (104) ’Twas in harvest time *and the weather bad*. (MF corpus Clare: F.K.)
- (105) They got married there *and the house not finished yet*. (Hickey 2007: 265)
- (106) He cum in *an me in the middle o ma dinner*.
 ‘He came in as I was eating my dinner.’ (Ulster Scots; cited in Robinson 1997: 111)

Subordinating *and* may also occur in educated IrEng, as is shown by the following example cited by Kallen (2013: 81) from ICE-Ireland:

- (107) And there was your man *and he putting ridge tiles on a roof*. (ICE [ROI] S1A-083; cited in Kallen 2013: 81)

Semantically, subordinating *and* can be said to express either a temporal relation of simultaneity or a relation of causal or concessive dependence between the actions or states of affairs expressed in the two clauses connected by *and*. Kallen (2013) points out that it is not at all easy to paraphrase subordinating *and* with any single subordinate conjunction such as *although* or *while*. Instead, he argues, ‘it may be more accurate to think of subordinating *and* as a loose form of conjunction, the nature of which is determined by semantic and discourse features of the utterance’ (Kallen 2013: 81).

There has been wide consensus from early on that subordinating *and* has a language contact background. Thus, Hayden and Hartog (1909: 935) describe it as ‘an interesting Celtic locution’. Joyce (1988 [1910]: 33) states that ‘[t]his, although very incorrect English, is a classic idiom in Irish, from which it has been imported as it stands into our English’. Van Hamel (1912: 284–5), in turn, writes that Irish has a general tendency to prefer the verbal noun constructions to conjunctions and, if a conjunction is used, *agus* ‘and’ is preferred over other conjunctions in almost all types of subordinating clauses. This, as he claims, explains the ‘Anglo-Irish’ use of *and* instead of other conjunctions.

Like many other IrEng features, subordinating *and* seems to have emerged relatively late. The earliest IrEng texts, such as those contained in Bliss (1979), do not contain occurrences of subordinating *and* at all. They are, however, well in evidence in the writings of early nineteenth-century authors, such as William Carleton. They are also a feature of nineteenth-century emigrant letters. The following two examples are taken from the letters of two Irish emigrants to Australia, one from Co. Clare, the other from Co. Galway:

- (108) Let me know has he [a Mr Shannon, a local landlord] left old Derry House the Mansion of his Father & Mother and his own native house & home. If I should see Derry House *and he not living there* I would Surely shed tears for it (But I expect I never will) to my grieffe. (*The Normile Letters*, No. 14, 1863; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994: 92–3)
- (109) As for my Brother & sisters I Quite forgive them as they have got children of their owne to [?look two] *& me a child or a lost lam far away from home & nation*. (*The Burke Letters*, No. 3, 1884; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994: 155)

Besides IrEng, subordinating *and* is also found in some Scottish dialects of English. Filppula (1999) discusses parallel constructions in a database representing Hebridean English, collected from the island of Tiree. As can be seen from the examples in (110)–(112), they are very similar to those in IrEng.

- (110) But many's a time I was along with my auntie on the loom, *and her weaving*. (SA 1962/239/B/Tiree: D.S.; quoted from Filppula 1999: 205)
- (111) And the boat went ashore in Coll *and John Campbell tied* to the stern seat. (SA 1970/93/A/Tiree: D.S.; quoted from Filppula 1999: 205)
- (112) And though he was blind I was the only one he was calling on [...] And he would come, *and him blind*, to the house. (SA 1970/98/B/Tiree: D.S.; quoted from Filppula 1999: 205)

Subordinating *and* is also a feature of Scots. Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997) mention it as one of the features of Scots which may derive from Scottish Gaelic. They describe the background to the Scots (and IrEng) usage as follows:

Similar constructions with *agus* ('and') are normal and widespread in all three Gaelic languages, where the personal pronouns used (such as *e* for 'he'/'him') are originally not declinable. This usage may have been borrowed into the English spoken (and written) in Ireland. (Macafee and Ó Baoill 1997: 270)

In conclusion, it is plausible to assume that subordinating *and* originates in the parallel constructions in Irish and Scottish Gaelic. It most probably emerged as a calque on a similar construction in Irish and Scottish Gaelic involving the conjunction *agus* 'and'

followed by the verbal noun (see Harris 1984a: 305; Macafee and Ó Baoill 1997: 270 for a detailed discussion).

8.5.2 Embedded inversion

Embedded inversion refers to the use of inverted order in indirect questions. It is one of the items included in *eWAVE* (feature no. 227), where it is rated as being reasonably common among varieties of English at 61%. Embedded inversion occurs in both *yes/no* and *WH*-embedded questions in all regional varieties of IrEng and quite often in educated varieties, too (see e.g. Bliss 1984; Harris 1993; Henry 1995; Corrigan 1997; 2010; Filppula 1999; Hickey 2007; Kirk and Kallen 2007; Kallen 2013). The examples in (113)–(116) from ICE-Ireland illustrate the two main types of embedded inversion and typical main-clause verbs triggering this phenomenon, viz. *ask*, *wonder*, *know* (in the negative), *tell*, and *see*.

- (113) You may ask *why did Pope Damasus feel* that this revision was necessary. (S2A-041; cited in Kallen 2013: 77)
- (114) I don't know *are they getting* the lads from the town to do the band. (S1A-072; cited in Kallen 2013: 77)
- (115) I wonder *were they* ever able to. [ICE (NI); cited in Kirk and Kallen 2007: 287]
- (116) I wonder *will it* all be worth it [ICE (ROI); cited in Kirk and Kallen 2007: 287]

Examples (117)–(120), in turn, are drawn from vernacular IrEng, both southern and northern dialects, where embedded inversion is much more common than in educated IrEng.

- (117) I don't know *was it* a priest or who went in there one time with a horse-collar put over his neck. (MF corpus; Kerry: C.D.)
- (118) I wonder what *is he* like at all. The leprechaun. I don't know what *is it* at all. (MF corpus; Clare: M.V.)
- (119) ... and the brogue was put in under somebody's knees this way, but you didn't ... see where it was, and you could shuffle it on here to somebody else. And you were asked where *was the brogue*. (NITCS: PH17)
- (120) {You know they had a roof, and they were square at the bottom, and they had a, they weren't ...}
Wonder *were those* actually hay, or *was that* corn? (NITCS: PH61)

In view of the rather high rate of attestation in varieties of English, the question of the origins of this feature is particularly interesting. In some of the earliest research on IrEng, substratal influence from Irish was the 'prime suspect'. For example, Hayden and Hartog (1909: 938) explain this feature through the absence in Irish of the conjunctions equivalent to 'whether' and 'if':

The indirect question preceded by 'whether' or 'if' does not exist in Gaelic; and it is rare in the mouth of an Irishman, who will say 'I wondered was the horse well bred?'

Kirk and Kallen (2007: 287) highlight another aspect of this problem by comparing the frequencies of use of embedded inversion in ICE-Ireland vs ICE-GB. Their conclusion is 'that inversion in the relevant syntactic contexts is not entirely absent from ICE-GB, though the amount of inversion in ICE-GB is small compared to that in ICE (ROI)'. As regards northern IrEng, they state that 'ICE (NI) lies somewhere between the norms of ICE-GB and those of ICE (ROI): inversion is equal to non-inversion with *wonder*, but is not found elsewhere' (Kirk and Kallen 2007: 287).

Hickey's (2007) *Survey of Irish English Usage* also sheds light on this phenomenon from the point of view of acceptability of the two types in different regions of Ireland. Inversion in *yes/no* questions was tested with the sentence *She asked him was he interested* and in *WH*-questions with the sentence *He asked who had she spoken to*. His results show that the use of embedded inversion is more acceptable with *yes/no* questions than with *WH*-questions. Not surprisingly, the greater acceptability is also reflected in greater frequencies of the *yes/no* type, which is also confirmed by Kallen (2013: 77).

Embedded inversion has been researched intensively in the 2010s by, for example, Corrigan (2010), Kolbe and Sand (2010), Kallen (2013), Meriläinen and Paulasto (2017), and Amador-Moreno (2019). The overall picture emerging from these studies confirms the special position of IrEng vis-à-vis other varieties of English. Corrigan (1997; 2010) has examined embedded inversion north of the border, using NFC materials as her database. She notes that in addition to the predicates which have been found to favour embedded inversion in other parts of Ireland, certain varieties of Northern IrE and Ulster Scots also permit embedded inversion with other verbal elements such as *discover*, *establish*, *find out/see*, *know*, *remember*. Her examples include sentences such as '... some time to *see* $\emptyset$ *could you beat this fellow?*' and 'The police *found out* $\emptyset$ *had the goods been stolen*' (Corrigan 2010: 69–70).

Kolbe and Sand (2010), in turn, are able to show with the help of logistic regression analysis that, of the several ICE corpora in their comparative study, Ireland turned out to be the region most strongly favouring embedded inversion, while being at the same time the only region with a Celtic language background. Meriläinen and Paulasto (2017) examined the use of embedded inversion in three Inner Circle Englishes, viz. BrE (ICE-GB), Welsh English (represented by a corpus collected from Llandybie, Wales), and IrEng (ICE-Ireland). In their study, too, IrEng distinguished itself from the two others by showing a noticeably higher percentage of embedded inversion in *yes/no* questions, which they interpreted to support Filppula's (1999) earlier hypothesis concerning substratum influence from Irish.

Amador-Moreno (2019) uses an extensive corpus of emigrant letters in her detailed study of embedded inversion, written mainly by emigrants and their relatives hailing from the province of Ulster. The corpus, known as CORIECOR (*A Corpus of Irish English Correspondence*; for details, see McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012), consists of just over 3 million words. One of Amador-Moreno's findings based on the CORIECOR data is that embedded inversion is not more frequent with *yes/no* questions than with *WH*-questions; in CORIECOR they show an almost equal distribution. CORIECOR also confirms the robustness of embedded inversion in the early part of the nineteenth century

at the time when general schooling was introduced in Ireland. Also noteworthy is the lack of social distinctions in the use of embedded inversion: in the CORIECOR data, it was used by both educated as well as uneducated speakers, which can be interpreted as a reflection of the increasing influence of the ‘colloquialization’ of even the written styles (cf. Mair 1997; 2015). In conclusion, Amador-Moreno considers Irish substratum influence on IrEng embedded inversion very likely, and adds that this conclusion is also backed by the almost complete lack of this feature in the *Corpus of Modern English Prose* (CMEP, see Denison 1994). CMEP consists of informal private letters by British writers and covers the period 1861 to 1919, so not too different from the dating of CORIECOR, which consists of texts written from roughly the mid-eighteenth century to the early 1900s.

8.6 NEGATION

8.6.1 Multiple negation

Multiple negation or negative concord, as it is also often called (feature F154 in *eWAVE*), occurs as a common feature of vernacular IrEng, which in this respect is no different from most other non-standard varieties. Thus, two or more negative items may occur in the same clause, as in the examples in (121) and (122) drawn from the northern and southern dialects:

- (121) Och, I don’t know just, they’re just not the same, *nor never* will be like the old people. (NITCS: LD77)
 (122) You’ve *not* heard of that *nothing*? (MF corpus; Kerry: M.C.)

Rather than being a retention from the earlier stages of English, which allowed negative concord, or a result of transfer from Irish, this feature of IrEng is best considered a general vernacular feature widespread in other varieties of English, too.

8.6.2 Failure of negative attraction

Harris (1984a: 305; see also 1993: 170–71) defines negative attraction as a phenomenon of StE which concerns the behaviour of so-called non-assertive pronouns or determiners such as *any* under negation: whenever such a pronoun/determiner is in subject position, the negative particle is ‘attracted’ to it, instead of the usual position after the verb. Thus, negating a structure like *anyone goes* yields *no one goes*, and not **anyone doesn’t go*, which fails to observe the rule of negative attraction and is therefore ungrammatical in StE (Harris 1984a: 305).

Of the earliest writers on IrEng, Hayden and Hartog (1909) are the only ones to comment on this feature. However, from their description one can gather that it was common in IrEng at the turn of the last century:

'Any' is constantly used in IE [Irish English] as the subject of a negative sentence: 'Any of them would not go for the doctor'; 'at all' may be added: 'Any of them at all,' &c. (Hayden and Hartog 1909: 940)

In more recent research, Lunny (1981) discusses this phenomenon in the speech of bilingual speakers in the Ballyvourney Gaeltacht in Co. Cork. As examples he mentions sentences like *Anyone doesn't go to mass there*, *Anyone would have no view of it*, and *Any young boy or girl wasn't going into any public house* (Lunny 1981: 140). Besides Lunny's observations and Harris's work mentioned above, Duffield (1993, 1995) notes failure of negative attraction, and discusses it in the light of universal constraints on 'negative polarity items' and their 'licensing' conditions.

Failure of negative attraction is fairly common in the NFC materials; the examples in (123) and (124) are from Co. Kerry:

- (123) The first job the man got next day was to send him for the wild boar. *Anyone was not known* to come near this boar. (NFC_Co. Kerry_CBE_0254_0303)
- (124) He cut off the bull's head and *any one of the men could not bring* it in it was such an awful size (NFC_Co. Kerry_CBE_0254_0305)

Further examples can be found in the MF corpus, as in (125) and (126) from Co. Kerry:

- (125) I'd have no pity for them, because .. they're only howling for a good time, howling [...] *Any country couldn't* stand that. (MF corpus; Kerry: M.C.)
- (126) Now ... *anything is no* sin. But I think myself that the day's coming fast, in every one of us, when we'll know whether it is a sin or not. (MF corpus; Kerry: M.C.)

It should be noted that failure of negative attraction is not confined to the indefinite pronoun/determiner *any* but can also occur with the universal quantifiers *every(body)/everyone*. Consider (127) from the Kerry corpus and (128) from the Wicklow one, which also contained a couple of instances of this pattern:

- (127) Places swarm with tourist' now. = Well, you see, it is like this = I s'pose, *everybody don't* benefit by tourist at all, you know. (MF corpus; Kerry: M.C.)
- (128) There seems, people seem to have a .. a fair share of money, and getting on [...] Though, I say, you know, we don't, hmh, err, err, *everybody doesn't* use it to a good advantage, I s'pose. (MF corpus; Wicklow: M.K.)

From the contact-linguistic perspective, an obvious explanation for the IrEng usage is the similar behaviour of Irish expressions containing negation either with the indefinite determiner *aon* 'any' or its universal counterpart *gach aon* 'every'. As Harris (1984a: 305) notes, the Irish negative particle *ní/níor* always stays in a position before the verb and is not attracted to an indefinite subject. Furthermore, the indefinite subject retains the same form in both affirmative and negative contexts. Harris (1984a: 305) argues that

failure of negative attraction in Irish has then ‘in all likelihood’ been carried over to vernacular IrEng (for a similar view, see Lunny 1981: 140). Harris illustrates the IrEng and Irish patterns as follows (Harris 1984a: 305):

- (129) Anyone wasn’t at home.
 Ní raibh aon duine sa bhaile.
 neg BE+past ANY PERSON IN-THE HOME

Another factor supporting Irish substratal influence is the attestation of the failure of negative attraction in especially the northern parts of the British Isles. Thus, Beal (1993: 198) notes this feature in Tyneside speech and also mentions *either*, *ever*, and *another* as pronouns with which failure of negative attraction may occur in that dialect. She points out the possibility of Irish via Irish English influence on Tyneside speech, as well as on non-standard dialects of English in general (Beal 1993: 198–9). Miller (1993), in his description of Scottish English, discusses the failure of negative attraction with the universal quantifiers *all*, *each*, and *every*. Filppula (1999: 182–3) adds to these Hebridean English, which also has the same feature and shares a Celtic language background.

8.7 COMPLEMENTATION

A common feature shared by most vernacular forms of IrEng is the use of *for to* instead of *to* or *in order to* in infinitival clauses expressing purpose. This feature is included in *eWAVE* (feature no. 202), where it is described under the heading of ‘Unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses’, and where its rate of attestation is 31%. This usage is illustrated by the following examples from northern and southern IrEng:

- (130) And there was always one man selected *for to* make the tea. (NITCS: PM11)
 (131) I think it was a penny or halfpenny we used to bring to school *for to* see the Punch an’ Judy Show. (MF corpus; Dublin: P.L.)

This construction is by no means unique to IrEng because of its general occurrence in earlier forms of English and in other regional dialects. Yet there are other usages especially in northern IrEng dialects which appear to be peculiar to them. Such is, for example, the use of *for to* after an ‘intentional’ verb like *try*, as in (132):

- (132) And the father, he would try *for to* tell her, like, ... (NITCS: LM7)

Certain kinds of adjectives in predicate position can also favour *for to* instead of *to*; witness (133):

- (133) It’s very important, you know, *for to* have such a man {ahah} like him. (NITCS: PL23)

Kallen (2013: 83) divides *for to* clauses into two sorts: purpose clauses, which are usually paraphrasable by ‘in order to’, and non-purpose clauses. He refers to Harris (1993: 167), Henry (1995: 82–7; 1997: 98–9), and Corrigan (2003: 328), who discuss both types of *for to* clauses. Of the mentioned writers, Henry (1995) provides perhaps the most detailed description of *for to* in northern IrEng and especially Belfast speech. She distinguishes between ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ Belfast English varieties in this respect. Speakers representing the former variety restrict the use of *for to* to purpose clauses, whereas representatives of the latter group use it in a wider range of contexts, including the usages exemplified in (132) and (133) above. To these, Henry adds exclamations such as *For to tell her like that!*, infinitives in subject position, as in *For to stay here would be just as expensive*, and so-called ‘object-control verbs’, as in *I persuaded John for to go home* (see Henry 1995: 83–4).

8.8 DISCOURSE ORGANIZATION AND WORD ORDER

8.8.1 The cleft construction

IrEng is known to make extensive use of the cleft construction (or ‘clefting’ for short) as a means of giving prominence to some element of the clause or sentence. A special feature of IrEng clefting is its relative freedom from syntactic constraints found in most other varieties. This is addressed in *eWAVE* under ‘Other options for clefting than StE’ (Feature no. 223), and has an attestation rate of 39%. Thus, IrEng allows part of a VP in the focus position of clefts (so-called ‘VP-clefting’), as in (134) from Hickey (2007: 268) and (135) from the MF corpus.

- (134) It’s *farming the land behind* I used to be before I got married
(Hickey 2007: 268).
(135) Ah, very little’s [i.e. very few farmers] give up farming round this area. It’s
looking for more land a lot of them are. (MF corpus; Wicklow: J.N.)

Similarly, subject complement adjectives and certain types of adverbial expressions such as those in (136) and (137) (from Henry 1957), and ‘absolute’ reflexive pronouns, as in (138) from the NITCS, can occur in the same position in IrEng vernacular.

- (136) It’s *flat* it was. (Henry 1957: 193)
(137) It’s *badly* she’d do it, now. (Henry 1957: 193)
(138) I don’t know why it was now {I know}. I’ll not say that *it was* {I know} *myself* was
the cause of that ... (NITCS: PT86)

Clefting of other types of constituent, such as subjects, object complements, and objects, are fairly frequent in educated IrEng, witness the three examples in (139), (140), and (141) from ICE-Ireland, quoted here from Kallen (2013: 73).

- (139) It's *Guinness* are arranging it anyway (ICE [ROI] S1A-086)
- (140) No it's *Provincetown* it's called (ICE [NI] S1A-021)
- (141) It's *more work* I've to do (ICE [ROI] S1A-099).

Clefting does not appear to be very frequent in the earliest IrEng texts. Bliss (1979) mentions only a handful of occurrences in his collection of early IrEng texts dating from the period 1600–1740. There is also one instance of VP-clefting. As can be seen in (142), it involves a past participle complemented by an *-ing* participle (*come bourying*) in the focus position and can thus be considered one type of VP-clefting. In his commentary Bliss (1979: 296) ascribes this pattern to the Irish copula construction.

- (142) Dear Catolicks, you shee here de cause dat is after bringing you to dis plaace: 'tis *come bourying* you are de corp, de cadaver, of a verie good woman, God knows!, fwom cruel deat hate devoure. (John Dunton, *Report of a Sermon*, 1698; quoted here from Bliss 1979: 133)

In texts from the later centuries, clefts become quite frequent, and they also occasionally exhibit some non-standard syntactic and discoursal features. Consider, for example, the excerpt from a nineteenth-century emigrant letter in (143), which has an 'unbound' reflexive pronoun in focus position:

- (143) P.S. Don't blame me for Robert's not going out lastyear [last year] It was *himself* that would not go and the reason he gave was he would be indread [in dread] I'd have nothing after he going. (*The Oldham Papers*, No. 8, 1854; Trinity College MS 10,435/8; quoted here from Filppula 1999: 256)

There is wide consensus that the Irish copula construction provides the main source for most, if not all, of the non-standard features of IrEng clefting. In the absence of sentence stress, the copula construction is one of the central means of focusing in Irish. It is also free from the type of syntactic or contextual constraints which characterize its English counterpart. With the notable exception of inflected verbs, almost all elements of the Irish sentence can be clefted, including the head of a VP (see e.g. Stenson 1981: 99 for discussion and examples).

IrEng shares the non-standard properties of its use of the cleft construction with some other Celtic or IrEng-influenced varieties such as Hebridean English (see Sabban 1982; Odlin 1997), Manx English (see Broderick 1997), and Newfoundland English (see Clarke 1997). This in itself suggests Irish (and, in the case of Hebridean English, Scottish Gaelic) as the most likely source of the non-standard features of IrEng clefting.

8.8.2 Topicalization or focus fronting

The concept of topicalization or focus fronting is used here in the sense of Filppula (1986) to refer to those cases in which a clause element can be considered to have been fronted from its ‘neutral’ position within the VP to a ‘marked’ position at the very beginning of its clause. A second essential characteristic of topicalization is that the syntactic relations within the clause remain unchanged: for example, a topicalized object continues to function as the object of its clause, etc. Thirdly, the topicalized element must realize the main information focus of its clause, i.e. the main sentence stress must fall on the topicalized element. Filppula’s (1986) examples of topicalization include the following:

- (144) [Do you farm much land yourself, Mikey?
Err = *forty acres* I have, odd. (MF corpus; Clare: M.V.; quoted here from Filppula 1986: 215)
- (145) ... indeed, I walked it myself when I young [...] all the way from here to Cahirciveen with cattle and with sheep. Oh, *about a distance of twenty and three or four miles* it were. (MF corpus; Kerry: M.McG.; quoted here from Filppula 1986: 202–3)
- (146) Well, I was down there during the [...] trouble times [...] between ourselves. You may have [...] you’ve heard of it? [Hhmmh] And Kerry, *the Kingdom* they call it. It’s a great place for Irish. (MF corpus; Dublin; PT.; quoted here from Filppula 1986: 203)
- (147) One son. He is workin’ over there. *In some building* he is workin’ with the couple of weeks. (MF corpus; Kerry: J.F.; quoted here from Filppula 1986: 199)
- (148) And then come home. *Danced* all night we did. (MF corpus; Wicklow: T.F.; quoted here from Filppula 1986: 210)

Kallen (2013) discusses similar phenomena under the general heading of ‘information structure’. He gives several examples of what he terms ‘fronting’, and describes them as ranging ‘from those which may appear unremarkable in other dialects of English to some which may seem completely ungrammatical or artificial’ (Kallen 2013: 76). He goes on to state: ‘even where Irish English examples are not ruled out in other dialects, the frequency of word order fronting appears to be greater in Irish English than elsewhere.’

8.9 CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion has shown that IrEng distinguishes itself from other varieties with respect to many grammatical features. A large part of these are ones that have their origins in corresponding structures in Irish. This confirms that Irish has over the last few

centuries exercised considerable substratum influence on IrEng. The influence which established itself and became characteristic of Irish English in general, though receding in the present-day urban varieties, is surprisingly persistent in some domains of syntax, such as the tense and aspect systems, and is still noticeable to some extent even in informal educated speech. Written IrEng, on the other hand, mostly follows the British StE norm. In rural dialects, both northern and southern, the presence of Irish-derived features is evident, especially in those dialects that are spoken in, or close to, the earlier and present-day Irish-speaking areas. Finally, the Scottish input to Ulster Scots and northern IrEng, in general, forms yet another historical strand in the linguistic make-up of IrEng.

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CHAPTER 9

THE VOCABULARY OF IRISH ENGLISH

JOHN KIRK

9.1 INTRODUCTION

THE vocabulary of English in the South of Ireland has long been intertwined with Irish in what was, for several centuries, a bilingual society. The North of Ireland was essentially a vernacular society, in which Scots as well as Irish was spoken. In both parts, the inherited wordstock also came from various regional or local varieties in England as well as the standardized varieties, enabling subsequent derivations, the addition of new senses as needs arose, and the resources for new creations. Despite the recognition of Irish as the first national language of state in 1921, English in Ireland has been the 'high' language of government and public affairs, bonded with its incorporation into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801. The great achievement of Irish writers such as the poet W. B. Yeats, the novelist James Joyce, and the dramatists John Synge and Sean O'Casey was that they could express Irish identity and cultural life convincingly *in English*, capturing both vernacular as well as formal styles. More recently, the northern poets Seamus Heaney and Michael Longley have successfully incorporated features of Scots into their work.

9.2 LEXICOGRAPHY PRECEDES LEXICOLOGY

The present lexicological treatment¹ makes use of three main dictionaries: *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English* (DHE) by Terry Dolan (third edition, 2012), *Slanguage* by Bernard

¹ The earliest lexicological studies of Irish English are Joyce (1910 [1979]), Clarke (1917), and Irwin (1935). Recent descriptive studies include Hickey (2005: 133–46; 2007: 362–70), Amador-Moreno

Share (third edition, 2008), and the *Concise Ulster Dictionary* (CUD) by Caroline Macafee (1996). Each dictionary has its own approach, inevitably arising from the interests of the author-compiler, and the nature of the data which have been collected as a basis.

DHE reflects many examples of use and sayings which listeners sent in to the author-compiler's popular, long-running radio programme, and which are thus localized from throughout the South of Ireland; as a result of this crowdsourcing approach, a great many Irish words are included, virtually unaltered. What is included in DHE is largely intuitive. A valuable feature of this dictionary, not present in the others, is the inclusion of phonemic transcriptions in IPA for all words, which is especially useful for the pronunciation of words taken over from Irish, with varying degrees of assimilation. Dolan was also interested in literary uses of such words, so that the entries in meaning and form include a great many examples from literary texts. The present-day currency of all this lexical diversity is, however, not addressed.

Whereas *Slanguage* contains only a few slang expressions, despite its name, its overall focus is on the entire range of words and expressions in use in present-day Ireland, at many different stylistic levels, including a great deal of officialese and formal nomenclature, documenting the current language in all its diversity and, in effect, covering what it is that every Irish person has as their mental lexicon of Irish English, particularly in the South. Like DHE, its method has depended on crowdsourcing and is also intuitive.

By contrast, the CUD focuses on the dialect of the historical province of Ulster, with its nine counties, bringing together and collating over 20 attempts throughout the twentieth century to provide, after editing, a very thorough and more systematic listing of that traditional dialect, with much less from Irish and much more from Scots. It has several major innovations: the Latin name for plants and animals, etymologies for a great many words (e.g. Old Norse or Middle Dutch), identification of the sources from which a word is likely to have come from into Ulster dialect (e.g. Scots or northern English dialect), and the specification of parallel forms and their distribution in English counties from Northumberland to Somerset, from East Anglia to Pembrokeshire, on the basis of the information provided in *The English Dialect Dictionary* (EDD) (Wright 1898–1905) (CUD: xxvii–xxxvii). According to its editor, 'there's also a large element of arbitrariness in what gets included in CUD. Words shared with St.E. have to have distinctive forms or usages, or to have remained in use while becoming obsolete in the Standard variety. Likewise, words shared with Irish need to show some degree of assimilation' (Caroline Macafee, personal communication, 26 April 2022). The dictionary may be thought of

(2010: 56–73), Corrigan (2010: 79–103), and Kallen (1996; 1997; 2013: 126–71; 2017, esp. 249–52). Scots is treated by Montgomery and Gregg (1997). What is not dealt with here is the vocabulary of earlier periods such as the Middle Ages (cf. Irwin 1935; Kallen 1997: 142–4), the Elizabethan and Cromwellian plantation periods (cf. Bliss 1979b) the vestigial dialect of Forth and Bargo (Dolan and Ó Muirthe 1996; Hickey 2007: 66–82; Kallen 2013: 176–9), the 19th century (cf. McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012), or the literary revival of the early 20th century (e.g. Wall 1986; 1995; 2001).

as a dictionary of late nineteenth-century words; according to one reviewer: ‘This dictionary is in effect the Ulster Folk Museum in print’ (Jeffrey 1996: 11).

Despite the issue of currency and of the imbalance between spoken and written as well as formal and informal uses, an edited collation of these three works would nevertheless go a long way towards meeting the goal of an all-Ireland dictionary, as urged by Paulin (1983).

The creation of Northern Ireland in 1921 was not the only political event to have an effect on lexical change. The Belfast Agreement of 1998 (often referred to as the Good Friday Agreement) has been shown to have had an effect on the use of words. In an investigation by Michaela Rusch (2017), words in the political arena are shown to have radically changed their meaning. Rusch shows that before the Good Friday Agreement, *terrorist* had a pejorative meaning, surviving from older terminology but, after the Good Friday Agreement, its usage has declined due to increasing dissident action, so that *dissident* rather than *terrorist* is being preferred to refer to violence. Before the Good Friday Agreement, *dissident* had a different meaning, referring to splits from main organizations, but after the Good Friday Agreement it gained a pejorative meaning, applied with negative connotations to republicans. Before the Good Friday Agreement, *war* was used rather to refer to terrorist action in Northern Ireland, but since the Good Friday Agreement it has reverted to its general use found elsewhere. Before the Good Friday Agreement, *RUC* was used to refer to the prevailing police force, partly neutrally, partly pejoratively, depending on the group using it, but after the Good Friday Agreement it has become rather pejorative in meaning with reference to the past and how policing was handled at that time. *PSNI* was not in use before the Good Friday Agreement, but its use is neutral, underlining the reference to a reformed police force.

9.3 THE MEANING AND DISTRIBUTION OF WORDS

Words and their meanings have long attracted popular attention, as witnessed by the recurrence of articles in the *Irish Times*, where for years Diarmaid Ó Muirthe ran a column about ‘The Words We Use’² and where articles continue to appear (e.g. Phelan 2016 on words given to English by the Irish, and Mulally 2017 on Ireland’s most favourite words and phrases); comments have come to be made online by bloggers, too (cf. e.g. Carey 2014).

The many shared lexical items between Irish and English have been thought of as a ‘dual lexicon’ (Kallen 2013: §4.2.2) and a set of ‘intercultural lexemes’ (Wigger 2000). The story of Ireland has recently been retold in terms of 100 indexical words of Irish

² These lively columns were gathered and published in numerous collections (Ó Muirthe 2002; 2004; 2006; 2011; 2013).

(Arbuthnott et al. 2019), but it could just as well be retold in the English of Ireland. For many words from Irish have simply migrated into Irish English as ‘apports’, without alteration in form or meaning and only with various degrees of phonological naturalization (Kallen 1996). The notion of apports is focused genetically on what speakers of Irish did by their ‘carrying over’ of elements in the Irish lexicon which they felt they couldn’t give up despite the English they were increasingly acquiring, thereby enabling those Irish words to survive in what for them was the new contact medium of Irish English. This contrasts with the notion of borrowing, with its focus on existing L1 speakers of English and their conscious activity of taking over words from another language, as with the adoption of names for fruit, for instance, as these became known to speakers of English during voyages of discovery. The notion of apportioning or ‘carrying over’ very much ‘suits much of the development of Irish English, especially during the major period of language shift’ (Kallen 2013: 132).³

In *A History of Ireland in 100 Words* (Arbuthnott et al. 2019), the words are grouped into subject categories, including the notions of writing and literature (cf. *seanchas* /‘jænəxəs/ ‘a traditional story teller’ < Irish *seanchas*), folklore and the interaction with other worlds (cf. *badhbh* /barv/ < Irish *badhbh* ‘the bogey man’, said in order to frighten children), social relations such as terms of endearment (cf. *a cara* < Irish *a chara* ‘friend’ in widespread use⁴), and even language itself (cf. *bearla* /‘be:rlə/ < Irish *béarla* ‘English’ from an original word for ‘speech’). Another group comprises forms of entertainment (cf. *ceol* ‘music’, played with a *cruit* /krɪt/ ‘a harp’, or *cláirseach* /‘kla:rlʃəx/ ‘a standing harp’, almost certainly at a *céilí* (which has numerous spellings) /‘ke:lɪ:/) and politics (cf. *fianna* as in the name of the political party *Fianna Fáil* /‘fɪənə fə:lɪ/, which originated with the legendary warrior band of Fionn mac Cumhaill < *fianna* pl. of *fiann* ‘warrior band’ + *fáil*, an ancient name of Ireland). A third group deals with the human body (cf. *súil* /su:lɪ/ ‘eye’) and food (cf. *bainne* ‘milk’—whereby *bonnyclabber* is ‘probably the most frequently used Irish word in English writings of the seventeenth century’, Bliss 1979b: 271).

Arbuthnott et al.’s (2019) story is by no means complete either. Its ‘sense of place’ category (*abhainn* ‘river’, *baile* ‘inhabited settlement’, *cill* ‘church’, *cúige* ‘province’, *fliuch* ‘wet, moist’, *lár* ‘the middle or centre’, *lios* ‘ring fort’, *oileán* ‘island’, and *tuaidh* ‘north’) could be extended to the physical landscape, of which many apports survive, such as *bawn* ‘a yard or enclosure’, *drumlins* ‘small rolling hills’, *moss* (also *peat-moss*) ‘bogland’, and *rath* ‘a circular ring fort’, all documented in the CUD. Further ‘historical’ words from the CUD include: *aboo* (an exclamation, originally a war cry meaning

³ ‘Irish words retained in the English language after a community switch away from Irish’ is what Kallen defines as ‘apports’ (Kallen 1996: 109). The notion is derived from Allsopp’s (1980) paper ‘How does the creole lexicon expand?’ whereby pidgin words become absorbed in creoles through transfer as what Allsopp calls ‘slips, shifts, and innovations’ that reflect ‘intimate [. . .] cultural survivals’ (pp. 93–5) and thus continuation of use like a ‘dual lexicon’. For Kallen, such lexical transfer may be regarded as an analogous situation of language contact and language shift (Kallen 2013: 132).

⁴ *Carafriend*, the name of the Belfast befriending organization, is tautologous as an interlingual lexeme.

'to victory'), *dergaboos* (although a plural noun, translating Irish *Lámh Dhearg Abú* 'Red Hand to Victory', now associated with the heraldic red hand of Ulster), the notion of 'month' in connection with the use of agricultural fields for crops in *blue month*, *dead month*, *hungry month* (all referring to the period mid-July to mid-August between potato crops), and *madder* ('a four-sided vessel made from one block of wood'). Moreover, Irish words are necessary for historians in the substantiation and documentation of their accounts, as with the following words: *bailie*, *ballyboe*, *brae*, *cairn*, *canker*, *crannog*, *croppie*, *cudgel*, *curragh*, *dock*, *dulse*, *dun*, *fair*, *galloglass*, *goosegrass*, *gooshawk*, *jobber*, *lough*, *lundy*, *Ribbon man*, and *tate*, again all recorded in the CUD. Many such words are prominently featured in historical accounts, for instance, *A Shorter Illustrated History of Ulster* (Bardon 1996).

At the same time, Irishness is manifested in rural, often agricultural ways of living and their accompanying speech patterns. Folklife subject areas such as ploughing and peat cutting, domesticity and cookery, or the famine and potato farming are announced right up front by the CUD as its subject matter, and many are illustrated with fine line drawings. Similar areas of traditional folklife in the South are captured in such ethnographical studies as Olive Sharkey's *Old Days, Old Ways: An Illustrated Folk History of Ireland* (1985), revised as her *Ways of Old: Traditional Life in Ireland* (2000)—also enhanced with fine line drawings, which are especially useful for today's audiences unfamiliar with traditional implements or farm practices.

A traditional but still active subject area is that for names for people, many derogatory or abusive. <ga-> words for 'people' abound in CUD, DHE, and *Slanguage*.⁵ Some words stem from *gob*, shared between Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and contemporary colloquial slang in English (*shut yer gob!*) and originally from the Irish word for 'beak, mouth'. The basic meaning becomes metonymized somewhat onomatopoeically to 'someone who talks incessantly' (*gab*, *gob*, *gub*), a meaning reinforced by derivation: *gabbadan* ('a talkative person' < *gab* + Irish diminutive *-adán*); and compounding: *gabblebooter* ('a windbag' < *gab* + *booter* 'a senseless talker'), *gabslick* ('a person who acts the fool and talks too much' < *gab* + form of *shite*), and *gabbyguts* ('an overloquacious individual'). A further set is clearly onomatopoeic, to refer to 'someone who stares', who 'lets his mouth hang down', and hence 'looks silly or stupid', as in: *gah*, *gaw*, from Scots (ultimately from Old Norse *gapa* 'open the mouth'), and also *gawk* 'a fool', 'a lout' related to *gowk* 'the cuckoo', < Old Norse *gaukr*.

Another set of words stem from Irish *gám* 'a silly, foolish person', 'a simpleton', 'an awkward, ungainly fellow', yielding *gom*, *gaum* /gɔ:m/ 'a gaping person', 'someone who stares vacantly'. Further derivatives are *gamaí* /'ga:mi:/ 'a tall, overgrown person', 'a foolish person' < Irish *gamái*; *gamal* /gæmæl/ 'a stupid person', 'a foolish loutish person' < Irish *gamal*; and *gamalóg* /'gaməlɔ:g/ 'a silly woman or girl' < Irish *gamalóg*; *gomach* and *gomeril*. However, *gom* and its derivatives may descend from Old Norse words *gaumr*, whence in English dialects *gaumless* (cf. CUD) and *gomeril* (cf. Upton et al. 1994). Semantically related words are *gamph* (< Scots *gamf* 'buffoon', 'foolish individual'), with

⁵ Words beginning with the letter <m-> and pertaining to many subject areas are dealt with in Kirk (1999a).

derivatives *gamfral*, *gamfril*, *gamful*, and *gamshal*, and *gape* ‘a fool’, ‘a simpleton’ (< Old Norse *gapa* ‘open-mouthed’—cf. Ayto (2005), Ó Muirthe (2010) and Etymonline). The idea of ‘a staring person’, ‘a person staring vacantly’ is also conveyed in *gawney*, and in *gazebo*, *gazaybo*, *gazaybee* ‘an idle staring person’, ‘a tall awkward person’ (by extension from *gazebo* in English which is explained by the OED as a humorous formation on *gaze*, imitating Latin futures such as *videbo* ‘I shall see’). A related set of words include *ganch*, *gaunch*, *gansh* ‘an awkward, inarticulate fellow’, ‘a fool, a stupid fellow’, ‘a person who talks too much’, ‘a loudmouth’, ‘a simpleton’, ‘an ignoramus who behaves badly’ (< Scots *ganch*, again probably onomatopoeic).

A further set of words ultimately stems from French *garçon*, borrowed into (Southern) Irish as *garsún* and Scottish Gaelic as *gaisean* ‘a young boy’, whence *gaishen* ‘a thin, emaciated person’. Thus, from Irish *garsún*, there survive *garsun*, *garsún*, *garsoon*, *gorsoon* /ga:r'su:nʷ/ or, in a phonetically slightly different form in Western Irish, *gasúr* /gasu:r/, *gassir*, *gossure*, *gosawe* all occur for ‘a young boy’, often used derogatively. From Scottish Gaelic *gaisean*, there have come, via Scots (in addition to *gaishen*) *gasdhun*, *gation* ‘a very thin person’.

Individual words for people beginning with <ga-> alone include apporsts from Irish, as in: *gadaí* /'gadi:/ ‘a thief’, ‘a rogue’, ‘a sly person’ (< Irish *gadaí*); *gadderman* ‘an argumentative person’, although also used affectionately as ‘a rascal’, ‘a rogue’, as ‘one too wise for his years’ (< Irish *cadramán* ‘an awkward person’, ‘a boor’); *gadgie* /'gædʒi:/ ‘a loner’ (< Shelta, the original jargon of Irish travellers); *gallery* ‘an entertaining, enthusiastic person’ (probably < Irish *gealgháireach* /gʲælyːa:rʲəx/ ‘pleasing’, ‘cheerful’ (cf. Moylan 1996: 134–5), although *Slanguage* lists *gallery/galley* as ‘fun’, ‘crack’ from Irish *gealadhram*; *galoot* /gə'lu:t/ ‘an awkward stupid man’, ‘a fool’ (< English dialect—*Slanguage* lists *galoot* ‘uncouth, awkward man’ < Irish *gealt* ‘crazy person’). And there is *gaisce* /'gæjʃkəl/ ‘a feat or achievement’ used ironically (*Slanguage*); ‘one who performs great deeds, but normally used sarcastically’ (DHE) (< Irish *gaiscíoch* ‘hero, boaster’); *gandal* /gændəl/ ‘a foolish, awkward or clumsy person’ (< Irish *gandal*); *garlagh* used of a person: ‘mean, contemptible’ (< Irish *garlach* ‘a brat’, ‘a rascal’), also in DHE as *garlach* /'ga:rləx/); *gatherer* ‘a frugal, thrifty person’, ‘someone who gathers money’, ‘a greedy person’ (< Scots *gaither* < OE *gaderian*); *gaubey* ‘someone who stares intensely’ (< Irish *gabhgáire* ‘onlooker hanger-on’); *gavle-heid* ‘a stupid person’ (< Scots < Old Norse *gafl*); *gawk* ‘a fool, a simpleton’, ‘a stupid person’ (< Scots *gack* ‘someone who stares idly or rudely’, ultimate etymology unknown, perhaps onomatopoeic).

These lists suggest that many concepts—what we might think of as ‘lexical variables’—are onomasiological in nature, for which there exist a great many variants, not quite synonymic but certainly heteronymic in their relationships. They also show that, for related variants, their origins and routes into Irish English can be quite different, because many are unknown, or onomatopoeic.

One study which focuses on words on an all-Ireland basis is Henry (1985: 159–61), building on Henry (1958), which presents a map for ‘the youngest piglet of litter’, for which there are a variety of terms, e.g. *ranny*, *rig*, *runt*, *rut*, *scoot*, *scradeen*, *scrat*, *scrunt*, *wee scitter*, *snig*, *torry*, *totam* (cf. Kirk and Hesse 2020). Other typical onomasiological

concepts or lexical variables include, for ‘a lazy person’: *rake*, *sconce*, *skite*, *skybal*, *slochter*, *sloomy*, *slooter*, *slounge*, *sowdy*, *stocach*, *traik*, and so on; and for ‘a tall, thin person’: *randle tree*, *rackan*, *raft*, *raughle o bones*, *ravel*, *ribe*, *rickle*, *ringle*, *scaldie*, *scoke*, *scolb*, *shaird*, *skinamalink*, *skin-him-alive*, *slipe*, *stab*, *streel*, *swank*, *twangle*, and so on.

Finally, for ‘left-handed’, the following are three main sets of variants: *kittog*, *kittogue*, *kitogue*, *cittoge*, *kithog*, *ketogue*, *kitock* > *kittog-fisted*, all from Irish *ciot* ‘left hand’ + *óg* (diminutive form); *kitter*, *kither*, *kitter-fist*, *kitterpaw*, *kitherplak*, *kitler* > *kitter-fisted*, *kitter-handed*, *kitter-pawed*, *kittag*, *kitach*, *citach*, *kittaw*, *kitty* > *kittagh-fisted*, *kittagh-handed*, all from Irish *ciot* ‘left hand’ (+ a diminutive form). Secondly, *clootie*, *cloot*, *clottie*, *clouty*, *cluttie*, *clitty*, *cleety*, *clooty-fisted*, *clooty-handed*, *clooter-handed* are all from Scots *cluit*, *clitt*, *cleet* ‘cloven foot’. Thirdly, *fyuggy*, *feuggy*, *fluggy*, *feught*, *fuggy*, *feug*, *flug*, *fyug-handed*, *flug-fisted*, *flug-handed* from an unknown source. Other variants are *cald/cauldy*, *clithero/clithery*, *corry-fisted*, *cowie*, *cuddy*, *doolama*, *fisty*, *gammy*, *left-jittered* (*gitter-fist*), *lefty*, *off-handed*, *one-handed*, *ridyick*, *wrang-hand(ed)*, *south-paw*, and *left-handed* itself.

9.4 LOCAL WORDS IN IRELAND

Inevitably, each area of Ireland has come to have its own local vocabulary and supply of idiomatic expressions. In the South, Henry’s (1957) investigation of Roscommon and Moylan’s (1996) investigation of Kilkenny were pioneering; there is also a volume of Cork slang (Beecher 1991). Henry announced a lexical survey of the whole of Ireland, but his 1958 and 1985 articles appear to be the only fruits of this considerable fieldwork (reviewed by Hickey 2007: 168, 365–6). DHE annotates every possible citation with a local provenance. The border area between Co. Monaghan and Co. Armagh is covered by Zwickl (2002), whose findings are discussed below. In the North, there is an early glossary of Antrim and Down by Patterson (1880), and of north Co. Armagh by Lutton (1923). A glossary of Dungannon is presented in O’Kane (1991), and the vestigial spoken Scots dialect of Co. Antrim is presented in Fenton (2014) and for the most part in Montgomery (2017).

Geographical information is provided in the CUD⁶ where known, but it is not regularly given (cf. CUD: §2.6.1). Some local attributions in the CUD include:

⁶ The CUD derives its material from the Ulster Dialect Database, which is a separate, independent entity, in which each item is annotated for provenance insofar as this could be ascertained, given the limitations of the source materials. Some items are annotated for several counties, but others have only one annotation, suggesting that they might indeed be (but not necessarily) local to that county. For instance, 112 words are labelled for Co. Tyrone—roughly half (55) deal with farming, the other half (57) with personal, social, or general affairs—but few may be regarded as Tyroneisms (except, perhaps, those listed below).

1. for Co. Donegal, *falahan* 'food' and *furl* 'to whirl' or 'a short spell of stormy weather', *packeens* 'the hands', *piccadillies* 'peccadilloes, minor misdemeanours', *portlock* 'a hole in the wall to support scaffolding', and *ranti-tiree* 'potatoes mashed with oatmeal gruel';
2. for south Donegal *dunkans* 'a type of children's trousers';
3. for north-east Donegal *goutrie* 'a careless, bad-mannered clumsy person';
4. for Co. Monaghan *boon*, *bone* 'a band of workers e.g. at reaping, shearing or peat cutting', *Grabbing Day* 'the Monday before Ash Wednesday, because it was the last day when couples could marry before Lent', *gurrie* 'a young pig', and *tate* 'a division of land';
5. for Co. Cavan and Co. Fermanagh *sporrish* 'a dry stone jetty in a lake';
6. for Co. Fermanagh *bootian* 'food for hens', *brodle* 'a two pence piece', *corwaddle* 'a hard biscuit', *hear* 'a silly fellow', *on your ramatracks* 'on your travels, wandering aimlessly', *spark* 'a steep but short bank or hill', *tate* (as with Co. Monaghan), *whittern* 'a bird, the common snipe', and *wish* 'a wisp, a small amount of hay';
7. for Co. Armagh *feddin/fidin* 'a plot of land held in conacre',⁷ *palew* 'potato bread', *raliagh* 'to laugh loudly', and *skowe* 'an irregularity in form';
8. for Co. Tyrone *cabber* 'a tide mark, a ring of dirt around the neck', *cultar* 'an argument, a noisy dispute', *huddle* 'a peatstack', *laghter* 'a clutch of eggs or a brood of chickens or ducks', and *plackto* 'to hold back (corn) with a rod to make it easier to cut with a scythe (of origin unknown)';
9. for South Tyrone *waiskie* 'a waistcoat';
10. for mid-Ulster *coddle* 'a codicil', *cloomin* 'a beating, thrashing', *fannacey* 'the space between the two upper teeth', *maglamphus* ('a clumsy stupid person'), and *panner* 'to make a noise like running feet';
11. for Co. Antrim *drumadudgeon* 'a slow-moving, lazy person', *gornical* 'an odd-looking, dim-witted person', and *nickopanty* 'cantankerous old man', *skilyeen* 'a skillet or frying pan', *skillop* 'a tapered gouge for boing holes in wood', *skrotched* '(of plants) shriveled e.g. by an icy wind', *slummage* 'a distillery by-product, used as cattle feed', and *snirt* 'to flick (something) to throw (something) forcefully';
12. for Co. Down *crooved* 'cruled, in a crouched sitting position', and *gamshal* 'a useless, lazy person';
13. and, finally, for words shared between Co. Antrim and Co. Down *plarry* 'unappetising mess of food', *plate* 'a flat rock in a harbour', *stchiven* 'an unidentified type of seaweed, used as fodder for pigs', and *stookie* 'an inflated animal, skin used as a float by fishermen'.

There are a few specific attributions such as Belfast for *ecker* 'homework' (also found in the South); Londonderry for *dotsie* '(childish usage) old-fashioned, corny'; the Lower River

⁷ *Conacre* literally *corn-acre* is a standard word for a particular form of land tenancy in Ireland—a system of letting land, formerly in small patches or strips, and usually for tillage (growth of corn or potatoes).

Bann for *dall* ‘part of an eeltrap’, *racken* ‘a large metal hook on a long pole, used for lifting the tail of a full eel net’, *slug* ‘part of the coghel or eel-catching net’, and *stanner* ‘a slender stake in a skeagh on an eel-weir’; Carlingford Loch for *plaidin frock* ‘a type of jacket worn by fishermen’; Lough Neagh for *culloch* ‘the eel’ and *pollan* ‘a fresh water fish’; Strangford Loch for *pladdy/pladdie* ‘a low, flat island’, ‘a sunken rock’ (< Old Norse *flatey* ‘flat island’ > Ir. *pladaí*)⁸; South Down for *spool-whaup* ‘the bare-tailed godwit or the whimbrel’; and Malin Head, Co. Donegal for *down the roo* ‘down the current with the tide’.

The Linguistic Survey of Scotland included Donegal and the six counties of Northern Ireland, and some results are available in the *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (LAS) (Mather and Speitel 1975, 1977). On the basis of this material, relic areas in Ulster are identified by Zwickl (1996: 91–4): in Co. Antrim on the basis of *cole*, *clib*, *granny grey beard*, *hogers*, *sark*, *maggie*, *switch*, *dreg*, *rone*, *not a dolly on*, *tartles*, *yell*, *strieklie*, *bunker*, *kaleworm* (Table 5.5); in South Co. Down on *ladyfinger*, *quicken*, *mug*, *gies*, *harry Mary*, *jag*, *georrie* (Table 5.6); and in Co. Donegal on *ankler*, *handcock*, *vennel*, *trampcock*, *yelder*, *spale weefolks*, *grape*, *delf*, *shieg*, *horseworm*, *deek*, *forkcock*, *geelog* (Table 5.7).⁹

Another study on an all-Ireland basis presents regional variants for an ‘unauthorised absence from school’ (Kallen 1997: 151; Table 9.1). Note that some words, such as *mitch*,

Table 9.1 Regional words for ‘unauthorized absence from school’ (from Kallen 1997: 151)

Ulster			
Co. Down			<i>bunk, bunk off, mitch</i>
Belfast			<i>daubing</i>
Donegal			<i>scheming, mitch</i>
Connacht		Leinster	
Mayo	<i>doss, mitch</i>	Dublin (city)	<i>bunk, bunk off, cut class, dodge, kitch, skive off</i>
Galway	<i>scheming</i>	Dublin (country)	<i>jerring, hookey, play hookey, go on the hop, mitch</i>
		Offaly	<i>slagging off</i>
Munster			
Clare			<i>scheming</i>
Tipperary			<i>bonker; doss</i>
Cork			<i>ditch, doss, flip, go on the hop, hookey, play hookey, lang, go on the lang, skipping off, skive off</i>
Kerry			<i>doss, skip school</i>

⁸ *Pladdie* is recorded by G. F. Savage-Armstrong in his poem, ‘A Sunset off Killyleagh’ (from *Ballads of Down*, 1901):

Round many a pladdie, many an island green with the glancing shower,
How fleetly up the Lough we’d sped past Sketrick’s crumbling Tower!

⁹ The entire LAS material is currently being remapped and reanalysed in the *Digital Lexical Atlas of Scotland* (cf. Kirk et al. in preparation; also Kirk and Hesse 2020 and Kirk and Pluschkovits 2022).

are found across a wide area and others, such as *doss*, have a more general meaning, i.e. to be idle which includes the notion of playing truant.

The formal registers of historical texts or documents pertaining to past times in Ireland, although typically written in a standardized variety of English, allow for the occurrence of regional and local words of the sort discussed above as well. This lexical admixture ensures that standardized English in Ireland is never fully standardized. A range of written informational, instructional, persuasive, and fictional registers, as well as a set of spoken transcriptions from the domains of broadcasting, education, politics, the law courts, and business situations, is contained in the Ireland component of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) (Kirk et al. 2011; Kallen and Kirk 2008). In such seemingly homogenized registers and situations, an approximation to the standardized language is to be expected; yet remarkable differences in vocabulary between the North and South can be shown to exist. On the basis of the broadcast texts (discussions, interviews, news bulletins, and talks) in the ICE data, for instance, Kirk and Kallen are able to show various distributional differences. For a start, parliamentary terms comprise, for the South, *Parliament*, *Parliamentary*, *Labour*, *Government*, *Garda*, *county*, *elected* and, for the North, *Republican*, *IRA*, *Loyalist*, *Protestant*. Such words show that, in the Republic of Ireland, a European nation state, salient keywords relate to the institutions of government and politics, whereas, in Northern Ireland, a province beset by a long civil war over its constitutional status, salient keywords refer to political identity, with none relating to institutional government. Other keywords, which diverge in their meaning and significance in the North and South, are *area*, *arms*, *border*, *ceasefire*, *century*, *community*, *devolved*, *government*, *monument*, *parliament*, *peace*, *people*, *road*, *street*, *violence*, and many more, including *the Troubles* and *the war* ('Second World War' in the North, the 'Irish War of Independence' in the South), as shown in detail in Kirk and Kallen (2011). From keyword analysis, it can be shown that, even in relatively formal, high registers, words in English substantiate Irishness as much as appornts from Irish.

9.5 THE FORMS OF WORDS

As many of the words pertaining to traditional culture listed in the CUD have existed only in oral currency, few have been written down, except in occasional literary uses, before enthusiasts began to show interest and collect such words for the many glossaries which came to form the basis of the material collated in the CUD.

For *dayligone* (literally 'daylight + going/gone', i.e. 'dusk', 'nightfall', 'twilight', 'dusk'), the following spellings were to be found: *dailagone*, *dailygan*, *dalingfall*, *dayagone*, *daylafallin*, *daylifell*, *daylight fall*, *daylight falling*, *dayligane*, *daylit goin*,

daylight going, daylight gone, dayligo, dayligoin, daylit fallin, dellit fa, in addition to *dayligone* itself. CUD lists them under *daylight going*, *Slanguage* under *dailygone*.¹⁰

For *sheugh*, ‘a drainage channel in a field or alongside a road’, the following spellings were to be found: *sheuch, shugh, shough, shuck, shaugh* (< Scots *sheugh, sheuch, shugh, shough*, and borrowed into Ulster Irish as *seoch*).

For *moiley* ‘a hornless cow’ the following spellings were to be found: *moily, moilya, moolie, mawly, mweel*, also *mouleagh, mulliagh* (< Irish *maoilín, maol* ‘bare, bald’ + diminutive *-ín*).

For *greeshoch* ‘embers’ the following spellings were to be found: *gresesagh, gresesach, greesay, greeshagh, greeshaugh, greeshaw, gressha, greschia, greeshy, greesh, grushaw, greeshog, gresog, greeshock* (< Irish *gríosach* ‘small flying embers’).

The pair of spellings *mankeeper* and *mancreeper* ‘newt’ do not have a linguistic explanation but one from folklore. Benign folklore maintains that human beings will never bring harm to little newts, as they would not do to robin redbreasts or swans either—hence *mankeeper*; but malign folklore would have it that newts attack humans if they should fall asleep by water and inadvertently alert them to their danger—hence *mancreeper* (cf. Macafee 1989–90 and *Slanguage*).

The orthographic determination of words predominately oral in their currency is thus quite challenging. Each dictionary lists many spelling variants, with frequent cross-references.

A further dimension to a lexicological investigation concerns the part of speech to which the words belong—principally the word classes of noun, verb, adjective, and adverb. As shown in Table 9.2, where words in the CUD beginning with each of five letters are compared as well as the entire dictionary, the main lexical class is overwhelmingly that of nouns, the class for naming and referring to phenomena physical, material, and imaginary. The range is from 57.9% to 74.0%.

The predominance of nouns stands out in comparison with studies of English generally—for Hudson (1994), the figure is 37% (or slightly more than one in three words), for Biber et al. (1999) it is only 25% (one in four words)—all reflecting ‘one of the great philosophical matters of outstanding interest in man’s development: [namely] the inescapable tendency to give everything names thereby encapsulating their knowledge in tangible form and implicitly imposing a degree of order on their surrounding’, as contended by the Scottish ethnographer Sandy Fenton (1990: xiii).

¹⁰ *Dailygan* is the spelling chosen for the title of a poem by James Fenton (2000).

Table 9.2 Word classes in CUD^a

	<f->	<g->	<m->	<p->	<s->	CUD
	n. (%)	n. (%)	n. (%)	n. (%)	n. (%)	n. (%)
Nouns	195 (59.8)	247 (74.0)	179 (62.8)	188 (71.8)	734 (62.1)	4168 (57.9)
Verbs	79 (24.2)	63 (18.9)	72 (25.2)	42 (16.0)	340 (28.8)	1953 (27.1)
Adjectives	37 (11.4)	23 (6.8)	23 (8.1)	28 (10.7)	96 (8.1)	752 (10.4)
Adverbs	9 (2.8)	1 (0.3)	5 (1.8)	4 (1.5)	12 (1.0)	225 (3.1)

^a Words shared with Standard English are not, of course, included in the CUD.

9.6 CATEGORIES OF WORDS

Although taxonomies for the investigation of Irish English vocabulary have been proposed by Raymond Hickey (2007: 362–70) and Jeffrey Kallen (2013: ch. 4), an ABCDE approach for addressing the composition of the vocabulary will now be adopted here: A for **apports** (words retained after language shift or during active bilingualism—speakers bring their L1 words (in this case Irish) into the acquired L2 (in this case English)); B for **borrowings**—where speakers of English borrow or take over words from other languages; C for **coinages** (original creations) and **compounds**; D for **derivatives**; and E for **etcetera** or all other types of lexical formation.¹¹ In this section, we will investigate in more detail the nature and composition of the vocabulary of Irish English in terms of its lexical types.

Apports form the category by means of which words from Irish were transferred largely unaltered to the English that the Irish people were acquiring. 83.0% of the words from <ga-> – <gn-> in the DHE are from Irish (Stribl 2020). And therein lies the basic research question: how Irish is the vocabulary of speakers of English in Ireland today? If Irishness is substantiated through the lexicon, the strength with which words of Irish origin pervade the vocabulary of southern Irish English is simply unquestionable. In the North, because of its different population settlement, the situation is reversed; on a sample of <m-> words in the CUD, Kirk (1999a) finds that the Irish element comprises

¹¹ An alternative taxonomy of word formation and neologisms is proposed by Algeo (1998): creations, shifts, shortenings, composites, blends, and loanwords or borrowings.

12.3%, against a Scots element of 61.6%. And among the words from <ga-> to <gn-> in the same dictionary the Scots words amount to 64.4% (Stribl 2020). Combining all three dictionaries (DHE, CUD, and *Slanguage*) it can be shown that 37.0% of all <pa-> – <pi-> words are of Irish origin.

'Borrowings' usually refers to words speakers of a language take over from other languages to make them their own. Many names for fruit, for instance, are clear borrowings from other languages. It has already been established that, in the case of Irish English, words from Irish are not borrowings but largely apports, as they have simply been brought by speakers of Irish into the English they were coming to learn during the period of language shift, and have remained there since (cf. Kallen 1996). It is this presence of so many directly transferred apports that render credible the notions of 'intercultural lexemes' (Wigger 2000) and 'the dual lexicon' (Kallen 2013) whether with Irish or Scots. Thus, as mentioned above, *garson* and its variants *garsún* and *gossoon* (DHE), *garsoon* and *gorsoon* (*Slanguage*), and *gorsoon* and variants (CUD) 'boy' may look like borrowings, but they are really apports from Irish, whereas it was Irish that had previously borrowed the word from French (or it was apported by the Anglo-Normans into the then Irish they were learning). Fairly common Latinate words, which are shared with Scots, are more likely to be borrowings into Scots, such as *homologate* 'to express agreement with or approval of something or someone', from medieval Latin *homologare* 'to acknowledge' (CUD); or *sevendible* with its broad range of meanings 'thorough, complete'; 'secure, made fast'; 'unmistakable, pronounced, remarkable'; and 'very great, severe, excessive' (from Latin *solvendo* 'solvent') (CUD; cf. *Slanguage*). An interesting hybrid is *carnaptious* 'irritable, quarrelsome, bad-tempered' (comprising the intensifying prefix *car-* from Irish, the element *knap* 'to bite' or 'to snap' (originally from Germanic), and the general suffix *-tious* applied in English usually to loan words from Latin) (CUD; cf. *Slanguage*).

Almost all borrowings from other languages are shared with Scots and/or dialectal English including *flittermouse* 'the bat' (a translation of Low German *vledermuis*) and *fozy* 'excited' (from Low German *voos* 'spongy'); none seem to be direct borrowings into Ulster dialect. Most of the large number of attributed borrowings become phonologically assimilated, but *Drontheim* 'a double-ended clinker-built yawl' (CUD) retains the German name of the Norwegian town of Trondheim.

Some nouns in CUD are labelled as shared with Irish English as part of the wider geographical and historical context in which they occur (CUD: §2.10.6). Some are in turn derived from Irish such as *boxty* 'potato bread' < Irish *bacstaí* (itself of origin unknown); *brooteen* < Irish *brúitín* /'bru:ʃi:nɪ/ (DHE); *camogie* 'female hurling' < Irish *camógai* 'a woman hurler' < Irish *camóg* 'a hurling stick'; *eeroch* (also *airach*) 'pain in children's legs thought to be caused by the east wind especially in March or April' < Irish English *ira* < Irish *oighreacgh* 'sores caused by cold or chafing', which has also yielded *ayre* 'inflammation, redness', which rhymes with *fire*; *rib* 'a single hair' < Irish *ribe*; *mehell* 'a gathering of workers for co-operative farmwork' < Irish *meitheal*; *meskin* 'a lump of butter weighing several pounds' < Irish *meascean*; and *kesh* 'wicker basket' < Irish English *jesh* < Irish *ceis/cis*. Two adjectives are *ploodacha* 'full, stuffed' (especially of drink) < Irish *plódaigh*

extended to mean 'to fill with drink' (*Slanguage*), and *trummicky* 'upside down, topsy turvy', related to Irish *tromach*. Others seem to have originated in earlier Irish English, such as *hovel* 'a stack of hay or corn specifically an oblong haystack' < Irish English *havel*, although it may be related to *hobble* also 'an oblong haystack', possibly of Scandinavian origin (CUD); or *maluder* 'to thrash, to beat' < Irish English *malvather* 'to confuse', of unknown origin. Some Irish English words are shared with dialectal English such as *fetch* 'a spectre', 'a wraith' (of origin unknown) or *piggin* 'a small pail or tub, a wooden dish or basin', which is recorded in all three dictionaries and as *pigeen* in *Slanguage* (these being in turn the source of Irish *pigín*) (CUD, DHE). An interesting example is *hooley* 'a social evening, a party' (CUD), 'an exuberant party' (DHE), or 'an extended celebration usually involving the consumption of alcohol' (*Slanguage*), the origins of which are either 'unknown' (CUD), Hindustani *holi* 'the great festival or carnival of the Hindoos, held at the approach of the vernal equinox' (DHE), the term having been brought back by Irish soldiers in the British army' (*Slanguage*) or else a variant of *céilí* (DHE). By contrast, recent political names such as *Taoiseach* and *Tánaiste* are creations in both Irish and English and good examples of 'the dual lexicon'.

Coinages, creations, or originals may be thought of as two types. First are words which are originals in English and have come down from Anglo-Saxon times virtually unaltered but are no longer to be found in standard varieties of English, e.g. *thole* < OE *tholian* 'to bear or endure' or the third-person inanimate pronoun *hit* < OE *hit*. The second group are originals or coinages in Irish English in more recent times and include *bogger* 'person from a rural area' (DHE and *Slanguage*), *feck* (slang variant of *fuck*) (cf. *Slanguage*), *maracycle* (an annual cycle race from Dublin to Belfast), itself a compound involving a clipped form as the first element, and *tallyman* 'a scrutineer who predicts election results based on observation of counts under the system of proportional representation' (DHE and *Slanguage*).

A further class of originals includes dialect words from different parts of England.¹² The CUD, which depends on the EDD, frequently uses labels such as 'northern English' or 'English dialect' or 'general dialect', but often one of these labels is combined with Scots as the donor source. Such <f-> words include *felt/felter* 'a type of bird', 'the red-wing', 'the mistle thrush'), *flannen* (form of *flannel*), *flit* (form of *flight*) 'a flock of birds', and *fog* 'the after-crop', 'the second crop of hay'. Other <f-> words originating in English dialects are many specific compounds of *fairy*), *false* (as in a vicious horse or of a lazy person), *fathom* (as a unit of measurement: two outstretched arms), *faysant/fesan* 'pheasant' *featherfaw* (a herb) (an alteration of *feverfew*, as if containing *feather*), *felon* 'a boil', 'an inflammation', *fizzog* 'the face' (shortened form of *physiognomy* 'the face'), and *foot/footer* (in many compounds) (from *fut*, Scots *fit*). At the same time, a great many English counties are mentioned, such as East Anglia for *mowl* 'the mole' although the animal is not found in Ireland, or Kent for *merrigo*, which is associated with *marygoes* 'marigolds', too many even to exemplify here (cf. CUD: \$2.10.5).

¹² Some words which came from the north-west Midlands are discussed in Braidwood (1964).

Originals may include onomatopoeic expressions, as these are usually created ad hoc and often the origin is unknown. Examples with <f> are *fissle* (also *fistle*, *fussle*) 'to make a rustling noise'; *flaafing* 'palpitation'; *flisky* (of a horse) 'skittish'; *flitch* 'to shoot a marble'; *flunk* 'the hole aimed at in playing marbles'; *foof/fuff* (of a dog) 'howl', 'whine', (of a child) 'cry peevisly'; *foofle* 'fumble'; *fuffle* 'ruffle', 'rumple', 'conceal hastily', 'bundle'.¹³

Compounds typically combine two lexical elements into one, as in *murren* (also *murryan*, *morryan*) (< Irish *muirean*, *muir* 'sea' + *éan* 'bird'), *maggie-mony-feet* ('centipede') and *knee-cap* 'to punish by shooting in the knee' (used of terrorists, paramilitaries, or suspected drug-dealers). A subtype of compounds comprises phrasal verbs, as in *fall over* 'fall asleep' and *make up* 'invented story'.

Derivation enables words to be created by adding affixes (specifically prefixes, suffixes, and occasionally infixes) to existing words. Usually the affixes have a semantics of their own which then alters the meaning of the lexical stem. A classic example of a suffix is that of diminutives, of which in Irish English there are a great many, including *-ack*, *-ock*; *-an*, *-een* (cf. DHE), *-in*; and *-ie*, *-y*.

Prefixes in <m> include *mal-*, as in the following verbs: *malfooster* 'to spoil', 'to make a hash of' (e.g. a piece of work) or *malavogue* (also *malivogue*) 'to beat up, thrash' (< Cumberland); and *mis-* as in *misken* 'not to know yourself' and *misremember* 'to forget'. An infix is *-ma-*, which acts as a syllable added for rhythmic effect in compounds, as in *clishmaclaver* 'gossip, idle talk', *hochmagandy* 'sexual intercourse', and *whigmaleerie* 'whim, fanciful notion' (each in CUD).

According to DHE, the *-er* suffix is especially common in Dublin English in the coining of nicknames, as in *aler* 'an alsatian dog', *dipper* 'a student doing the HDipEd degree', *holliers* 'holidays', *skellyer* 'a skelton', and *toucher* 'someone who tries to "touch" another person or cadge for money'. It is also used of places, as in: *Croker* 'Croke Park' or *Dalyer* 'Dalymount Park'. In ICE-Ireland we find a *knacker* (derogative term for a 'traveller') and *legger* 'someone who ran away'. Hickey (2007: 63) cites *nixer* 'job on the side', *killer* 'a task that would stress you', *sticker* 'a difficult matter', *bogger* 'a country lout', as just mentioned, and *beamer* 'a BMW car' where the *-er* has been added to a shortened form. An *-er* suffix may be accompanied by the definite article, with references to parts of housing estates such as: *the Backers* 'the fields at the back of a housing estate'¹⁴ or *the Mainer* 'the main road of a housing estate', or in various school names: *the Brunner* 'North Brunswick Street Christian Brothers School', *the Deeler* 'De La Salle School', *the Synger* 'Synge Street Christian Brothers School' (all from DHE).

The *-o* suffix connotes familiarization or endearment and is also especially common in Dublin colloquial speech, as in *boyo* 'an admirable rogue'; *defo/deffo* 'definitely' or 'definite' in reply to an invitation or *invo*; *morto* 'mortified', 'very embarrassed'; *mono* 'monastery', 'house of a religious order attached to a boys' school'; *peno* 'penalty kick in soccer'; *seco* 'secondary school'; *confo* 'one's confirmation'; *Corpo* 'Dublin corporation';

¹³ Examples with <m> are discussed in Kirk (1999a).

¹⁴ Pace this DHE definition, for many *backers* are back laneways behind houses.

and with place names, such as *Chapo* ‘Chapelizod’, *Pheno* ‘Phonenix Park’; and with personal names such as *Dekko* ‘Declan’, *Jacko*, and *Gaybo* (named after Gay (< Gabriel) Byrne, a well-known TV presenter). In ICE-Ireland we find *Séamo* ‘Séamus’ and *smarm* (interjection for ‘smarmy’).

Etcetera brings together all other processes of word formation, many being increasingly common in present-day colloquial English. An example of shortening is *sca* ‘news’, ‘gossip’ (*So any other sca from last night?* ICE-IRL, S1A-087\$A), a shortened form of *scandal*. As a blend, *moyjiggled* ‘confused’, found in Co. Antrim, combines *moidered* (< *moider*) and *jiggled*. As a back-formation, there is *mense* (from *immense*) ‘a great amount, a large quantity’; and *mirl(s)* ‘measles’ (from *marled*, *marly* (of a hen) < Old French *merellé*). As reduplicative forms, there are *hoddy-doddy* ‘a snail’, *mimpsey-pimpsey* ‘fastidious, affected’, *minikin-finikin* ‘an affected person’, *mousey-pousey* ‘mouth’, each with a humorous or mocking connotation.

In addition to individual words or lexemes, Irish English is awash with many idioms: from <f-> words: for instance *to have a hundred faces/ to have more faces than the town clock* ‘to be two-faced, a hypocrite’, *to have no face* ‘to be modest, self-effacing’, *in the fashion* ‘pregnant’, and so on.¹⁵

Finally, there are slang words and swearwords. By referring to everyday concepts, slang words usually replace well-known words or expressions in English, as a strategy for building some kind of bonding or solidarity among those addressed. <m-> words include: *melt* ‘the tongue’ (*keep in your melt*—derived from the tongue’s similarity in shape to the spleen, as recorded in CUD), or *murphy* ‘a potato’ (< the common surname *Murphy*).

Swearwords have a similar social and bonding function but tend to be restricted to religious expressions or words referring to bodily parts or sexual activities. For instance, the 102 occurrences of the lemma *FUCK* in ICE-Ireland Corpus have the following functions: emphasis (*he took the whole fucking kitchen apart*); idiomatic (*who gives a fuck?*); general expletive (*and jackie’s going oh fuck*); exasperation (*och for fuck’s sake don’t listen to her*); abusive (*fuck the lot of youse*); destitutional (*fuck off Jane*); descriptive (*his breathing is fucked*); shock (*oh fuck*); annoyance (*fuck that*); surprise (*fuck that’s right*) (for other studies cf. Murphy 2009 and Terrazas-Calero 2020).

9.7 CURRENCY

A vital issue throughout the use of all those dictionary entries is the question of currency. As already mentioned, the CUD offers a lexicon more of the late nineteenth century than the present day, so that the question of currency is real, and Jeffrey’s (1996)

¹⁵ Examples of idioms (and also euphemisms and exclamations) with <m-> words are discussed in Kirk (1999a).

characterization of 'the folk museum in print' has validity. Its editor has already asked: 'Is it too late to collect traditional dialect?' (Macafee 1991) and addresses the question in CUD: §1.4. DHE is by implication of the present-day as almost all its non-literary examples are annotated with geographical references, as submitted by his contributors and informants, although the currency across all generations for many of the lexical items is doubtful, and some informants may have contributed words of which they had only a passive knowledge. *Slanguage* also records the present-day, in all its diversity; of all the three dictionaries, its introduction shows the greatest alertness to broad, contemporary usage.

The question of currency is addressed in a study of the border (Zwicl 2002), on the basis of 49 dialect words relating to agriculture, tradition, and children's practices, or from general dialect and slang, and respondents' self-attested knowledge and use. The study shows that dialect words are more likely to be known passively than used actively; that dialect words are more likely to be known and used by men than women, and by older generations; and that more dialect words were known and used by the higher classes, possibly from education or reading. It also shows that more Scots words were known by men in lower socio-economic classes and Protestants in Co. Armagh (*afear'd, ail, cutty, fernenst, oxter, neuck, peeler, prog, renegue, scaldie, scundered, tundish, totie*), whereas more words from Irish and Irish English were known by the higher socio-economic classes and Catholics in Co. Monaghan (*amadan, cog, colloque, ecker, garsun, gambeen, geshie, grinds, kittogue, locked*). Some words (*blather, bloke, clarty, culchie, cutten, ditch, gobshite, hallion, hames, hunk, lock of, mingin, sheugh, slabber, tarra, whisht, yoke*) were of mixed origins and still widely known and used and are unlikely to disappear. Another group of words (*cod, dead on, dosser, eejit, great with, lad, mitch, wee*) had no unknowns on either side of the border and were known and widely used (80%). The overall conclusion is that knowledge and use of dialect words are affected by the political border, and that some classes of words are in decline whereas other classes look likely to survive. Such results are hardly surprising and, when demonstrated on the basis of a proper empirical analysis, are certainly to be welcomed.

9.8 LITERARY ATTESTATIONS

One of the main achievements of the literary revival of over 100 years ago was that Irishness and an expression of Irish identity had become possible through English. A major component of that creativity was undoubtedly the use of an Irish lexicon of English. The language of Joyce has been well described by Schlauch (1939), Burgess (1973), and Wales (1992), along with *An Anglo-Irish Dialect Glossary for Joyce's Work* (Wall 1986). Wall compiled two further glossaries: *A Dictionary and Glossary for the Irish Literary Revival* (1995) and *An Irish Literary Dictionary and Glossary* (2001), reviewed by Ó Muirthe (2001). Synge's dramatic language has been analysed by Bliss (1971; 1979a), Kiberd 1993 [1979], and Gönceli and James (2015). More recently, the work

of the Donegal writer Patrick Macgill has been described by Amador-Moreno (2006). In this section, the focus is on the literary uses of dialect words by certain present-day writers.

The colloquial vocabulary of Irish English (Sullivan 1980) flourishes in the plays of numerous present-day dramatists, most notably Marina Carr and Martin McDonough in the South, and in the North especially Martin Lynch, Owen McCafferty, Gary Mitchell, Colin Teevan, and Daragh Carville. Northern poets whose use of dialect is notable include William F. Marshall, John Montague, and W. R. Rodgers, as well as Seamus Heaney and Michael Longley. Prose writers include the Northerner Frances Molloy in her *No Mate for The Magpie* (1985) and the Dublin journalist and novelist Paul Howard, creator of popular fictional figure Ross O'Carroll-Kelly.

The Irishness of these writers is reflected not only in their themes but in the style of language which their characters are given to speak—ranging from colloquial realism through accurate deployment of pragmatic markers in the cut and thrust of conversation to a more selective deployment of features bound up with colloquial English to convey an impression of Irishness while at the same time tackling serious, more universal themes.

As a Southern dramatist, Marina Carr principally deploys 'eye-dialect' or copious respellings especially of morphological features and grammatical items to suggest at least a speaking voice as well as a local pronunciation. Carr occasionally deploys traditional dialect lexis in her many plays. In *Ariel*, for instance, the use of apports from Irish as well as words from dialectal or colloquial English more generally seems to be stylistic, with negative prosodies in reference to individuals and the expression of attitudes about their behaviour, as in *gombeen* (< Irish *gaimbín*, a 'userer' or 'loan shark'); *scuts* (< Irish *sciota*, used to refer to individuals who are 'contemptible' or of 'bad character'); *eegih* (a form of *ijit*); *riddled pelt* (literally 'human skin', used to refer to a person's aged appearance); and *foosterins* (< Irish *fústar* 'busy, agitated behaviour'). More colloquial forms are also used in reference to an action or state of destruction as in *banjaxin* or *banjaxed* (< *banjax* 'to ruin' or 'destroy') or to face-threatening negativity through expressions such as *shut your gob* and *take that ugly sour puss off your face*. Only one example of a dialect word with a positive meaning occurs, namely when the character Sarah utters the word *bonamh* meaning 'a small pig' or 'a sucking pig', in reference to a baby.

Formal nomenclature also abounds in Carr's plays, however, as in *Taoiseach*, *Dáil* (short for *Dáil Éireann*), and GAA (an abbreviation of 'Gaelic Athletic Association') as do examples of English dialect such as *yoke* (an 'unspecified object'); *tinker* (a derogative term for a 'member of the travelling community'); *holy show* 'a ridiculous sight', as in *make a holy show a me*; and *aye* 'yes'. A detailed account of Carr's vocabulary is provided by Patricia Lynch (2006).

Dialect is also used by Seamus Heaney. His translation of *Beowulf* combines a variety of styles, including a colloquial style based on his native Co. Londonderry dialect, part Scots, part Irish English. The following examples of everyday current dialect words are listed by Magennis (2012): *blather* 'idle chatter, nonsense'; *gumption*; *hirpling* 'walking with difficulty, limping'; *hoke* 'dig'; *mizzle* 'drizzle'; *session*, referring to an entertainment

(usually musical) event (< Irish *seissiún*, itself from English ‘session’); *stook* ‘upright bundle of sheaves’, *tholed* ‘suffered’; and *wean* ‘child, wee one’. Magennis also notes particular dialect usages of Standard English words in the poem as in: *so* (in the very first line) (used to introduce a topic), *cub* (for a young boy), *rigged (out)* (used in reference to clothing), *right* ‘good, praiseworthy’ (‘They were a right people’), and *reek* ‘smoke’. What Heaney calls ‘his local idiom . . . the living speech of the landscape I was born into’ is just one of Heaney’s devices which combine to create in the poem a distinctive literary language. But because of the context, the local speech is also extended and enriched. As Magennis (2012) argues, Heaney’s local speech ‘domesticates’ the poem but, at the same time, ‘foreignises’ or ‘defamiliarises’ the translation for many readers—as if the Ulster dialect serves to bring out the ‘strangeness’ of Beowulf (p. 188).

Michael Longley has also used Ulster Scots words for poems in his collections *Gorse Fires* (1991) and *The Ghost Orchid* (1995). In ‘Phemios and Medon’, a translation from Homer, dialect words (mostly Scots) are used to refer to the semantic field of speech and language: *bannies*, *bams*, *blether*, *gulder*, *gabble-blooter*. Other nouns are associated with the natural environment (*bulllauns*, *sheughs*) and rural life (*haggard*, *smoor*, *turf-sod*), while a third category comprises nouns denoting people (*wean*, *mammy*, *babbie*, *crayter*, *ashy-pet*, *huer*, *belly-bachelor*, *bread-snapper*). As Kirk (1997) argues, in ‘Phemios and Medon’, Longley assumes that Ulster Scots has been developed as a standardized language suitable for the expression of local culture and identity, and seeks to demonstrate its consequences—hence the use by both the narrator and Odysseus. Its use is, of course, mock-ironic. By letting only the poets and critics speak in Standard English, the suggestion is that it is only they who have understanding and knowledge. Ulster Scots amounts to no more than the language of the politicians, so that there can be no political progress until an Odysseus emerges in the form of new leadership. Longley’s use of Ulster Scots is further discussed in Kirk (1997; 1999b).

These few studies suffice to show the different effects which the use of local dialect can have in literary texts. The use of such semantic fields, relating to home and rural domesticity as well as to the banter of interpersonal communications, creates a perception of Irishness and Irish/Ulster identity and culture. The perception can be recognized as realism in the reflection of everyday speech of ordinary people and such issues as they would discuss, often humorously (cf. Amador-Moreno and Terrazas-Calero 2017; Terrazas-Calero 2020), or as figurative speech in the creation of literary artefacts for expressing more abstract or profound reflections and debate, often ironically.

9.9 CONCLUSION

As this chapter has attempted to show, the distinctive element in the vocabulary of Irish English consists of its incorporation of a great variety of apports from Irish, quite apart from any further borrowings from Irish that speakers of English have chosen to make, or retentions from earlier stages of English. Words apported from Irish have been shown here

to exist in present-day Irish English in abundance in the South—51.4% of the entries in the case of *Slanguage* and 83.0% in DHE as presented above. The Irishness of Irish English clearly comes from the apported element in the vocabulary. Little wonder that Manfred Görlach (1995) observed that even someone with a very good knowledge of English needs a dictionary when it comes to Irish English, even for reading the *Irish Times*.¹⁶ In the North, Irish apports count for far less (12.3%), with a predominance of words which have come in from Scots (61.6%)—as also presented above. The copious exemplification offered here shows that apports from Irish cut across lexical fields and subject areas, ranging from the many areas of traditional folk culture to the formal nomenclature of the institutions of the Republic. The present goal has also been to show that many words in English constitute retentions of words no longer present in the standardized language, with some local inventions, and that the majority of words are nouns.

This chapter has emphasized the existence of many sets of words which exist in relationships variously described as heteronymic, onomasiological, or synonymic. In other cases, there are many changes in scope and value of meaning: widening, narrowing, amelioration, or pejoration. It has furthermore strived to demonstrate that a consideration of the words of English in Ireland is not simply a matter of describing patterns of difference compared to other varieties of English. Rather, many of these words (but by no means all) are ‘enregistered’ (cf. Terrazas-Calero 2020) and linked with cultural and identity phenomena in Ireland, whereby Irish speakers of English have come to make English their own. It is through English that they express aspects of their Irishness. These cultural patterns are well explained by the claims about lexicalization processes put forward in Fenton (1990) as well as Quirk and Stein (1990) and Kastovsky (2006). This owning of their own variety of English is nowhere more apparent than in the many literary uses of such local vocabulary by numerous contemporary dramatists, North and South.

Irish words in English not only belong to informal and colloquial registers but also provide the colloquiality of those registers. Many words occur in figurative speech or rhetoric, toning matters down, or are employed to be witty, even sarcastic. This is particularly true of the great many illustrative examples in DHE, including the citation of apports. ‘It would be impossible to treat Irish English comprehensively without discussing Irish—whether in its historical role as an influence on Irish English or in its contemporary role as a source for code-switching and bilingual effects in language use’, as rightly contended by Kallen (2013: 1).

The present treatment has depended on dictionary sources, confirming that lexicology largely depends on the prior work of lexicographers. Whereas CUD has a conservative bias and is more a record of largely passive knowledge about folk customs of the past, the question of currency in DHE remains equivocal. By contrast, *Slanguage* provides an account of more current vocabulary, encompassing wide areas of reference,

¹⁶ It should be said that Görlach’s observation came before any of the first editions of the three main dictionaries used here.

register, and style, in the public as well as private arenas. Both DHE and *Slanguage* stress the considerable extent of continuations of Irish lexis in Irish English. The differences in compilation method and content of these three productions would together, if collated, go a long way towards fulfilling Paulin's (1983) passionate plea for an all-Ireland dictionary.

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CHAPTER 10

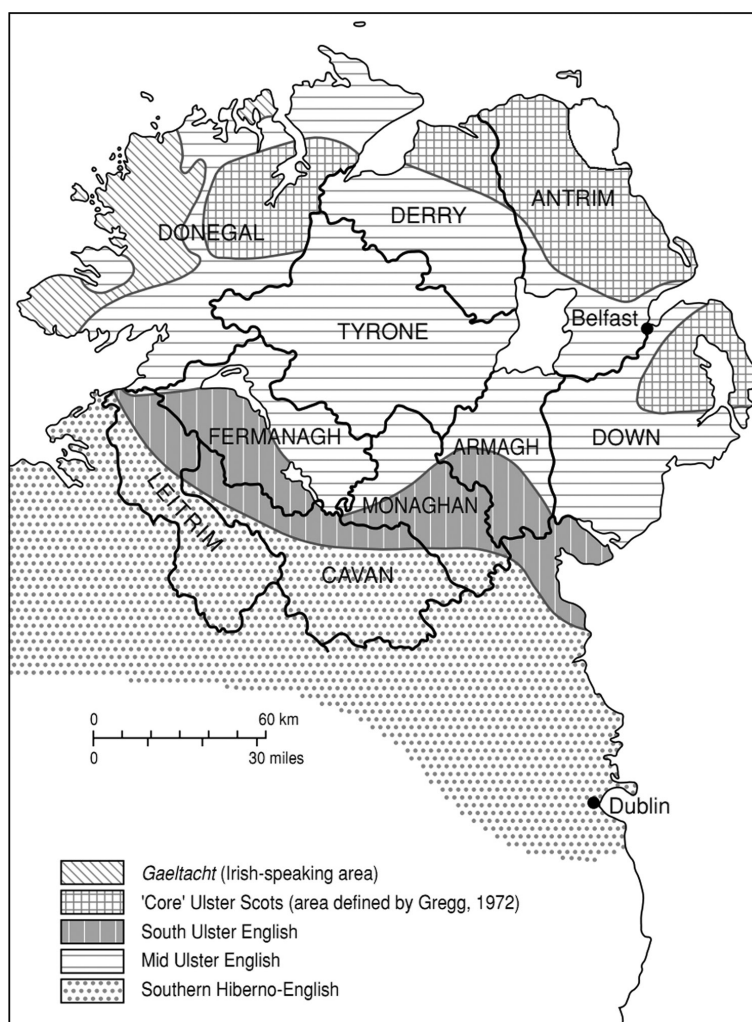
MID-ULSTER ENGLISH AND ULSTER SCOTS

WARREN MAGUIRE

10.1 INTRODUCTION

THE northern province of Ireland, Ulster, is made up of nine counties, Cavan, Donegal, Monaghan, Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Tyrone, and (London)Derry (see Map 10.1) the first three of which are in the Republic of Ireland (Éire), the other six being in Northern Ireland (NI), one of the constituent countries of the United Kingdom (UK). The division of Ulster between Éire and the UK is relatively recent, the border only having come into being with the Partition of Ireland in 1920. The dialects spoken in Ulster are amongst the most distinctive in Ireland, and are often instantly recognizable as being from the north of the island. The differences between Ulster dialects and other dialects of Irish English go back to the seventeenth-century Plantation of Ulster and its associated settlements (see section 10.3) and thus long predate the present-day political border, the linguistic effects of which are as yet uncertain. There are also striking differences between dialects *within* Ulster, and these also have their origins in the seventeenth century. In addition, society in NI in particular is characterized by the presence of two main ethno-religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, which are divided not only by religion but also by identity, politics, education, and social conventions. These two groups also have their origins in the Plantation of Ulster and its associated settlements, and the long-standing social division between them has had linguistic effects (Hickey, Chapter 6 this volume), though perhaps less than might be expected given the importance of the social divide in the province and the history that lies behind it.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the dialect landscape of Ulster, to explain its origins, and to examine the nature of and relationships between the dialects spoken there. It focuses in particular on the linguistic history of the province, the development of its dialects, and on the distribution of and relations between its understudied *traditional* dialects, as variation and change in Ulster English in more recent times and in



MAP 10.1 Traditional dialect boundaries in Ulster

After John Harris 1985, *Phonological Variation and Change. Studies in Hiberno English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press on the basis of Robert J. Gregg 1972, 'The Scotch-Irish dialect boundaries in Ulster', in Martyn Wakelin (ed.) 1972, *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles*. London: Athlone Press, pp. 109-139.

urban settings is dealt with elsewhere (Hickey, chapter 11, this volume and Maguire forthcoming). It will be seen that there is much that we do not know (and unfortunately may never know) about the dialects of Ulster, and another aspect of this chapter is to highlight sources of information that could be brought to bear on these issues. The chapter is organized as follows. In section 10.2, I set out the dialect landscape of Ulster as it is generally understood by linguists. In section 10.3, I explore the history of the province in order to explain how this dialect landscape has arisen and developed. In section 10.4, I examine the relationship between Mid-Ulster English (MUE) and Ulster Scots (USc) in detail, clarifying what these labels mean and how the two dialect groups may be distinguished

given that they have much in common. In section 10.5, I briefly discuss what we know and *don't* know about these dialects, and how we might go about finding out more.

10.2 THE DIALECT LANDSCAPE OF ULSTER

As was the case in the rest of Ireland, Irish was once spoken across Ulster as the primary language of communication for the vast majority of the population. But by the start of the twenty-first century, Irish as a native language passed down through the speech community in an uninterrupted way has become extinct across most of the province, surviving in this way only in parts of Co. Donegal. However, the language is learned and known, to one extent or another, by many people across Ulster, especially, in NI, in the Catholic community due to its presence in the curriculum of the Catholic Maintained Schools education system, its associations with Irish identity, its status in the Republic of Ireland as first official language, and as a result of a long-term language revival movement. Indeed, there are now new quasi-native speakers of Irish in some places, including west Belfast (Hickey 2011a: 17–18). But important though the language is historically and culturally in the province, the vast majority of communication in Ulster is (and has been in most areas for centuries) in local varieties of English (broadly defined). We can use the term ‘Ulster English’ (UE) to describe the various non-Irish dialects that are (and have been for at least four centuries) spoken in the province. These are the focus of this chapter, especially the two most prominent dialect groups within UE, Mid-Ulster English (MUE) and Ulster Scots (USc). Map 10.1 (from Harris 1984; 1985) indicates the distribution of these dialects in Ulster in the second half of the twentieth century, as well as showing areas of survival of native Irish speech in Donegal.

Mid-Ulster English is the predominant dialect group in Ulster, being spoken across most of the province, from Belfast in the east to Donegal in the west (see Map 10.1). It is likely to be a form of MUE that people consider to be the typical Ulster or NI variety of English, or that they encounter in the media. But there is considerable variation within MUE, including, as it does, traditional rural dialects, the vernacular speech of urban areas such as Belfast and (London)Derry, and supraregional and standard varieties of UE spoken throughout Ulster. Nevertheless, these varieties share a great deal, as they also do with other dialects of English in Ireland, north and south of the border. MUE is in many respects a dialect of a southern/Midland English type, showing close similarities to the ancestor of modern Standard English, reflecting its origins in the seventeenth-century English settlement of Ulster (see section 10.3), and this is also something that it shares with varieties of IrEng outside the USc area. However, it has had significant influence from Irish and, especially, Scots, and has been cut off from subsequent trends of change in Britain (see section 10.3), both of which factors have considerably affected the character of the dialect.

Ulster Scots is the other main dialect group in Ulster. It is (or, increasingly, was) spoken in an arc of territory made of up three blocks (see Map 10.1), specifically around

Strangford Lough in Co. Down, through most of Co. Antrim away from Lough Neagh and the Glens of Antrim into north Co. (London)Derry, and in the Laggan area of Co. Donegal. Ulster Scots is a group of dialects derived from and closely related to Lowland Scots in south-western Scotland, reflecting the origin of the settlers in these areas from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. The dialect group thus has a markedly different character from other dialects in Ireland, to the point where it perhaps should not be classified as a variety of IrEng (or even English) at all, something which is reflected in the recent Ulster Scots language movement (Hickey 2011b), which aims to promote USc as a language in its own right, distinct from Irish, English, and indeed Scots.¹ There is some geographical variation in USc, but the overarching trend in the last 150 years has been levelling and loss, with the dialect increasingly coming under the influence of and being replaced by the more dominant MUE (specifically supraregional and standard varieties of it). This has progressed to the point in the early twenty-first century where USc is no longer the normal means of communication in much of its former territory, though it survives in the speech of some (usually older) people, often as aspects of the variation within local versions of MUE, as a remembered variety from childhood rather than an actively used dialect for many speakers, as the object of a recent language revitalization movement, and as a language of literature. Regardless, forms of MUE, influenced to one degree or another by USc, have largely become the norm across the USc area. Whether the USc language movement will significantly change the fortunes and status of the dialect remains to be seen, though the prospects of it once again becoming an everyday part of the linguistic landscape of Ulster (rather than as a preserved cultural artefact or signifier of identity) seem bleak, perhaps even more so than for Irish, which faces similar challenges.

The other dialect group in Ulster identified by Harris is Southern Ulster English (SUE; see Harris 1985: 15, 33–41), which is spoken in a band of territory from Carlingford Lough in the east to south Donegal in the west (see Map 10.1). Southern Ulster English is transitional between MUE and SIrE, sharing features with both and representing the result of waning Scots influence and of areas of recent Irish survival. The extent to which it really constitutes a dialect group is questionable, and its varieties are probably best thought of as negatively defined: neither truly SIrE nor MUE. Harris's SUE coincides to a fair degree with the transitional area identified by Barry (1980), who examined a range of phonological features distinguishing SIrE from MUE, and indeed Harris used phonological criteria to determine the limits of SUE too. This concentration on phonology for determining the border between SIrE and MUE reflects the most important distinguishing characteristic of these two main types of IrEng, though there must doubtless be many morphological, syntactic, and lexical features which distinguish them too. However, research on these is lacking and it may be that standardization, supraregionalization, and the effects of the political border may come to play a

¹ See e.g. the website of the Ulster-Scots Agency (Boord o Ulstèr-Scotch): www.ulsterscotsagency.com.

significant role (if they have not already) in determining the North/South linguistic divide, with traditional phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features being less important (and in many cases being lost before they have been systematically surveyed).

To the dialect groups identified by Harris can be added *Gaeltacht* and post-*Gaeltacht* varieties of Ulster English. These are sometimes distinctive varieties used in Irish-speaking communities or in communities where Irish was spoken until recently, and are characterized by an obvious influence from that language (see, for example, Ní Ghallcháoir 1981). They are (or were) characteristic of parts of Donegal, the Sperrins in north Tyrone, the Glens of Antrim, and parts of the SUE dialect area such as south Armagh (Corrigan 1993). It is likely that these varieties are relatively short-lived in most cases, being quickly subsumed under the locally dominant (usually MUE) variety, though traces of them may live on and indeed form part of the story of the development of Ulster Englishes more generally, something which I turn to in the following section.

10.3 THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF ULSTER

English has been spoken in Ulster since at least the second half of the twelfth century after the conquest of the province by the Anglo-Norman adventurer John de Courcy in 1177. This led to a limited colony in the north, centred around Carrickfergus and proto-towns such as Coleraine and Newry. This colony was never great in size, and in numerical terms speakers of English would only have been a tiny proportion of the population, though potentially an important one given their power and concentration in urban centres and manorial settlements (cf. Kallen 2013: 18–19). But by the sixteenth century, the English colony had dwindled, as it had elsewhere in Ireland, to the point that only Carrickfergus remained as a last outpost of English power. How much the English language survived outside of this narrow territory is unknown, as is the extent to which Scots was present in the province before the late sixteenth century (though it is unlikely to ever have been significant in the medieval linguistic landscape).

This situation changed dramatically in the late sixteenth and, especially, the seventeenth centuries. Following the Elizabethan conquest of the province in the late sixteenth century and the collapse of the Gaelic aristocracy in the early seventeenth, English (and, with the accession in 1603 of James VI of Scotland/James I of England, Scottish) rule was firmly established across Ulster. In order to secure the loyalty of the province and to reap economic benefit from it, a large-scale scheme of ‘plantation’ was enacted, whereby estates were granted to British landowners on condition that they were ‘planted’ by Protestant settlers from Britain. This Plantation of Ulster led to tens of thousands of English and Scottish settlers coming to Ulster to live in urban and lowland areas. Whilst the initial Plantation scheme envisaged the removal of the native Irish from many of the settlement estates, this aim was never achieved, so that they remained in most areas, though with considerable local displacements and changes in status (Bardon 2011: ix, 137). Alongside the official Plantation of Ulster were several private schemes in Counties

Antrim, Down, and Monaghan, the first two of which brought in many Scottish settlers. In addition, settlement from both England and Scotland continued long after the official Plantation had ended, with substantial migrations to the province from Britain throughout the second half of the seventeenth century and into the early decades of the eighteenth. The settlers from England came from across the south and Midlands of the country, with some also from the north-west, whilst the Scottish settlers mainly came from the coastal counties of the south-west and from the Borders. Although particular plantation estates drew primarily from either Scotland or England, others drew from both, and most counties contained both Scottish and English plantation estates. In those areas with significant numbers of English settlers, MUE developed, whilst in areas where Scottish settlers predominated, USc become established, though Scottish settlers were found in large numbers across the province (see Maguire 2020a: 20–1).

The Plantation of Ulster and its associated settlements constitute a classic example of what is known as ‘settlement colonisation’ (Schneider 2007: 25), perhaps most well known in the histories of areas such as North America or and the major countries of the anglophone Southern Hemisphere, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. In settlement colonization, large numbers of settlers from the colonizing country come to the new territory and establish themselves as the dominant population, not only politically but also demographically. In cases of settlement colonization, the settlers by and large do not learn the language(s) of the native population, and indeed may be disdainful of them (though they typically borrow place-names and words for local technologies and natural phenomena). Instead, bilingualism is largely confined to the native population, reflecting the power and demographic dynamics at play in the new colony. This is in contrast to ‘plantation colonies’, where the settlers constitute a small ruling class, and where indigenous languages continue to be spoken and may be learned by the colonists. This process of settlement colonization transformed Ulster demographically and linguistically. By 1659, around 37% of adult males and married/widowed females in Ulster were British (Robinson 1984: 105), whilst by 1732 almost 62% of the population of the province was Protestant, and this was in large part due to continued migration of English and Scots settlers to Ulster (Bardon 2011: 306–7) rather than large-scale conversion of the Irish (though that must have been a part of the story too).

The seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries set the ethno-religious and linguistic scenes for subsequent centuries, giving rise to the modern Protestant and Catholic ethno-religious groups and to MUE and USc as we know them today.² They also dramatically changed the status of Irish in Ulster. From being the language of the vast majority of the population at the start of the seventeenth century, Irish had become a minority language in the province by the early decades of the eighteenth century. This was in large part due to the introduction of a very large population of native English and

² It is important to emphasize, however, that although many Protestants are likely to have a higher proportion of British Protestant settler ancestors and many Catholics a higher proportion of native Catholic Irish ancestors, several centuries of intermarriage and conversions (in both directions), even if at low levels, mean that any equation between 17th-century populations and the modern ethno-religious groups is specious.

Scots speakers, who for the most part did not learn Irish (as the settlement colonization context predicts). But already in the seventeenth century, speakers of Irish were learning English (Corrigan 2010: 121), and this process of language shift, furthered by famines and large-scale emigration from the province, continued in subsequent centuries. By the late eighteenth century, it is estimated that only 19% of the population born in Ulster in the late eighteenth century spoke Irish, with this dropping to about 4% by the late nineteenth century (Fitzgerald 1984; 2003). Although Irish has survived in Donegal, and did so in parts of Tyrone, Antrim, and Armagh well into the twentieth century, it long ago ceased to be a usual part of the linguistic landscape in the populous, lowland, majority Protestant parts of the province, becoming increasingly restricted to remote upland areas as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries progressed.

A number of key points emerge from the history of Ulster outlined in the preceding paragraphs (for further discussion of these, see Maguire 2020a). The presence of English in the province prior to the Plantation and its associated settlements was negligible and was massively swamped by speakers of English and Scots who came to the province in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and it is these latter varieties which gave rise to MUE and USc. The settlers from England came from across the Midlands, south and (lower) north-west, with no one group predominating anywhere, so that the new dialect of English that developed in Ulster was a koiné of a non-regional Midland/southern English type, not dissimilar in fact to the ancestor of modern Standard English. It appears to have developed much as predicted by Trudgill's model of New Dialect Formation (Trudgill 2004; see also Maguire 2020a: 161–6). Ulster Scots derives for the most part from West Mid and South-West Mid Scots dialects (which would not have differed dramatically in the seventeenth century), with some input from Southern Scots. This means that the Scots that developed in the areas of densest Scottish settlement is of a (South-)West Mid character too. Importantly, Scottish settlement in Ulster was not just confined to these areas. It was substantial across much of the MUE area, rivalling or even outnumbering English settlement, so that MUE has had considerable input from Scots too. Partly this was the result of English and Scots dialects sharing much in common, so that Scots was part of the new dialect formation process in these areas; but there is also evidence that input to MUE from Scots was due to language shift by adult Scots speakers to English, resulting in the imposition of specific Scots phonological features (Maguire 2020a: 171–7).

This brings us to the issue of the extent to which the language shift from Irish influenced the development of English (and Scots) in Ulster (see Maguire 2020a: 147–61 for further discussion). As the history outlined above indicates, a large English (and Scots) native speaker base was established in Ulster through settlement colonization, and Irish quickly became a minority language. In this situation, bilingualism was largely unidirectional, with Irish speakers learning English but English and Scots speakers mostly not learning Irish. During the shift from Irish in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the numbers of new learners of English were small in comparison to the numbers of native speakers, and these speakers were mostly from the Catholic rural population. As a result, they were not in a position to dramatically influence English

in Ulster, either numerically or socially, in contrast to other parts of Ireland where Irish learners of English were often dominant (Kallen 2013: 25–7). Because of this, Irish influence on MUE and USc has largely been limited to a small number of characteristic syntactic constructions (see Maguire 2020a: 157–8), in addition to borrowed place names and a limited number of non-core lexical borrowings (as we would expect in a situation of settlement colonization). Irish influence on the phonetics and phonology of the two dialects is elusive (as is discussed in Maguire 2020a), and amounts, for the most part, to reinforcement of phonological patterns already present in the seventeenth-century English and Scots input, though even this is uncertain in many instances.³ Thus it is the case that, unlike some forms of SIrE, MUE and USc represent instances of ‘slight interference’ as a result of language contact (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 121–9), rather than ‘heavy interference’ (p. 43).

10.4 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ULSTER SCOTS AND MID-ULSTER ENGLISH

Trudgill (1999) distinguishes and maps two kinds of English dialects, ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’. Traditional dialects of English, which were mostly rural varieties spoken by the lower classes in the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries, are replete with highly local, often endogenously developed features and differ from each other substantially across all linguistic levels. Modern dialects of English, on the other hand, show substantial signs of exogenous change (especially levelling, supraregionalization, and influence from Standard English; see Hickey 2013), losing many of the most localized phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features of the traditional dialects. As a result, they chiefly differ from each other in terms of their phonetics alongside a much-reduced set of phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical characteristics.

The distinction between traditional dialects and modern dialects that is characteristic of England and Lowland Scotland (see Wells 1982: 4–8 and Trudgill 1999) is also found in Ulster, though, as is the case elsewhere, the situation is more complicated than a simple dichotomy between two different dialects would imply. Although Wells (1982: 4), perhaps echoing Ellis (1889: 1), suggests that traditional dialect is only spoken in the USc areas of Ulster, the MUE area also has traditional forms of speech that differ significantly from modern UE and Standard English. Traditional dialects of MUE are characterized by substantial numbers of non-standard phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features just as traditional dialects in England are, and these too have been subject to considerable levelling in recent decades. A good representation of traditional MUE is

³ Maguire (2020a: 151–6) discusses issues with the notion of ‘reinforcement’, specifically that it is fairly easy to find positive evidence for it but very difficult to find negative evidence against it (i.e. cases where reinforcement might have occurred but didn’t).

found in the dialect poetry of the Rev. W. F. Marshall, the ‘Bard of Tyrone’ (Marshall 1983), as illustrated in the following excerpt from his poem ‘John the Liar’.

Well, it was freezin’ hard.
 An’ bittther cowl; an’ min’ ye I had play,
 (Yon mare’s the deil for gettin’ on hir en’)
 But there wos John, he had his two han’s up,
 Scared like an’ peghin’, with no hat or coat;
 A man’s unaisy when he sees the like.
 ‘The Lord bliss me,’ sez I, ‘what’s wrong?’ Sez he,
 ‘Be gomentays, I went an’ killed two pigs,
 Ye niver seen the like of them two pigs,
 Throth they wor tarra; jist the five months oul’
 ‘The deil a hair I care,’ sez I, ‘ye killed
 A score of pigs; stan’ out the road!’

The dialect Marshall represented was characterized by many non-standard features from all linguistic levels, including substantial differences in the lexical distribution of vowels, various dialect-specific morphosyntactic constructions, and many localized lexical items. These are the characteristics of a traditional dialect rather than a modern dialect of English, and differences of these kinds are as pronounced as those found in the traditional dialects of England in most of the Midlands, East Anglia, and parts of the south-west and north (and indeed are shared by many of them). Many of the features represented by Marshall are absent or greatly reduced in modern supraregional and standardized varieties of MUE in the twenty-first century, to the point where we are essentially dealing with two rather different dialects. But unlike many areas of England, traditional MUE is still spoken by some, especially by older members of the community in rural areas such as south-west Tyrone where the author grew up, and many traditional features survive as part of a wider repertoire for other speakers (see further section 10.5).

Of the many differences between traditional MUE and modern MUE, the most obvious are in lexis and phonology. In terms of lexis, traditional MUE has a rich non-standard vocabulary derived in large part from Scots but also from regional and historical varieties of English and from Irish (see Macafee 1996). This is much reduced in modern MUE. Traditional MUE has many non-standard phonological patterns which have been levelled, at least in part, in modern MUE (see Maguire 2020a). Perhaps most obviously, there are significant differences between traditional and modern MUE in terms of the lexical distribution of vowel phonemes, with some examples (from south-west Tyrone) from amongst many given in Table 10.1.⁴

It can be seen from Table 10.1 that the lexical distribution of vowel phonemes in modern MUE is much closer to that of Standard English. The rather different lexical

⁴ Table 10.1 indicates which lexical set in the dialect the vowel found in each example is typical of, e.g. /əʊ/ is typical of the MOUTH lexical set, but is found in some GOAT words before /l/ in traditional MUE.

Table 10.1 Differences in lexical distribution of vowel phonemes in traditional and modern MUE

Examples	Traditional MUE		Modern MUE	
<i>clergy, learn, search</i>	/ɑr/ > /ɛr/	START > SQUARE	/ɛr/ > /əɪr/	SQUARE > NURSE
<i>bowl, cold, old, roll, shoulder</i>	/əʊ/	MOUTH	/o/	GOAT
<i>beat, Jesus, meal, seat, teacher</i>	/e/	FACE	/i/	FLEECE
<i>wind</i>	/ɛi/	PRICE	/ɛ/	KIT
<i>twist, whip, window, winter</i>	/ɔ/	STRUT	/ɛ/	KIT
<i>none</i>	/o/	GOAT	/ɔ/	STRUT
<i>jaw, raw, talk, walk</i>	/ɑ/	PALM	/ɔ/	CLOTH/THOUGHT
<i>board, course, door, floor</i>	/ʊr/	CURE	/or/	FORCE
<i>after, grass, ladder</i>	/ɛ/	DRESS	/a/	TRAP/BATH
<i>drop, off, soft, top</i>	/a/	TRAP/BATH	/ʊ/, /ɔ/	LOT, CLOTH
<i>bless, every, never, vet, yet</i>	/ɛ/	KIT	/ɛ/	DRESS
<i>wrestle, yellow</i>	/a/	TRAP/BATH	/ɛ/	DRESS
<i>idiot, kick, king, women</i>	/i/	FLEECE	/ɛ/	KIT
<i>quality, wash, watch, what</i>	/a/	TRAP/BATH	/ʊ/, /ɔ/	LOT, CLOTH
<i>just, stubble, such</i>	/ɛ/	KIT	/ɔ/	STRUT
<i>one, once</i>	/a/	TRAP/BATH	/ɔ/	STRUT
<i>break, leap</i>	/ɛ/	DRESS	/e/	FACE

distribution of vowel phonemes in traditional MUE reflect endogenous developments, survival of patterns from its Early Modern input dialects that have long been lost in Standard English in Britain, and influence from Scots.⁵

As was discussed in section 10.3, Scottish settlement in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was significant across most of Ulster, not just in those areas (Co. Antrim and Co. Down) which were subject to private plantation from Scotland. Indeed in many areas across the province, Scottish settlement equalled or even outweighed

⁵ It has often been suggested (see the review in Maguire 2020a: 166–71) that traditional MUE is conservative or archaic and that it closely resembles Early Modern English in key respects, including in its phonology. There are various points of divergence between MUE and the dialects of southern and Midland England with which it shares an Early Modern ancestor, and some of these do indeed give the impression of archaism on the part of MUE. But this apparent archaism is best explained by MUE being cut off from subsequent trends of change in Britain so that it is a dialect of a southern/Midland type which lacks various innovations that have become the norm in England. As is explained in Maguire (2020a), viewing this as archaism involves a degree of cherry-picking, and requires us to ignore influence on the dialect from Irish and Scots and internal developments in it over the last 400 years. Elizabethan English and the language of Shakespeare are not to be heard in Ulster any more than they are anywhere else in the English-speaking world.

English settlement by the early eighteenth century. The large-scale Scottish settlement of the province has had an obvious and thorough-going impact on the dialects that developed there, so that even beyond those areas where USc is spoken Scottish features are a striking characteristic of MUE dialects (see Maguire 2020a: 171–7), which really only begin to diminish in the SUE zone. As a result, both USc and MUE share many things in common, including phonetic features (e.g. a lowered and centralized vowel [ɛ] typical of the KIT lexical set), phonological rules (e.g. versions of the complex Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR); see Aitken 1981), vowel lexical distributions (e.g. /a/ rather than /ɒ/ or /ɔ/ in the neighbourhood of labial consonants, in words such as *drop* and *off*), as well as various morphological, syntactic, and lexical features (see Macafee 1996 and Robinson 1997). Maguire (2020a) argues that much of the Scots influence on MUE phonology is indicative of language shift from Scots to English in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with adult speakers of Scots learning English and imposing phonetic and phonotactic rules on it in the process.

Given this, the question arises as to what distinguishes USc from MUE. How do the two dialects differ linguistically, and how does this relate to their distribution on the linguistic landscape (e.g. how is the boundary between them indicated in Map 10.1 determined, and are there intermediate varieties)? Furthermore, how have changes in the nature of MUE and USc in recent decades affected the relationship between them? These questions are the focus of the rest of this section. Because USc and MUE share so much in common linguistically, the issue of what distinguishes them is important not only for linguists analysing the dialect landscape of Ulster, but also for language planners, activists, and members of the public to understand what these terms mean. For example, the 2011 UK census in Northern Ireland contained a question asking respondents to indicate whether they could ‘Understand’, ‘Speak’, ‘Read’, and/or ‘Write’ USc, or had ‘No ability’ in it, alongside a question of the same design for Irish, suggesting that USc is a language separate from both English and Irish.⁶ Given that the census gave no indication as to what ‘Ulster-Scots’ is, respondents were left to determine, as best they could, how to answer this question. Does the use of, for example, non-standard lexical items shared with USc (of which there are many, including *aye*, *birl*, *crabbit*, *dwalm*, *oxter*, and *thole*), count as some ability in the variety, for example? If use of features of Scots origin counts as evidence of ability in USc, then almost everyone in Ulster speaks some of the variety, and it is not clear what the results of the census really signify.

In his classic study of traditional forms of USc (which he refers to as ‘Scotch-Irish’, SI) and how they related to MUE (which he calls Ulster Anglo-Irish, UAI), Gregg (1972; 1985) provided the solution to this problem. Although USc and MUE share a large number of linguistic features in common (including non-standard lexis), core phonological and morphological patterns distinguish the two dialect groups. In particular, the lexical distribution of vowel phonemes (and of some consonant phonemes) and verbal

⁶ See <https://www.nisra.gov.uk/sites/nisra.gov.uk/files/publications/2011-census-results-key-statistics-statistics-bulletin-11-december-2012.pdf> and links therein. See also Macafee (2017) for similar issues in Scotland.

negation in the two dialect groups differ dramatically. These reflect the majority input from Scots in the case of USc and English in the case of MUE and replicate differences in Britain between Scots (and far northern English) dialects, on the one hand, and Midland and Southern dialects of English, on the other. Some key differences in lexical distribution amongst many identified by Gregg between the two dialects are given in Table 10.2, where it can be seen that quite a few of the features which distinguish MUE and USc follow well-known isoglosses in Britain.⁷

Table 10.2 Differences in lexical distribution of vowel phonemes in traditional MUE and USc

Examples	Traditional MUE		Traditional USc	
<i>down, house, now, out, town</i>	/əʊ/	MOUTH	/ʊ/	GOOSE
<i>both, home, stone, whole</i>	/o/	GOAT	/e/	FACE
<i>blind, find</i>	/ɛi/	PRICE	/æ/	KIT
<i>found, ground</i>	/əʊ/	MOUTH	/ʌ/	STRUT
<i>dead, head, well (aj.)</i>	/ɛ/	DRESS	/i/	FLEECE
<i>long, strong, wrong</i>	/ɔ/	CLOTH/THOUGHT	/ɑ/	TRAP/BATH/PALM
<i>crow, know, snow, throw</i>	/o/	GOAT	/ɑ/	TRAP/BATH/PALM
<i>cold, old</i>	/əʊ/	MOUTH	/əʊ/, /ɑ/	MOUTH, TRAP/BATH/PALM
<i>boot, good, moon, school, soon</i>	/ʊ/	GOOSE	/i/	KIT ^a
<i>nut, son, summer, sun</i>	/ʊ/	STRUT	/æ/	KIT
<i>rust, suck, thumb</i>	/ʊ/	STRUT	/ʊ/	GOOSE
<i>two, who</i>	/ʊ/	GOOSE	/ɑ/	TRAP/BATH/PALM
<i>die, eye, fly, lie ('fib')</i>	/ɛi/	PRICE	/i/	FLEECE
<i>ewe, four, grow, over</i>	/o/	GOAT, FORCE	/əʊ/	MOUTH
<i>seven, eleven</i>	/ɛ/	DRESS	/e/	FACE

^a Traditional USc has two vowel phonemes corresponding to the KIT vowel in modern UE, /æ/ and /i/. In modern UE in USc areas, the single vowel phoneme typical of the KIT set can cover the range from [æ] to [i].

To these substantial differences can be added retention of historical /x/ (especially before /t/) in USc (e.g. in *daughter, eight, night*), which has been lost in MUE, and loss of /l/ after historical short back vowels in USc (e.g. in *all, colt, full*), which has been retained in MUE. The result is that the phonologies of traditional MUE and USc are sharply divergent in key respects, even though they also share a great deal in common elsewhere in the system. The other main point of divergence between traditional MUE and USc is in

⁷ The lexical set headwords in Table 10.2 indicate which lexical set the vowel in question is most typical of in *modern UE*, in order to show how these two dialects diverge from each other and from modern dialects in the province.

morphology, especially with respect to verbal negation. Whilst verbal negation in MUE is similar to what is found in Standard English (e.g. *can't*, *couldn't*, *didn't*, *don't*, *I'll not*, *did you not?*), verbal negation in USc is similar to what is found in other Scots dialects (e.g. *cannae*, *cudnae*, *didnae*, *dinnae*, *I'll no*, *did you no?*). When these are added to the phonological differences, as well as differences in phonetics, other aspects of morphology, syntax, and lexis, it is clear that traditional MUE and USc are rather different dialects, albeit ones that share a great deal in common too.

In order to determine the geographical distribution of USc as opposed to MUE, Gregg (1972; 1985) selected 52 individual words representing these kinds of distinctions, using a network of 125 localities in Counties Down, Antrim, (London)Derry, and Donegal and interviewing mostly older speakers, asking for their local dialect pronunciations. He found that locations were extremely consistent in having particular forms of each word, so that some scored very highly in terms of their frequency of USc-type variants, whilst for others the score was very low. The first group he classified as USc (UI in his usage), the second type as MUE (UAI in his usage). He found that locations were essentially dichotomous in their behaviour, with only two of them showing intermediate frequencies (i.e. having a mix of USc and MUE features). This sharp distinction between USc and MUE locations allowed Gregg to draw his now well-known line demarcating the USc dialect areas of Ulster (as indicated in Map 10.1).

It is important to point out, however, that there are issues with Gregg's analysis which mean that this line may not be as secure or definite as has been assumed, even though the distinction between traditional forms of the two dialects is not in question. The wordlist Gregg used for his study consisted of 684 items,⁸ selected because they contained phonological features which were suspected of differing between USc and MUE. Of these he identified 88 which contained features useful for illustrating the difference between USc and MUE, and he further refined this list to 52 items which patterned in a consistent way, the other 36 showing too many exceptions to be useful for drawing a boundary between the two dialect groups (Gregg 1985: 85–9). In other words, Gregg's line is based on a highly selective analysis of phonological and morphological patterns present in the dialects in his survey area, and many phonological features, often of Scots origin, are shared by the two dialects. Furthermore, of the 52 items that he used to draw his boundary, it is usually the case that the same feature is found in multiple words. For example, there are six words which illustrate the retention of /x/ in USc but not MUE, there are five which represent the development of Old English /ɑ:/, and four which reflect developments of ME /u:/ in these dialects. In other words, the 52 items do not correspond to 52 features that separate USc and MUE.

Another important aspect of Gregg's analysis is that it (obviously) depends on the locations he included in his survey (see Gregg 1972: 132–3). This means that the line he drew between USc and MUE is only definite where there are survey locations on either

⁸ Gregg (1985: 60) gives the figure as 665, but this figure doesn't include 19 items which have been interpolated into the list using letters as well as numbers to identify them (e.g. 550a, 550b, 550c, and 550d).

side of it. This is certainly the case in most of County Down (though note the line around Bangor, which was not surveyed), but is not true of most of Antrim and Donegal and is not the case at all for Co. (London)Derry. In these counties, the line is often drawn around locations identified as USc-speaking but with no locations at all on the other side of the line (e.g. in Co. (London)Derry, the line runs just south of the four USc-speaking survey points, and there are no other survey locations in the county). Doubtless Gregg had his reasons for drawing these lines where he did (e.g. around the Glens of Antrim, which were Irish-speaking into the twentieth century before a form of MUE replaced Irish), but along most of its length Gregg's border between USc and MUE is essentially conjectural. We have no idea whether further survey work in the rest of County (London)Derry (or even north Tyrone), for example, would have revealed locations with USc dialect, with MUE dialect, or with intermediate varieties, and given subsequent dialect levelling, we may never know. Furthermore, it is also clear that within the USc areas delimited by Gregg there was considerable variation in the extent to which the dialect was used. For example, Gregg (1964) describes the 'Scotch-Irish Urban Speech' of Larne in Co. Antrim, and it is evident from his description that the dialect is essentially of a modern MUE type, albeit heavily influenced by USc phonetics. Gregg notes (1964: 177) that only in some suburbs of the town is the dialect 'an almost unaltered version of the country dialects belonging to the immediate vicinity'. The same is likely to be true of other urban areas in the USc zone, such as Newtownards, Ballymena, and Coleraine (for this last, see Kingsmore 1995), and this is even before we begin to consider social and stylistic variation in the USc area more generally (see e.g. Douglas-Cowie 1978).

So it is possible, perhaps even likely, that the geographical relationship between MUE and USc was more complicated than Gregg's analysis suggests, and that the border he identifies (which, even with its uncertainties and his selective analysis, is easily as significant as the Ribble–Humber Line or the linguistic Scottish–English border) may represent a considerable idealization and crystallization of differences in recent times. This is not to say that there were not radical differences between USc and MUE, nor that we should cease to conceive of them as two distinct dialect groups in Ulster, even though they share a great deal in common (indeed more than Gregg's final analysis suggests).

Given all of the preceding discussion, the relationship between traditional forms of MUE and USc may be better represented in the abstract, as is done in Figure 10.1.

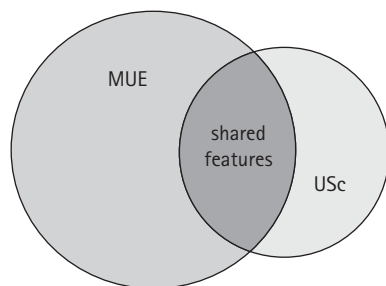


FIGURE 10.1 The relationship between MUE and USc

Whilst the shared features are part of USc, their presence is not enough to qualify a variety as USc given that they are also present in MUE. Thus any census question that does not specify what is meant by USc or any definition of USc as a variety containing non-standard features of Scots origin will fail to capture the important distinction between these two dialect groups that share so much in common whilst nevertheless being different in crucial respects.

As was noted in section 10.2, the relationship between MUE and USc as conceived of by Gregg and represented in Figure 10.1 may only apply to traditional forms of speech in Ulster. As a result of the levelling of local dialect features, supraregionalization, influence from standard varieties, and even dialect death, many (and in some cases all) of the features that distinguish MUE and USc have disappeared, being replaced by features that have their origin in supraregional varieties of MUE. These processes have transformed the dialect landscape of Ulster, so that old dialect boundaries are being swept away and are being replaced by modern accents of Ulster English which differ to greater or lesser degrees. Further research is needed to understand the new dialect landscape of Ulster (see section 10.5). This process is not yet complete by any means, but it is at an advanced stage in many areas and has perhaps affected traditional forms of USc even more than traditional forms of MUE (which in some places at least, such as south-west Tyrone, are still used by older—and some younger—members of the local community; see Maguire 2020a). These striking changes have obvious consequences for the definition of MUE and USc in the twenty-first century and for the USc language movement, which seeks to promote a variety that is not far from being moribund in the speech community. If the unique features of Scots origin that distinguish USc from MUE are disappearing, the existence of USc as separate from MUE must be uncertain, even if the local accents of UE which are replacing it retain traces of the dialect. This process is represented in Figure 10.2.

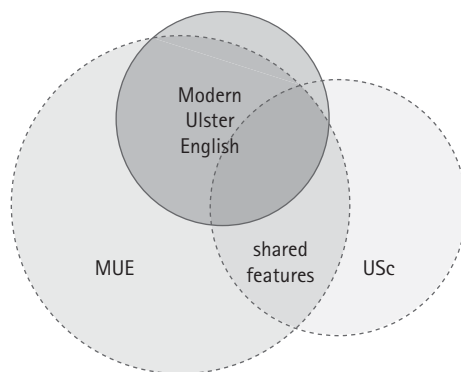


FIGURE 10.2 The development of Modern UE

Figure 10.2 illustrates a number of points with respect to the development and nature of Modern UE. Firstly, it is a variety of MUE rather than of USc, albeit one which has lost much of the regional variation within MUE and a great deal of the non-standard

phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexis that characterize traditional forms of the dialect, whilst at the same time evidencing various innovations. Secondly, it does contain many features of Scots origin that were found in USc and in traditional forms of MUE, so that not all USc features have disappeared. Rather, those features that make USc distinct from MUE more generally have mostly been subject to levelling, though some distinct accent features of USc have survived in the Ulster English now spoken in the former USc areas (cf. Gregg 1964). Thirdly, this process has resulted in the death of USc as a means of everyday communication for most people in Ulster, a fact which stands in contrast to the promotion of traditional forms of the dialect amongst USc language activists and enthusiasts (Hickey 2011b). As was noted in section 10.2, it is unclear what, if any, effect this will have on the situation represented in Figure 10.2.

10.5 THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL MID-ULSTER ENGLISH AND ULSTER SCOTS DIALECTS

The belief that traditional dialects are (or were) not spoken in Ulster outside of the Ulster Scots heartlands may partly explain the dearth of substantial published accounts of the rural vernacular dialects of the province in the twentieth century, when such studies proliferated in England and Lowland Scotland. These took the form of monographs describing particular dialects in detail and large-scale surveys, especially the *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (Mather and Speitel 1975; 1977; 1986) and the *Survey of English Dialects* (Orton and Dieth 1962–71), and have contributed enormously to what we know about the dialects and history of English and Scots in Britain.

That is not to say there are *no* published sources of information on Ulster dialects. In addition to materials, largely of a lexical nature, collected by dialect enthusiasts (see e.g. Traynor 1953 and Macafee 1996), brief descriptions of aspects of Ulster dialects have been published, in particular by G. B. Adams (e.g. Adams 1948; 1950; 1966; 1981; 1986). Information on aspects of Ulster accents and dialects can also be found in various other sources, including those studying modern and urban varieties (e.g. Corrigan 2010; Henry 1995; Hickey 2007; Kingsmore 1995; McCafferty 2001; Milroy 1981). But larger-scale analyses and surveys, especially of traditional forms of MUE, are less common, and much of the data that has been gathered remains unpublished.

Most obviously, Robert Gregg's work on USc has been enormously important in the documentation of one of Ulster's main dialect groups, as well as adjacent varieties of MUE (see, in particular, Gregg 1958; 1959; 1964; 1972; 1985). Data from Ulster dialects in the 1950s were also included in the *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (LAS), with lexical material appearing in Mather and Speitel (1975; 1977) and phonological data in Mather and Speitel (1986). The phonological material in particular makes for a useful addition to Gregg's studies, and takes us some of the way towards what we have for dialects of English and Scots in Britain,

though the locations surveyed were, not unsurprisingly, concentrated in USc areas (there were 15 locations from east Ulster in the survey, nine of which were from the USc zone, five from the MUE area, and one was a SUE dialect). The unpublished materials underlying Mather and Speitel (1986) will add further to our understanding of these traditional Ulster dialects (see Maguire 2020b). In addition, Henry (1958) included 11 locations from Ulster in his preliminary report on his *Survey of Anglo-Irish Dialects*, though unfortunately only a small amount of data is given in his report. It is to be hoped that the original data collected by Henry from these locations has survived and will eventually see the light of day, as his survey was designed, in a similar way to the SED, to capture a range of lexical and phonological information on traditional forms of speech, albeit mostly ones from former Irish-speaking areas rather than from the USc and MUE heartlands.

In fact, an island-wide survey of IrEng was conducted in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This was the *Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech* (TRS; Barry 1981). The TRS survey gathered audio-recordings of local speech from most areas across Ireland, based on a 20 × 20 km grid, using a questionnaire to elicit phonetic and phonological data as well as recording free conversation. Data were gathered from an older (65–75), middle-aged (35–45), and child speaker at each location, with no control for other social variables such as gender, ethno-religious group, or class. Preliminary analysis of the TRS data has been put to good use in exploring the boundary between UE and SIrE (Barry 1980; Harris 1985), but unfortunately the TRS data has never been published (other than some samples in Hickey 2004), and further analysis has not been forthcoming. However, this is likely to change with the envisaged availability of all the recordings (see <https://www.nationalmuseumsni.org/languages-ulster>). Nevertheless, further analysis of the TRS data should add considerably to the body of data we have for understanding the dialect landscape of Ulster. But it is worth pointing out that the TRS was not, unlike the SED, the LAS, or Gregg's study, a survey of traditional dialect, as the questionnaire and elicitation techniques were not designed to specifically record traditional pronunciations. Rather, the TRS was an attempt to capture aspects of contemporary speech in Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s. It may be that some of the older speakers recorded in the survey in particular spoke traditional dialect (the sample recordings in Hickey 2004 suggest that some did and some did not), but it is likely that the TRS data will be most useful for understanding phonetic and phonological aspects of modern MUE (as it was at the time).

Harris (1985) drew together data from Adams and Gregg, the TRS, his own studies of Belfast Vernacular English (BVE), and other sources to give the most complete account of the phonology of Ulster dialects that had ever been published. As well as investigating aspects of BVE synchronic and diachronic phonology in detail, Harris (1985) provides reliable outlines of the phonologies of USc, MUE, and SUE, and of the key phonological features that distinguish them, making his account a crucial one for understanding the dialect landscape of Ulster. That said, his study concentrates for the most part on the phonology of BVE, which as an urban dialect inevitably shows signs of considerable levelling, and does not explore the phonology of rural traditional dialects in detail, never mind covering other linguistic features of these dialects.

Hickey (2004) contains audio recordings from many locations across NI and the rest of Ulster. Because these recordings involve elicited read speech from a range of participants across the province, including many younger and educated speakers, this is a collection of modern MUE varieties rather than of traditional MUE or USc (e.g. lexical distributions characteristic of these two traditional dialects are essentially absent from the data). This means that whilst Hickey's data is of considerable value for understanding the modern dialect (or, perhaps more accurately, accent) landscape of Ulster, it does not greatly add to our understanding of the province's traditional forms of speech. Nevertheless, analysis of this corpus remains an important goal for any study of English in Ulster. The same is true of Hickey's *A Survey of Irish English Usage* (see Hickey 2007: 164–5 for a description and <https://www.uni-due.de/IERC/> for further analysis), which provides useful information on the acceptability of a wide range of morpho-syntactic patterns across Ireland (including Ulster) amongst mainly younger speakers (i.e. speakers of modern varieties of IrE).

Maguire (2020a) is an in-depth investigation of the historical phonology of traditional MUE which also touches on many aspects of USc. In addition to the extensive diachronic analysis, the volume contains much information on the phonology of traditional Ulster dialects, including details of vowel quality and quantity, the lexical distribution of vowel phonemes, and the realization and distribution of consonants. Whilst much of this information is drawn from published sources such as the LAS, it also relies on a substantial corpus of the traditional MUE dialect of south-west Tyrone, where the author grew up. This corpus currently consists of around 40 hours of audio recordings of mostly older speakers (both Protestant and Catholic) in the community, collected between 2002 and 2019 along with some short recordings from the late 1980s and early 1990s, and includes conversations and oral history, various reading tasks, and full answers to the SED questionnaire. It constitutes a large body of data for a single traditional Ulster dialect of a kind that we don't have for most of them, providing crucial insight into the dialect landscape of the province. It shows that data for the traditional dialects of Ulster can still be gathered, though unfortunately this will not be the case for much longer, and further surveys and analysis will inevitably concentrate on the still distinctive (but not sufficiently recorded) modern dialects that characterize Ulster in the twenty-first century.

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CHAPTER 11

URBAN ENGLISH IN NORTHERN IRELAND

RAYMOND HICKEY

11.1 INTRODUCTION

FOR a compact territory with a small population, the region that a century ago became Northern Ireland, a constituent part of the United Kingdom, has been fairly well served with descriptions and surveys of urban varieties. The study of urban Northern Irish English (NIrE) follows in broad outline the development of urban vernacular studies in general, from the efforts of nineteenth-century amateur collectors, via dialectologists' descriptions of regional pronunciation and vocabulary, and more recent studies of phonological and grammatical variation and change by scholars trained in modern (socio)linguistics. Some of the latter studies of urban NIrE are textbook classics, with the Belfast neighbourhoods of Ballymacarrett, the Hammer, and Clonard occupying a central place in the sociolinguistic canon alongside New York City department stores, Manhattan's Lower East Side, Norwich, and suburban Detroit high schools.

The earliest insights into urban NIrE pronunciation are provided by self-taught amateur collectors like David Patterson, who published a little pamphlet on Belfast 'provincialisms'. The aim of Patterson (1860) was entirely descriptive: to weed out 'improper' pronunciations, but the booklet opened a window on Belfast English in the mid-nineteenth century and, with other similar descriptions, offered tantalizing glimpses of older NIrE.

Dialectology in Ireland began through the efforts of G. Brendan Adams and Robert J. Gregg, who established the Ulster Dialect Archive in 1960 (see Adams 1964). Unusually, their dialectology was not averse to including urban areas, a move that was arguably crucial when studying a region where it is more difficult to identify the spoken standard than in North America and Great Britain. Thanks to these scholars, we have pre-Labovian descriptions of the urban speech of Belfast (Adams 1948) and Larne (Gregg 1964). These pioneers' willingness to include urban areas carried over to

the Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech (TRS). TRS fieldworkers also gathered data from urban areas, moving away from the traditional focus of dialectology on non-mobile older rural males by also interviewing women and sampling three generations at each locality: studies of NIrE, urban and rural alike, could thus shift from static snapshots of local accents to produce more dynamic studies of intergenerational change (see e.g. Barry 1981; 1982).

The main impulse for the second wave of variationist sociolinguistics occurred in Belfast, where a social networks approach was employed for two major surveys of inner- and outer-city Belfast (e.g. J. Milroy 1981; L. Milroy 1987a; Harris 1985) and the nearby town of Lurgan (Pitts 1985; 1986). The canonical status of these studies was subsequently confirmed by publications like Lesley Milroy (1987b) and James Milroy (1992a). In the wake of these projects, a couple of other urban areas of Northern Ireland have produced sociolinguistic surveys of language variation and change: Coleraine (Kingsmore 1995) and (London)Derry (McCafferty 2001).

All the above-mentioned studies are concerned with phonological aspects of NIrE, with a focus on segmental phonology (see Table 11.1) in keeping with the dialectological tradition out of which variationist sociolinguistics grew. Aspects of urban NIrE grammar have also been studied by e.g. Henry (1995; 1997), and in work on the intonation of (London)Derry (McElholm 1986) and especially Belfast (e.g. Rahilly 1997; Grabe 2004; Sullivan 2012; Lowry 2011) which, unlike most other varieties of English, tend to use rising tones across declarative utterances.¹ The prosody of northern Irish English is quite distinctive in another key respect: there is a salient fall in pitch on stressed syllables (Jarman and Cruttenden 1976), the highlighting of which is realized in the south, as in most varieties of English, by a slight lengthening of the stressed syllable, perhaps accompanied by an increase in volume.

Table 11.1 Prominent segmental features of northern Irish accents of English

- 1) Fronting of /u/ to [ʊ]
- 2) Retroflexion of /r/ [ɻ]
- 3) Lowering of short front vowels
- 4) Lack of distinctive length differences with vowels (Ulster Scots)

¹ Rahilly (1994) notes a general predominance of rises in intonation in northern areas of Britain which contrast explicitly with falls in the south of Britain. Indeed the high numbers of rising nuclei and level tails in tone sequences are regarded as typical of 'the Anglo-Irish group of dialects' rather than the 'British group'. Rahilly concludes that the primary cue to prominence in Belfast is a high pitch, but with much less movement than with nuclei in Received Pronunciation (Rahilly 1997). Intonational variation in varieties of (British and Irish) English has been studied recently by several authors such as Alan Cruttenden (Cruttenden 1995) and in detail by Orla Lowry (Lowry 2002) and Esther Grabe (Grabe 2004).

11.1.1 Fronting of /u/

This northern Irish English feature which is shared with English/Scots in Scotland is the fronting of /u/ to a mid high vowel [ʊ]. In the case of /u:/ one often has shortening leading to homophones like *fool* and *full*, both [fʊl]. The MOUTH diphthong also has [ʊ] as an endpoint with a slightly raised onset yielding a characteristic realization as [vʊ] as in *down* [dʌʊn], *town* [tʌʊn].

11.1.2 Retroflexion of /r/

Northern Irish English is clearly rhotic and speakers who attempt to approach something like RP retain rhoticity longest. Syllable-final /r/ is phonetically different in the north and south of Ireland respectively, so that one can tell speakers from their pronunciation of a word like *north*. While in the south /r/ is traditionally velarized in postvocalic position, it is retroflex in the north so that one has [nɒ:ɹ̠] in the south as opposed to [nɒ:ɹ̠ʰ] in the north. However, in recent years a retroflex [ɹ] has become very common in the south as a result of the spread of newer forms of Dublin English (Hickey 2005: 45–6).

11.1.3 Lowering of short front vowels

The northern Irish English drop in pitch may have been responsible for the lowering of short high front vowels as in: *He was hi[ɛ]t by a car*.

11.1.4 Vowel length

A feature shared with varieties in Scotland is the lack of contrastive vowel length. This naturally applies in particular to Ulster Scots. Although the latter is largely a rural form of English, the lack of distinctive vowel length can be found in urban varieties and in those outside the core Ulster Scots areas. The distinction between vowels is reduced to one of quality, so that a pair of words like *bid* and *bead* are distinguished by a more central versus a more peripheral vowel articulation, if at all. In those cases where quality differences are not available, homophony often arises as in *cot* and *caught* both [kɒt].

The vowel shortening only applies to high and mid vowels. All short low vowels are lengthened in accordance with the phonetically open nature of such segments. This results in pronunciations like [ba:n] for *ban*, [ba:g] for *bag*, with a long central low vowel (vowel height and frontness can vary here as well, e.g. [ba:n] and [bɛ:g] are possible pronunciations).

11.2 BELFAST

The city of Belfast² was founded by Sir Arthur Chichester in 1603 (Bardon 1996: 71). It lies at the mouth of the river Lagan, a fact reflected in the Irish name *Béal Feirste* 'the mouth of the sandbank or ford'. Belfast was intended for English and Scots settlers. The present-day Catholic population, particularly in West Belfast, stems from those who migrated into the city from surrounding areas in search of work in the linen and cotton industries and later in ship-building which blossomed in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. However, throughout the eighteenth century Belfast was a small town on the west bank of the Lagan, with Ballymacarrett a separate settlement on the east bank. By 1821 the population was still only 37,000; by 1861 it had increased threefold to 121,000; and by the close of the nineteenth century it was 350,000, ten times its size at the beginning of the century (J. Milroy 1981: 22). By the middle of the twentieth century the population had risen to over 440,000 and then dropped off, with people spreading into neighbouring towns such as Newtownabbey, Finaghy, Newtownbreda.

There are two main rises in population in the nineteenth century. The first is concentrated around the late 1840s: due to the Great Famine, many rural inhabitants moved into urban centres after the massive failure of the potato crop (this affected cities throughout Ireland, notably Dublin in the south). The second and more important reason was increasing industrialization. This set in somewhat later in Ulster than in Great Britain. The mechanization of linen production and the development of ship-building were the two main industrial developments in nineteenth-century Belfast. There was in-migration from all nine counties of Ulster. The area of contemporary Belfast is characterized by a conurbation which now stretches along the north shore of Belfast Lough at least to Newtownabbey in Co. Antrim and, on the south shore, at least to Holywood in Co. Down.

Along the Lagan Valley, the city stretches to the south-west at least to Lisburn. The Lagan Valley is the hinterland of Belfast, and is now served by a motorway which links up Belfast with the triad of towns Lurgan, Craigavon, and Portadown to the south of Lough Neagh. There is a similarity between accents in the city and those in its hinterland to the south-west. The east of the city shows greater similarity with accents from rural North Down, an originally Scots area of settlement as opposed to the Lagan Valley, which was settled largely by people from England.

² In 1603, Chichester was granted Belfast Castle and surrounding lands and acquired escheated estates in Antrim, Down, and on the Inishowen peninsula in Co. Donegal. He is also the founder of the Donegall family (note the spelling with two *l*'s not to be confused with the name of the county with a single *l*), and came from England as a professional soldier before the turn of the 16th century. He was made Lord Belfast in 1613.

11.2.1 Sources of Belfast English

The English spoken in Belfast is an amalgam of features which come from the two main forms of English in Ulster, along with some independent traits only found in the city. Table 11.2 provides a list of features which can be clearly attributed to one of the two main English-language sources in Ulster (J. Milroy 1981: 25–6). These are phonological in nature, on the syntax of Belfast English (see Finlay 1994 and A. Henry 1995; 1997).

Table 11.2 Sources for features of English in Ulster
<i>Ulster English (Ulster Anglo-Irish) features</i>
1) palatalization of /k, g/ before /a/, /kʲat/ for <i>cat</i>
2) dentalization of /t, d/ before /r/, /bɛt̪ə/ for <i>better</i>
3) lowering and unrounding of /ʊ/, /pʌt/ for <i>pot</i>
4) ME /ɛː/ realized as a mid-vowel, /bɛːt/ for <i>beat</i> /ʊ/ for /ʌ/ in <i>but, luck</i> , etc.
5) lowering of /ɛ/ to /æ/, <i>set</i> /sæt/
6) the use of /au/ before /l/ in monosyllables, /aul/ for <i>old</i> , also a feature of Lowland Scots
<i>Ulster Scots features</i>
1) raising of /æ/ to /ɛ/ before velars, /bɛk, bɛg/ for <i>back, bag</i>
2) raising of /æ/ to /ɛ/ after /k/ and residually after /g/ /kɛp, kɛs/ for <i>cap, castle</i>
3) short realizations of high vowels, /bɪt, bʊt/ for <i>beet, boot</i>
4) lowering and possible centralization of /ɪ/, /bɛt, sɛns/ or /bʌt, sʌns/ for <i>bit, sense</i>

11.2.1.1 Early Belfast English

When trying to determine what Belfast English was like in the formative period of the city’s industrial expansion (mid-nineteenth century) one is fortunate is having a book which has, as the express aim of its author, the description of non-standard features of English in and around the city along with suggestions about how to correct and avoid them. This is David Patterson’s *The Provincialisms of Belfast and the Surrounding Districts Pointed Out and Corrected* from 1860 (mentioned above), which has been put to good use by linguists attempting to ascertain the profile of Belfast English a century and a half ago (J. Milroy 1981: 26–7). In a way, Patterson is to Belfast what Sheridan is to Dublin, although the latter was writing nearly a century before.³

³ Biggar (1897) is also a source of information, though somewhat later, and for Ulster in general. There is a section in this pamphlet entitled ‘The Ulster vowels’ which points out the lowering of short vowels, a prominent characteristic of Ulster speech of various types. Importantly, Biggar refers incidentally to the raising of /æ/ to /ɛ/ in the environment of velars: *ketch, thenk, plenk* are the spellings he uses for *catch, thank, plank* (p. 17). He also refers to the retraction to /a/ of the same low vowel when in the environment of /m/, at least that is what seems to be implied by the spelling *mannyfest* for *manifest*. Many other features come in for mention, such as the palatal glides after /k, g/ and before /a/, the use of *ye* for the second person plural personal pronoun and the use of the past participle for the preterite, as in *I seen it*. Biggar also confirms the lack of *h*-dropping and the ubiquitous *r* in Ireland.

Without labelling them as such, Patterson notes a number of Ulster Scots features (Gregg 1985) in Belfast such as *deaf* /di:f/, *soft* /saft/, *pouch* /pu:tʃ/. There are also pronunciations which are archaic, like *gold* /gu:ld/ which was also to be found in the south of the country (noted by Sheridan in the late eighteenth century). Some of Patterson's features are no longer present in Belfast English. An instance of this is the raising of /ɪ/ to /i:/ before velars: *brick* /bri:k/, a feature almost lost today.

If not lost, then some features had a greater distribution in Patterson's day. The lowering of /ɛ/ to /a/ before /r/ is an example. This was much more widespread (as in the south of Ireland as well, see 5.1.5 above): the words *serve*, *merchant*, *Derry*, for example, all had /ar/.

Patterson also notes the use of /ʌ/ for two sets of words: (i) those which quite recently have had their vowel shortened from /u:/ to /ʊ/, e.g. *took*, *shook*, *look*, *foot* and (ii) those with inherited early modern English /ʊ/ after labials and frequently before a historically velarized [ɫ] or /ʃ/, *put*, *pull*, *bush*. These pronunciations have persisted in Belfast despite the pressure to standardize English (J. Milroy 1981: 30).

There are traits of present-day Belfast English which are not the object of comment by Patterson such as the use of a back [ɑ] before nasals and /d/ in words like *hand*, *man*, *bad*, *family*. This is normally taken to be an East Ulster Scots feature which spread first into east Belfast and then from there into the west of the city. Furthermore, Patterson does not comment on the merger of [ʌ] and [w] which makes word pairs like *whine* and *wine* homophones. This has led James Milroy to conclude that the merger had not taken place at the time of Patterson's study.

The characteristics of present-day Belfast vernacular speech are largely those which were the object of censure by Patterson. Some minor changes have taken place, in particular dialect input features have gained sociolinguistic significance in the city. The use of [ɑ] for /a/ before nasals or the lexical occurrence of [ʌ], usually greater for more colloquial registers, are examples.

Recessive features can nonetheless be observed. The palatalization of /k, g/ before /a/, e.g. *car* /kjar/ and *gas* /gjas/, was fashionable in England in the eighteenth century but died out later. The palatalization was typical of English-derived forms of speech in Ulster and Belfast and became stereotypical of Ulster English. With this heightened consciousness, the feature came to be avoided.

Degrees of vernacularity can be observed with variable pronunciations or variable numbers of tokens for certain segments. An instance of this is the variable use of /ɛ:/ for /i:/ in words like *beat*, *weak* where the lower pronunciation is the more colloquial (Milroy and Harris 1980). This is similar to the south of Ireland where ME /ɛ:/ was not raised to /i:/, the latter pronunciation being introduced to southern Irish English by supraregionalization.

James Milroy (1981: 32) notes a tendency in Belfast for speakers to reduce the distinctions made in the rural hinterland where their forefathers came from. The vowels in the words *fir*, *fur*, and *fair* tend to merge for younger speakers (though only *fir* and *fur* have merged in more standard forms of English).

Equally, the distinction between /ɔ:/ and /o:/ before /r/ tends to be lost so that word pairs like *horse* and *hoarse* become homophones with only the /o:/ vowel being used.

Intervocalic /ð/ before /r/ tends to be variably lost in words like *mother*, *brother*, *gather*, *northern*, increasing with informality of speech.

There is a difference in quality between the realization of /aɪ/ before voiceless and voiced consonants respectively (J. Milroy 1981: 78). In a word like *pipe* [pɛɪp] the starting point is higher and the length of the diphthong shorter than in *five* [faɪv]. This is embryonically the situation in mainland Canada with the phenomenon of Canadian Raising (Chambers 1973).⁴

11.2.2 Belfast English and social networks

Among linguists nowadays, knowledge of Belfast English is due to the pioneering work of James and Lesley Milroy, who began investigating language use in the city in the mid-1970s. In the decades since, they have published a large number of articles and several books concerned with the social conditioning of language, introducing insights not hitherto formulated with their clarity and precision.

At the centre of the Milroys' work on Belfast English is the notion of social network. All speakers have a place in the network of their social environment. This network consists of ties of varying strength depending on the social bonds speakers entertain within their neighbourhood. There is a general assumption that for those on the lower end of the socio-economic scale the ties are stronger than for those further up this cline. Furthermore, networks can be defined by how dense and multiplex they are (L. Milroy 1987a: 20–2). For instance, if a speaker A not only knows other speakers B, C, D, E, etc. but the latter also know each other and evince similar linguistic behaviour, then the network is dense. If the individuals in a network are more isolated and not mutual acquaintances, then it shows low density. A network is multiplex if its members interact in more than one way, e.g. if members have a number of colleagues in their network with whom they spend their spare time, through communal neighbourhood activities or sports for instance, then the network is multiplex because there is more than one factor uniting its members. A focused and bound network can impose rigid linguistic norms on its members which in turn acquire a defining character, albeit an unconscious one, for the network itself. Such networks tend to be impervious to influence from outside, specifically from the prestigious norm of the society of which they are

⁴ Gregg (1973) traces the development of long Middle English /i:/ through a number of stages of diphthongization. He assumes that the underlying form is /əi/ which is changed into /ai/ by rule (before voiced segments). He links up those forms of rural Ulster Scots (his Scotch-Irish), which still have /i:/, with more standard varieties showing /əi/. He thus seeks to demonstrate, within a generative phonological framework, the validity of the derivation of /əi/ from /i:/. Because of the occurrence of /əi/ in Ulster Scots before voiced segments, Gregg does not favour tracing the Canadian dichotomy /əi/ # /ai/ to transfer from Ulster Scots, despite the significant numbers of Northern Irish and Scottish immigrants in Canada.

part. Speakers who engage in loose-knit networks, such as the suburban middle classes, are more exposed to the prestige norm. Because loose networks do not show clear defining features, these speakers adopt the norms of the socially prestigious standard (L. Milroy 1987a: 196). Conversely, working-class sections of society—those with strong networks—do not see middle-class speech as a model because their linguistic norms stem from within the network itself.⁵

Collecting data from close-knit networks presents certain difficulties, above all gaining acceptance from network members in order to elicit linguistic data. In order to penetrate a network, Lesley Milroy, who collected most of the Belfast data, established contact through 'a friend of a friend'. She was introduced into a network by someone who was already a member, and the positive relationship with this member ensured acceptance by others in the network.

Certain generalizations about networks hold irrespective of their individual circumstances. The relative strength of a network depends on the weight accorded by speakers to two conflicting forces in society: *status* and *solidarity* (L. Milroy 1987a: 194–8). If speakers opt for status, then they are likely to have weak ties, to try and move upwards on a social scale, striving to achieve professional status and economic success. Should speakers opt for solidarity, then they generally remain in their surroundings, maintaining ties with neighbours and participating in the life of the community. Solidarity is an aspect of social behaviour which has a linguistic dimension: speakers who demonstrate solidarity also exhibit allegiance to the vernacular norms of their community, frequently in contradistinction to those of the socially prestigious form of a language. The linguistic norms of a community are local, whereas status features are diffuse and hold for a much wider area, typically for an entire country. The number of defining features of low-status, high-solidarity varieties is usually quite high. The linguistic norms of such communities can be difficult, if not impossible, for outsiders to acquire. This aspect is regarded as intentional: the identity function of high-solidarity varieties implies that one can exclude those who are not native to the community within which the particular norms obtain. Dense multiplex network ties seem furthermore to hold primarily for young males. Women and middle-aged speakers in general tend to opt more for status and to tone down the linguistic signs of strong network ties.

A discussion of networks necessitates that these be put in relation to the notion of class. Two features of networks need to be highlighted in this connection. Networks are different from social classes. Class is an abstract characterization of social status, whereas a network consists of those individuals who are acquainted with each other. There is of course a correlation with class inasmuch as people in a network usually

⁵ In J. Milroy (1991), the conclusion drawn from his examination of various phonological variables in Belfast is that, with the weakening of networks, there is a loss in phonological complexity, as variation is not required to achieve high degrees of social identification. The social mobility characteristic of much of the middle classes has led to a weakening of network ties and the backgrounding of phonological variation.

belong to a single socio-economic group and those in the strongest networks tend to be lowest on this scale. Given their relatively small scale, networks form a consensus-based microlevel within society. The bonding within a class, on the other hand, is achieved through similarity in socio-political outlook and not by identification with a certain locale.

11.2.2.1 *The Belfast investigations*

The insights into sociolinguistic behaviour just sketched were gained by a close study of the following three areas of Belfast (shown on Map 11.1).

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---|
| (1) | a. <i>Ballymacarrett</i> | (Protestant East Belfast) |
| | b. <i>The Hammer</i> | (Lower Shankhill Road, Protestant West-Central Belfast) |
| | c. <i>Clonard</i> | (Lower Falls Road, Catholic West-Central Belfast) |

The three areas are different in the social importance they attach to certain features. For instance, the palatalization of /k, g/, as in *cap* /kjap/ and *gap* /gjap/, is generally regarded as a rural feature of Ulster English. In Belfast it is found mostly with older males (40–55), chiefly in Catholic West Belfast. In the eastern section of the city, which has had a largely Ulster Scots input from north Co. Down and where the palatalization is not an indigenous feature, this trait is avoided as can be seen from its percentual representation in the data collected by the Milroys.

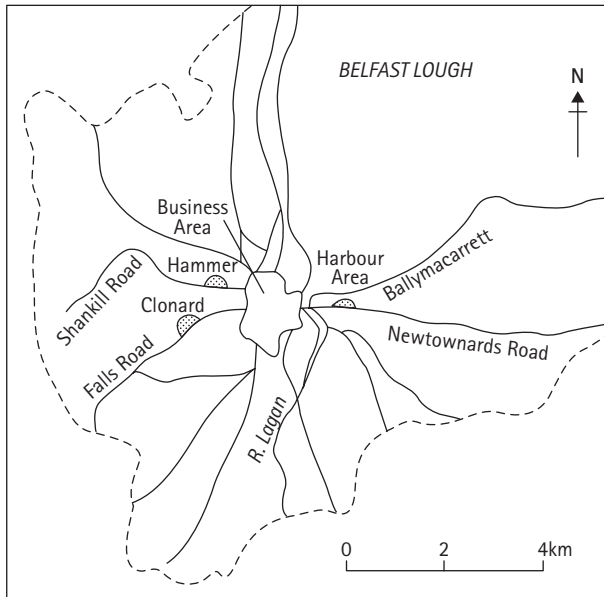
- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| (2) | Clonard | 62% palatalization | |
| | Hammer | 14% | |
| | Ballymacarrett | 0% | (J. Milroy 1981: 94) |

This pattern would also seem to apply to the dental realization of /t/ before /r/ in unstressed syllables, i.e. the pronunciation [bʌɾə] rather than [bʌtə] for *butter*, which occurred with older males more than with younger men and women in West Belfast (Clonard and Hammer).

The raising of /a/ before velars, as in *bag* /bæg/, is quite common and is more frequent in West Belfast than in East Belfast, young males in East Belfast seem to have lost this raised vowel entirely (J. Milroy 1981: 31), perhaps as the result of peer-group pressure. With the variable (Λ) James Milroy found that young males display vernacular loyalty and preserve this dialect feature in words such as *pull* [pʌl] (J. Milroy 1981: 95–6).

11.2.2.1.1 *Correlates of community structure*

The heading for this paragraph is taken from an early article by Lesley Milroy (1976) in which she analysed the relation between realizations of three phonological variables, (th), (Λ), and (a), within the framework of the network model of language ties in society. With regard to (th), Lesley Milroy notes that the deletion of [ð] intervocally, as in *brother* [brʌə], has been a stable marker of lower-class speech for some time and shows little



MAP 11.1 Belfast inner city from J. Milroy (1981)

change. On the other hand, (ʌ) would appear for young men, particularly in Catholic West Belfast, to have overcome its inherent stigma in the community and be used more frequently. The situation with (a) is more complex as there is a phonetically conditioned front raising after velars and back raising before nasals, as in *hand* [hand]. It, too, is subject to socially determined variation within the phonotactic constraints just mentioned.

The insight here is not just that the use of one realization as opposed to another is sociolinguistically significant, but that the numbers of tokens for a given realization are relevant, i.e. both the qualitative and the quantitative aspects of a variable are important within a social network.

11.2.2.1.2 *Beyond Belfast*

Confirmation of the Milroys' insights was gained a few years later by Ellen Douglas-Cowie (see Douglas-Cowie 1978), whose work represents a deliberate departure from sociolinguistic investigations of language in large urban centres. She concentrated on the use of English in a small community—Articlave, Co. Derry—and arrived at a number of conclusions after examining variables such as (ɪ)—short *i* as in *bit*—and the diphthong (ai)—as in *time* (these show characteristic variation in Ulster speech, typically lowering of /ɪ/ to [ɛ] or [æ] and centralization of the starting point of /ai/ [əɪ]). The major correlation, according to Douglas-Cowie, is between relative standardness and social ambition on the one hand and between community networks and vernacular norms on the other. This well-known investigation shows that sociolinguistic patterning on a small urban scale is essentially no different from that on a much larger scale.

11.2.2.1.3 *Diffusion of change and network markers*

It is not only phonological phenomena that are subject to sociolinguistic conditioning; the lexicon is equally affected, as James Milroy has shown in an article concerned with the extent to which variation in lexical realization is determined by social factors (J. Milroy 1978). He examined alternants which involve the lowering of /ɛ/, and the raising of this vowel in some cases, as well as the fluctuation between /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ in items such as *pull* and *foot*. He also compared the distribution in the 1970s with that in 1860, when Patterson's work on Belfast appeared, and noted that the environments for variation have effectively been reduced.

This reduction took place because most of the words which previously had an /ʌ/ realization migrated to the lexical set with /ʊ/ by a process of diffusion: gradually nearly all the words shifted from the non-standard pronunciation with the low vowel /ʌ/ to that with the regionally standard high central vowel /ʊ/. By 1975, only 18 words were still found with the alternation /ʌ/ ~ /ʊ/. It might be assumed that this was the tail end of an S curve and that with time the remaining instances with /ʌ/ would be lost. But in fact the small /ʌ/ class had become significant as a network marker for the vernacular community, especially among young males (L. Milroy 1987a: 189). On reflection, this makes linguistic sense: a small class of elements is more likely to attain sociolinguistic value than a much larger class, hence the reduction in the number of /ʌ/ realizations, for words belonging to the /ʊ/ class in the regional standard, would seem to have led to marker status being assigned to them. Here the general implication is that residual lexical sets may not only have a phonetic motivation—as with those words which have /ʊ/ in standard English in environments with phonetic rounding—but may also have a social motivation as a clearly recognizable and easily memorized small group of words.

The converse can also be found. In Belfast English there is a class of words which show either an [ɛ̄] or an [æ] variant in words which have /e/ in RP. The lower vowel was once categorical as a realization. But now it is only found before monosyllables with a final voiced stop or fricative in conservative speech in Clonard, e.g. *dead* [dæd] and *bless* [blæs] (L. Milroy 1987: 190). At present, women appear to be using the incoming variant [ɛ̄] more than men. A reason might be that this pronunciation does not function as a network marker (contrast this with /ʌ/ above). Instead it is becoming associated with young female speech in Ballymacarrett.

11.2.2.1.4 *The course and nature of language change*

The examination of closed networks has also posed the question of how language change occurs and spreads. James Milroy (1992a: 17) states: 'linguistic change is to be understood more broadly as a change in consensus on norms of usage in a speech community.' In a study from 1985, the Milroys addressed the question of spread and maintained that innovations in a speech community may well be transferred from one group to another by persons who have weak ties in each group and hence straddle the divide between both. Furthermore, James and Lesley Milroy see evidence for the assumption that in a situation of social mobility and instability the network ties are weak and hence linguistic

change is liable to be rapid. For western-style societies, the people who contract many weak ties are typically in a position to diffuse linguistic innovations.

The nature of language change is a recurrent theme in later articles by both authors. James Milroy (1993), for instance, concerns himself with the theory of sound change from a sociolinguistic perspective. He begins by reviewing the standpoint of the Neogrammarians and challenges their notion that sound change is phonetically gradual but lexically abrupt because their approach is dichotomous, non-social, and based on written documents rather than on spoken language. Instead he views language change as a shift in community norms. He also distinguishes, here as elsewhere, between speaker innovation on the one hand and change in the system on the other, presenting data from Belfast to support this distinction. The Neogrammarian view of sound change may appear to be the correct model if a particular instance of change is carried through to its conclusion. If all the words with a particular phonetic value shift to a new value, then in the end one can say that sound A changed into sound B, for instance, if all instances of /ʊ/ shifted to /ʌ/. The phonetically recalcitrant exceptions in standard English can be accommodated within the Neogrammarian framework because it allows for phonetic blocking of a change; but the socially determined residual set of words with /ʌ/ in Belfast cannot be accounted for within the essentially non-social view of language change of the Neogrammarians.

11.2.3 Wider implications of the Milroy studies

The work of the Milroys on vernacular speech in Belfast has had wider implications for linguistic studies, above all for the development of phonological norms in English. James Milroy has devoted his attention to the relationship between standard and vernacular norms, stressing the uniform nature of the standard and the essentially variant structure of vernaculars, but where the rules governing the variation are understood by speakers using this form of language. He has stressed that speakers use vernaculars, not standard forms, and that this viewpoint is beneficial in examining English historically, e.g. in accounting for fluctuation in the realization of *a* from Middle English onwards.

11.2.3.1 *The nature of mergers*

The apparent reversal of the MEAT/MATE merger is a matter which James Milroy has looked at against the background of the Belfast studies. The issue here is how the Middle English vowels in the MEAT/MATE/MEET lexical sets developed so as to produce the present-day situation where MEAT and MEET go together, although it would appear that MEAT and MATE were once homophonous. Is this a case of a reversed merger? On the basis of evidence from Belfast, James Milroy and John Harris, looking at the early modern English period, claim (i) that orthoepic reports on mergers may be unreliable because not phonetically accurate enough; (ii) that speakers may believe that lexical sets have merged, although their realizations are slightly different; (iii) that bi-uniqueness, the notion that one phoneme has a unique phonetic realization which is not shared by

another phoneme, may not in fact hold; (iv) that phonetic change may well have been gradual (by a process of lexical diffusion); and (v) that the realization of vowels may have had additional characteristics, such as a final in-glide (typical of many forms in Belfast) which in fact separated vowels with the same height level. For a further discussion of the issues dealt with here, see Hickey (2004a).

11.2.3.2 *Standard versus vernacular*

This is an area of investigation which James Milroy has expanded consistently in his research. In J. Milroy (1982), for instance, he focuses his attention on the notion of a 'complex' variable and the difficulties of giving a correct quantificational account of such variables. He deals with many pitfalls, on the one hand with the rounding of /a/ after /w/, which is in his view a *correctional feature*, determined by the presence of this rounding in the standard, and on the other hand with the rounding in the environment of labials or nasals, e.g. of the vowel in *man*, *hand*, *bad* in Belfast English, which is a *vernacular characteristic*. He concludes that non-standard segmental phonology is more complex than standard phonology, and discusses the theoretical issues which arise from this, such as whether speakers 'know' that /a/ is a low-front vowel when they do not pronounce it as such.

11.2.3.3 *What is prestige?*

All too often, vague references to 'prestige' are made in linguistic treatments of language change. James Milroy has pointed out that the notion of prestige has often been appealed to in explanations of language variation/change, and that such appeals frequently lead to contradiction and confusion. Instead, he suggests that explanations based on the identity function of language would appear to be more successful (J. Milroy 1992b).

11.2.3.4 *The nature of the vernacular*

The work of the Milroys in Belfast has heightened the awareness of linguists for the vernacular. Its norms oppose standardization and prescription because they serve the function of identity maintenance. Such norms are not codified but are transmitted orally. In this context, one must distinguish between grammaticality, typical of standards, and norms of usage, characteristic of vernaculars. Furthermore, in-group variation can be quite complicated and not necessarily accessible to outsiders. Supralocal varieties, which tend towards koinés, are simpler in structure than more local varieties because variation has no in-group function there. Lower-status varieties of language are dynamic and the locus of change.

11.2.3.5 *Gender and networks*

The interaction of speaker gender and network structure on a phonological level is the concern of Lesley Milroy (L. Milroy 1981). She defines clearly how a network score is arrived at for an individual by considering membership in a high-density, territorially based group, ties of kinship, similar place of work to others from this group, and

voluntary association with others from the group in leisure time. She then examines three vernacular variables indicative of network strength in Belfast, (a), (th), and (Λ). She concludes that the first two variables are important as gender markers for men but as network markers for women. The last variable is a weaker gender marker but important to men as a network marker, which shows the essential interdependence of both types of marking and the complex relationship between them.

11.2.3.6 *Language attitudes*

A region like Ulster, which contains a variety of accents and which relates to other regions which surround it, is a good testing ground for attitudes towards accent (Millar 1987a). In L. Milroy and McClenaghan (1977), a number of accents were looked at from the point of view of attitude: (i) Scottish, (ii) southern Irish, (iii) Received Pronunciation, and (iv) Ulster English. The informants were asked to evaluate the speakers with these accents in terms of positive characteristics such as intelligence, ambition, or confidence. Both the RP and the southern Irish accents were rated highly, possibly due to the belief that these countries possess power and influence over Ulster. Scottish and Ulster accents received lower but similar ratings, which would suggest that speakers perceive an affinity between the groups which use these accents.

11.3 ENGLISH IN DERRY

The city of Derry⁶ has a population of over 95,000 (according to the 1991 census) and is ethnically over 70% Catholic as opposed to Belfast, which has a majority Protestant population. There is a large degree of segregation in terms of residence for the two communities: east of the River Foyle, which divides the city, the inhabitants are largely Protestants; west of the river they are almost exclusively Catholic. The segregation increased greatly during the decades of sectarian violence which began in the late 1960s. This segregation applies to all spheres of life: occupation and leisure time activities apart from place of residence. Contact between the two communities is kept to a minimum by the members themselves to avoid hostility resulting from sectarian friction.

The only research on the English of Derry city is that of McCafferty (see various items in the references section), apart from one study of intonation (McElholm 1986). The city has a special status within Northern Ireland, as it is on the one hand the second largest

⁶ 'Londonderry' refers to the town and county of Derry and is used by Protestants in Northern Ireland and by the English. The prefix 'London-' goes back to a charter in 1613 given to London companies commissioned with the task of transporting English settlers there and initiating commercial activity in the city. The politically sensitive use of the longer and shorter form of the name has its roots in the confessional polarization of Northern Ireland, and is of recent date. To avoid using either one or the other form, inhabitants of the city and others in the province often refer to it as 'stroke city'. The city's name is an anglicization of Irish *doire* 'oak-grove', a common name, or element of a name, in the north and south of the country.

and on the other the only major city with a Catholic majority. It is understandable that it would receive innovations which arise in Belfast, but also that the Catholic majority in the city might well show an inherent resistance to these. A number of changes are recorded for Derry, as seen in Table 11.3.

Table 11.3 Changes in Derry English (DE)				
1) A gradual replacement of [ʌ] by [ʊ] (standard in Northern Ireland) which has been ongoing in Ulster and Scotland for some time. 2) A widespread vernacular innovation, originating in the east of Northern Ireland, which involves older [ɪ] being replaced by [iə] in the FACE lexical set and both of these alternating with supraregional [e]. 3) A vernacular innovation by which intervocalic [ð] is being dropped. This appears to have originated in the east in the last 100 years. 4) A localized Derry English vernacular innovation which sees the same intervocalic [ð] realized as a lateral [l].				
Variable	Supraregional NIrE	Older general DE	Recent local DE	Lexical set
(ʌ)	[ʊ]	[ʌ]	[ʊ]	PULL (1)
(e)	[e]	[ɪ]	[iə]	FACE (2)
(ð)	[ð]	∅	[l]	MOTHER (3, 4)

11.3.1 Changes according to ethnicity

Given the inverse proportion of ethnic communities in Derry compared to the rest of Northern Ireland, the question of ethnicity and change is of particular interest. This question has of course been treated before. Todd (1984) presented material which the scholarly community regarded as inconclusive, if not to say inaccurate (see Millar 1987b). However, McCafferty’s examination of Derry English (McCafferty 1998a; 1998b) is on an entirely different footing. He has carried out a statistically based sociolinguistic investigation of speech in different communities and across different generations in the city, and published his results in a number of papers and a monograph.

McCafferty (1999; 2001) maintains that there is a tendency for the SQUARE and NURSE lexical sets to merge, a feature spreading from east Ulster and typical of the Protestant middle class. For this group, a lack of quality distinction with the NORTH and FORCE lexical sets is also found.

The shift of older [ɪ] to [iə] in the FACE lexical set is taken to be characteristic of younger Protestants. Protestant changes are in general incoming innovations which are spreading from east Ulster, i.e. from the Belfast conurbation. In this case the changes for the Protestants in Derry have arisen through the supraregionalization of Belfast innovations.

The only *leading* change among the Catholics in Derry is the shift of intervocalic [ð] to a lateral [l], a change which is clearly attested in the recordings for *A Sound Atlas of*

Irish English (Hickey 2004b: 52–3), see Table 11.4. The Protestants in Derry have no vernacular innovations of their own.

Table 11.4 Changes in Derry English according to ethnicity

<i>Ethnic group</i>			<i>Source</i>	
Protestants	[o:r]	>	[ɔ:r]	East Ulster
	[ɛr]	>	[ə:r]	— — —
	[e, ɪ]	>	[iə]	— — —
Catholics	[- ð -]	>	[- l -]	Local to Derry city

11.4 ENGLISH IN COLERAINE

The town of Coleraine is situated in the far north of Ireland, in a relatively rural and Protestant area of north-east Co. Derry. It is also the seat of the major campus of the University of Ulster, founded in 1964 (then called the New University of Ulster). The English of this town has been investigated by Rona Kingsmore and the results made available in the revised, published version of her PhD thesis, *Ulster Scots Speech: A Sociolinguistic Study* (1995). This is an examination of phonological variation in the speech of the urban community of Coleraine by considering a small group of variables, (ing), (t), and (l). Her book applies the methods for urban sociolinguistics developed chiefly by William Labov in the 1960s.

For her study, Kingsmore investigated the use of English within families, compiling a sample of 26 informants with at least 4 for each gender and age group (Kingsmore 1995: 37–52). In section 4, ‘The family model’ (Kingsmore 1995: 53–63), she elaborates on the technique used to collect data. She posited the family as the basic structural unit, and interviewed three generations in five working-class families interlinked by neighbourhood and/or friendship ties, the common denominator of each family being an adolescent or young adult member. Her goal was to explore evidence for sound change using this basis, and in particular to look at male and female language. Her findings show that gender differences would appear to take priority over class differences. Investigating the principal non-standard variants of the (t) variable in her community, under the influence of metropolitan speech from Belfast, she established that men prefer [d] while women tend towards the glottal stop [ʔ]. Thus the latter group cannot be viewed as using more standard, higher-status forms. Kingsmore concludes that features of female speech, initially employed for demarcation vis-à-vis men, could become status markers

in time. Kingsmore also concludes that patterns of speech are spreading from Belfast out to Coleraine, and differentially affect various social groups.

11.5 CONCLUSION

The heyday of urban sociolinguistics in Northern Ireland was during the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, and is largely associated with the analysis of social networks carried out by James and Lesley Milroy, with Kingsmore and McCafferty providing investigations of urban centres outside of Belfast. In the last two decades research has swung away from these classical sociolinguistic studies and moved towards other areas, such as language contact and its effect on sound systems (Maguire 2020; Chapter 10 this volume) or the issues surrounding the sociolinguistic integration of non-Irish individuals and their communities in urban centres, notably Armagh (see the detailed investigation in Corrigan 2020). There will continue to be language variation among native Northern Irish populations in major urban centres, especially Belfast and Derry, but whether this becomes established as significant change, as it has done in Dublin in recent decades, is a matter which has not been decided as yet.

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CHAPTER 12

IRISH ENGLISH CORPUS LINGUISTICS

ANNE O'KEEFFE

12.1 INTRODUCTION

CORPUS linguistics is a relatively new field involving the principled curation of real language data in electronic form from spoken and written sources. Collecting naturally occurring language is of course not new to linguistics, and there have been many instances of large collections of attested language over the centuries. Most famously, in the mid-1700s Samuel Johnson, when compiling the first comprehensive dictionary of the English language, manually collated a corpus of language based on attested samples of usage from the period 1560–1660 using slips of paper. For a number of decades, with the increasing availability of and innovation in technology, large amounts of language data have been electronically recorded, stored, and analysed.

Despite the fact that electronic collections have been around for quite a while, the term ‘corpus linguistics’ (henceforth CL) itself was not coined until the early 1980s. It is attributed to Aarts and Meijs (1984) (see McEnery, Xiao, and Tono 2006). The early goal in corpus building was to amass as much data as possible and to push computer processing power to its limits. Lexicographers were often the drivers of this need for bigger corpora, especially from the 1980s onwards (McCarthy and O’Keeffe 2010). One of the earliest examples of a modern corpus dates back to the 1960s CHILDES Language Database. At that time, the processing of around 60,000 words took more than 24 hours (McCarthy and O’Keeffe 2010). Computing advances in the 1970s subsequently paved the way for rapid innovation in corpus building. Advances in data storage and speed of processing capacities are obviously linked to advances in computer science. A major leap for CL in the last decade in this respect has been the move away from ‘offline’

hardware-based storage and processing to online 'cloud computing.' This term is often disputed—not surprisingly, because 'cloud' is simply a metaphor to cover the use of the internet to store and process data and applications. For CL, it means that the drive for size has been taken to a new level.

At the time of writing, there are numerous multi-billion word corpora available. For example, the 13 billion-word *English Web 2015* corpus (part of the *EnTenTen* family of corpora) can tell us in one second that the phrase *Irish English* occurs 214 times (0.01 times per million words). This information can be found online whereas a decade ago, the storage and processing of this amount of data would have been a more challenging matter. Were one to have had the computing capacity to automatically 'harvest' and process such an amount of data a decade ago, the sharing of access to it with others in the research community would have been limited by the need to load all of the data onto many external storage devices such as CD ROMs. We cannot underestimate the role of the metaphoric 'cloud' in CL.

One of the early motivations to tap into developments in electronic recording devices and the growing power of computing in the study of language was the desire to capture and describe British English. This was under the stewardship of Randolph Quirk, who by 1959 had announced his plan to build a collection of spoken and written British English in *The Survey of English Usage* (SEU) (note the word corpus is absent). Arguably, the motive for grammarians to seek external empirical data on which to base their descriptions of language was symptomatic of an epistemological shift where grammarians: (i) were not relying on their own knowledge and intuition about language to describe grammar and (ii) were recognizing that contextual variables had a role to play and thus there was a need to sample language across different types of use within spoken and written language (thus driving a need to accurately represent the language through spoken and written/printed samples). Meanwhile, in the US, in 1961, Brown University set up a million-word corpus of written American English (the Brown corpus), and by 1975 Jan Svartvik had initiated the London–Lund Corpus (LLC), a project that entailed a million-word collection of spoken and written British English (Svartvik 1990). As McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2010) note, it was the 1980s and 1990s which really saw the arrival of corpora as we know them now as tools for the linguist or applied linguist.

This chapter seeks to overview the impact of corpora on the study of Irish English (henceforth IrEng) and to trace how the focus of corpus-based research has evolved in the study of IrEng. The chapter draws on work based on corpora rather than text repositories of IrEng. For a thorough coverage of both corpora and text collections, see Vaughan and Clancy (2016). This chapter also narrows its focus to spoken and written corpus research, and so it omits much valuable work on dialectology and phonology. This chapter will also reflect on how corpus methods in IrEng have evolved and how they might be enhanced.

12.2 CORPUS LINGUISTICS AND IRISH ENGLISH: TURN-OF-THE- CENTURY INNOVATION

Looking at all of the innovation in CL, particularly from the 1980s onwards, it is fair to say that corpora came late to the study of IrEng or perhaps the study of IrEng came late to corpora. In a pre-corpus era in the study of IrEng, the main methodology was observation and attestation of usage. It is not until the late 1990s and early 2000s that we see a thread of research emerging from newly formed corpora of IrEng. In 1985, Kallen identified three main strands of interest in the study of Irish English: historical-descriptive, bilingual, and theoretical (Kallen 1985). However, Barker and O'Keeffe (1999) made a plea for the study of IrEng to become part of a global body of CL research. They noted that most previous scholarship on the English language in Ireland had focused contrastively on the lexical, syntactic, and phonological features of IrEng, showing systematically how it differs from standard British English and/or had origins in the Irish language. They also pointed to a type of fetish for identifying infrequently used forms and patterns that have parallel forms in the Irish language but which are not used in standard British English. While investigating the origin and development of IrEng is both interesting and worthwhile, they note, it can also be seen as highly introspective or even at times anachronistic (Barker and O'Keeffe 1999).

Though Barker and O'Keeffe pointed to the lack of differentiation between spoken and written use in IrEng research, within the field of sociolinguistics, dialectologists in the 1980s had already started to gather small-scale speech recordings, especially in Northern Ireland: for example the *Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech* (Adams et al. 1985) and the *Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech* (Kirk 1990) (see Vaughan and Clancy 2016). The first large-scale 'outward-looking' attempts to capture IrEng are found in the *International Corpus of English Ireland* (ICE-Ireland) project (see Kirk et al. 2011) and the *Limerick Corpus of Irish English* (LCIE, see Farr et al. 2004). The million-word ICE-Ireland corpus (40% written and 60% spoken data) forms part of the ICE project (Nelson 1996) which brings together parallel corpora of one million words, consisting of relevant standard forms of language, from countries where English is either the main language or an official language. ICE-Ireland uses the sampling frame for all ICE corpora, making it comparable with other samples of English across the ICE project. LCIE is a million-word corpus of spoken IrEng (Farr et al. 2004). Its focus and design are different from ICE-Ireland. It seeks to represent spoken discourse across Southern IrEng and its design replicates the *Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English* (CANCODE) (see McCarthy 1998). To date, many studies of IrEng continue to be based on ICE-Ireland and LCIE. Therefore, it is fair to say that these corpora remain landmarks for IrEng corpus studies although they are both now

around two decades old and their shelf life as representations of contemporary IrEng is fading fast.

Another marker in the early development of corpora in IrEng is the curation of some 80 texts (across a range of text types), with a time-span of nearly 600 years, into what is referred to as *A Corpus of Irish English* and which was placed in the public domain following its initial compilation (see Hickey 2003). This has proved an important repository for both stylistic and historical scholarship (see e.g. Hickey 2010). Along similar lines, though with a narrower time-span, the *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence* (CORIECOR) was initiated by McCafferty and Amador-Moreno (2012). This is, a collection of some 3 million words from the 1760s to the early 1900s consisting of emigrant letters from Ireland over the past two to three centuries. This corpus has been made public. These data sources form the basis of work on vernacular IrEng usage in the absence of recorded spoken language (see Amador-Moreno 2019; Chapter 20 this volume).

Corpora of academic discourse have also been created in an Irish context. The *Limerick–Belfast Corpus of Academic Spoken English* (referred to as LIBEL, Walsh et al. 2008) comprises one million words of spoken data collected at two universities on the island of Ireland, one in the Republic of Ireland and one in Northern Ireland.¹ It is also worth noting that economic prosperity in Ireland around the turn of the millennium saw the availability of research funding that facilitated the building of corpora and text collections on a scale that has yet to be repeated (see Vaughan and Clancy 2016).

12.3 USING CORPORA TO EXPLORE VARIATION IN IRISH ENGLISH

The theme of variation stands out in corpus-era work on IrEng, marking a move away from the contrastive paradigm, based on largely historical contact investigations in the first three-quarters of the twentieth century. Since the turn of the millennium, we can see a move towards the examination of IrEng as discourse (especially though not exclusively spoken IrEng) from both a pragmatic and a sociolinguistic perspective. Sometimes this involved looking at IrEng inter-varietally (comparing it with other varieties of English) and intra-varietally (comparing varieties within the framework of IrEng). This meant looking inter- and intra-varietally at how IrEng varies across speakers, their relationships, ages, gender, etc. Crucially, the metadata collected within corpora facilitated this. It allowed for the examination of a discourse feature, for instance, by variables of age and gender across two varieties of English. For example, intra-varietally, Clancy (2005) looked at politeness strategies within IrEng in settled and Traveller family speaker relationships and, inter-varietally, O'Keeffe and Adolphs (2008) looked at

¹ LIBEL corpus is held by Cambridge University Press as part of the Cambridge English Corpus. It is not publicly available but researchers can apply for access to it.

response tokens in cohorts of young women in their 20s who were speakers of British and Irish English respectively. Essentially, this signalled a turn in IrEng research, driven by CL, that brought focus to variables that could be explored through corpus meta data. It should be noted, however, that CL was not the only methodology driving this turn. Work drawing on elicitation techniques in pragmatics, mainly Discourse Completion Tasks, was also being undertaken around the turn of the century (see Barron, Chapter 19 this volume). The turn of the century also saw the growth of large-scale phonological data, most notably the *Sound Atlas of Irish English* (Hickey 2004). Moving to a focus on IrEng as a variety of English meant that it could be compared from within as well as across other varieties. This turn brought to the fore important pragmatic and socio-linguistic variables (including phonology). Another way of looking at this turn is that the affordances of corpora and other empirical elicitation approaches, and especially their metadata across multiple variables, provided a basis for a new way of looking at IrEng beyond comparing lexis and syntax contrastively with the Irish language or tracing the emergence of structures from the perspective of historical and colonial language contact.

12.3.1 The pragmatics of Irish English: a new research focus of the 2000s

The convergence of a pragmatic and sociolinguistic focus on IrEng is probably best captured in Schneider and Barron's (2008) 'variational pragmatics' model (see Barron, Chapter 19 this volume). In essence, variational pragmatics is at the interface of pragmatics and dialectology, according to Schneider and Barron, and its aim is to systematically investigate the effect of macro-social pragmatic variation on language in action. This framework fits well with the study of IrEng, especially in respect of spoken data. Barron and Schneider's (2005) edited volume *The Pragmatics of Irish English* stands testament to this (as noted by Amador-Moreno 2019). What makes this publication an important point in the development of CL research on IrEng is that it marks a pivot in the research narrative because it brings a collection together that is thematically focused on IrEng as a variety in its own right in terms of how discourse and pragmatics vary both within contexts of IrEng and when compared with other varieties. The volume is not solely dedicated to a CL methodology: up to half the papers in the volume draw on corpus data to some degree, and the chapters that do not draw on corpus use other empirical rather than introspective or intuitive data.

Before the publication of Barron and Schneider's (2005) edited volume, there were already a number of individual publications that looked at IrEng through a pragmatic and/or variationist perspective. Substantial work was ongoing in relation to phonetic variation that involved the gathering of audio data which continues to facilitate work on language change (e.g. Milroy 1981; Hickey 1999a; 1999b; 2004; 2012a). Hickey (2005) brought a timely attention to change in Dublin English with a focus on developments

in 'metropolitan Dublin English' among middle-class speakers in Celtic Tiger Ireland. Kallen and Kirk (2001) examined the verb phrase in IrEng. Martin (2001; 2004), for example, looked at a corpus of recorded simulations of sales encounters between German and Irish buyers and sellers (see also O'Keeffe 2002; Farr and O'Keeffe 2002; Martin 2001; 2004; McCarthy and O'Keeffe 2003). Crucially, however, Barron and Schneider's (2005) volume laid down a marker for the study of IrEng discourse. It set out a new framework for the empirical study of IrEng from a variational pragmatics perspective. Chapters in Barron and Schneider's (2005) volume span many discourse and pragmatic topics, and describe IrEng in an intra-varietal and inter-varietal manner. It is worth summarizing the scope of CL work in Barron and Schneider's volume as a snapshot of a point when corpus studies were firmly placed within the research narrative for IrEng.

Kallen (2005) drew qualitatively on data from ICE-Ireland and ICE Great Britain (ICE-GB), looking at pragmatic markers across different types of discourse to explore the role of markers of silence and shared or tacit knowledge thought markers such as *I'd say* and *you know*. In her paper on discourse markers, Amador-Moreno (2005) took a historical look at IrEng in the context of literary texts, exploring the representation of speech in some of the novels of Patrick MacGill. What is important here is that Amador-Moreno lays out the case for the use of speech representation in IrEng literature as a valuable source of empirical data. She ends with a call for more research into contemporary Irish writers and indeed (as we discuss in sections 12.3.1 and 12.4) she and others have continued this thread of research. Clancy (2005) focuses on how IrEng is used in family settings, examining politeness strategies in a small corpus of family discourse. In particular, he concludes that in-group address terms have an important role to play in family talk, for example in the expression of intimacy and solidarity. Interestingly, in relation to negative politeness, the corpus analysis of forms used as hedges indicated that family members seemed less concerned with their use. This early work of Clancy (2005) offers new insights into the study of family discourse in general, and is an example of how CL opened up the study of IrEng so that it offered a far-reaching contribution within fields of discourse and sociopragmatics. Farr (2005) looks at uses of IrEng in the public sphere, specifically in the institutional context of teacher training in higher-education settings. Martin (2005) drew on data from her work on simulated Irish-German business interactions (2001; 2004) to focus on indirectness in IrEng as a characterizing feature of business negotiations (and which she speculates may have negative consequences in terms of intercultural business contexts). Also looking at language in official or workplace spheres using corpus data, Binchy (2005) draws on a corpus of service encounters, namely over 100 recordings from service station shop counters, collected over a nine-month period. These are explored linguistically in terms of how the politeness markers vary relative to the relationship (whether or not the shop attendant was acquainted with the customer). Looking at IrEng in the broader public sphere, O'Keeffe (2005) examined a corpus of over 55,000 words from a popular Irish radio phone-in, *Liveline*. She noted that while the question form is the presenter's 'power tool' (p. 360), she deploys pragmatic devices to downtone the potential of power asymmetry that they may cause through the use of hedged structures.

Since this Barron and Schneider (2005) volume, we have seen a fertile lineage of corpus-based work on IrEng. This work has mainly drawn on the two corpora, ICE-Ireland and LCIE. It is noticeable that output has also resulted from small personal collections of data, for example Murphy's (2012) *Corpus of Age and Gender Irish English* (CAG-IE) or Vaughan's *Corpus of the Meetings of English Language Teachers* (C-MELT) (Vaughan 2007). In terms of disciplinary focus, we see a lot of intersection between sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, pragmatics, and stylistics in how CL data and methods have been applied across a wide range of research questions.

Irish literature has also been the source of both historical and contemporary representations of IrEng orality. Though fictionalized, such representations have proved fruitful in the exploration of dialect and identity as well as specific discourse features that characterize IrEng. Hickey's (2003) *A Corpus of Irish English* (see above section 12.2) forms the basis for empirical historical work on how IrEng characters were represented through their orality in fiction (see Hickey 2010 and Amador-Moreno 2019 for a thorough review). More recent work has been amassing data from contemporary Irish novels, drawing on work by individual authors such as Paul Howard (see Amador-Moreno 2012; 2015; 2016) as well as the *Corpus of Fictionalized Irish English* (CoFIrE) (see Amador-Moreno and Terrazas-Calero 2017).

12.4 A PROLIFERATION OF SINGLE-ITEM STUDIES AND EMERGING THEMES

As CL gained momentum as a tool for exploring IrEng, we see the emergence of many 'single-item' studies (as opposed to large-scale systematic descriptions of IrEng as a variety). These span single lexical items and syntax forms (with *after* perfect receiving prominent attention), as well as spoken-discourse features (e.g. response tokens, vague language). A sample of the diversity in forms which received corpus-based attention in IrEng is summarized in Table 12.1 (and it is by no means exhaustive). Notably, with the use of corpora, these studies mostly place IrEng in the context of World Englishes and draw on other corpora as comparative sources, including ICE-GB, the *British National Corpus* (BNC), *Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English* (CANCODE), *Hong Kong Corpus of Spoken English*, *London–Lund Corpus of Spoken English*, *Lancaster–Oslo–Bergen Corpus* (LOB), *Freiburg Lancaster–Oslo–Bergen Corpus* (F-LOB), and the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*.

More recently, the greater affordances of parts-of-speech tagging (PoS tagging or POST) and parsing of corpus data is allowing for more in-depth work on form. For instance, using ICE-Ireland and ICE-GB, Ronan and Schneider (2015) used an automated parser-based approach to examine light verb constructions (i.e. where the verb is semantically low or light and combines with a predicate noun, e.g. *make a proposal*, the verbal meaning thus comes more through the noun). Qualitatively, they note usage differences

Table 12.1 Sample of form-focused CL research on IrEng

Focus of the study	Study
<i>After</i> -perfect and present perfect constructions	Amador-Moreno and O'Keeffe (2018); Clarke (2012); Corrigan (2010: 61–2); Hickey (2007: 200–205); Kallen (2013: 95–100); Kirk (2017); Kirk and Kallen (2007); McCafferty (2004; 2006); O'Keeffe and Amador-Moreno (2009); Ronan (2005)
Progressives	Kirk (2015); Ní Mhurchú (2018)
Variational form–function analysis of tag questions	Barron (2015); Barron et al. (2015)
Pragmatics of pronouns as indices of intimacy and identity	Clancy (2020); O'Keeffe (2002); O'Keeffe (2005); Amador-Moreno (2016)
Modal verbs (<i>would</i> and <i>may</i>)	Farr and O'Keeffe (2002); O'Keeffe and Farr (2003); Kirk 2019

between the two varieties and find that ICE-GB favours fewer high-frequency light verbs while ICE-Ireland contains more diverse, lower-frequency light verbs and more passives.

Part-of-speech tagging in which the words of a corpus have grammatical labels attached to them opens up new possibilities for the analysis of texts, assuming (i) that the tagging can be done automatically (largely possible nowadays) and (ii) that there is agreement on the labelling scheme employed by the tagging algorithms. Using PoS tagging within Sketch Engine, O'Keeffe and Mark (2022) examine the most frequent forms and patterns of adjectives in spoken Irish and British spoken English using LCIE and the spoken component of the BNC. There is immense scope to move beyond single-item corpus analyses in IrEng by making use of PoS tagging to gain breadth of scope as well as depth of description.

Most studies that look at variation in discourse in terms of pragmatics and sociolinguistics using corpora of IrEng largely draw on LCIE, ICE-Ireland, and CORIECOR, and use corpora of other varieties as their reference points for comparison. Some involve in-depth studies of small, personally curated datasets, and these have led to interesting pragmatic and sociolinguistic insights (as discussed by Vaughan and Clancy 2013). Pragmatic markers (PMs) receive by far the most attention (some studies refer to discourse markers, a sub-set of PMs), e.g. Hickey (2017) provides a wide-ranging examination of PM *grand* both in historic and contemporary use, drawing on data including *A Corpus of Irish English*, ICE-Ireland, and CORIECOR. Clancy and Vaughan (2012) look in detail at *now* as a PM in IrEng using LCIE. Hickey (under review) examines the pragmatic use of *anyway* in Irish English, drawing on comparable material from ICE-Scotland and the BNC.

Amador-Moreno et al. (2015) bring together a whole volume dedicated to the study of PMs in IrEng, offering a significant showcase of the type of scholarship in this area.

It includes Murphy's (2015) focus on PMs and sociolinguistic variation across age and gender and Kirk's use of the pragmatically annotated SPICE-Ireland Corpus to explore *kind of* and *sort of* (2015). McCarthy (2015) focuses on turn-openings in IrEng and BrE, examining lexically freestanding pragmatic markers in LCIE and CANCODE. Farr and Riordan (2015) look at turn-initiators in professional encounters in a corpus collected within Irish teacher education. Schweinberger explores swearing in ICE-Ireland, ICE-GB, and the *Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language* (2015). Drawing on ICE-Ireland, Kallen looks at *actually* as a PM (2015). Barron (2015) explores tag questions as PMs in IrEng, drawing on a corpus of service encounters in a bridal boutique. Clancy (2015) uses a corpus of family discourse from settled and Traveller groups to explore vocatives as pragmatic markers. Amador-Moreno and McCafferty (2015) draw on CORIECOR to examine discourse markers in letter correspondence from 1740 to 1940. Millar (2015) uses a 276,604 word corpus of beauty blog chat to examine the use of PMs in this online medium. Amador-Moreno (2015) scrutinizes quotatives in a small corpus of Paul Howard novels, while Hickey (2015) juxtaposes the pragmatics of Irish and Irish English to highlight parallels and differences between the two languages. Table 12.2 provides a sample of CL studies that look at other discourse and pragmatic features in spoken IrEng.

Table 12.2 Sample of IrEng CL studies focusing on pragmatics and discourse

Feature(s)	Study
Vague language: vague category markers; vague approximators	O'Keeffe (2004); Evison et al. (2007); Walsh et al. (2008); Cheng and O'Keeffe (2015); Vaughan et al. (2017)
Swearing and taboo language	Murphy (2009); Ghassempur (2010); Schweinberger (2018)
Vocatives in IrEng and BrEng	McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2003); Murphy and Farr (2012); Clancy and O'Keeffe (2015)
Response tokens in IrEng and BrEng	O'Keeffe and Adolphs (2008); Murphy (2012)

Certain institutional domains of discourse also receive corpus-based attention in IrEng. Clancy (2015) uses a corpus of intimate discourse, a sub-corpus of LCIE, to explore intimate discourse among families, couples, and friends. In media discourse, O'Keeffe (2006) looked at radio phone-ins, largely drawing on IrEng data. O'Keeffe and Breen conducted a corpus-based examination of stance in newspaper reporting of child sexual abuse in Ireland over a five-year period (2007). Walshe (2017) compares evidence taken from two corpora of Irish films (40 southern and 40 northern Irish films) with data from the northern and southern spoken components of ICE-Ireland (see also Walshe 2009). O'Sullivan (2020a; 2020b) draws on a corpus of adverts broadcast on an Irish radio station between 1977 and 2017, and shows how corpus linguistics can be used to aid the exploration of core concepts of media discourse such as audience and referee design as well as sociolinguistic concepts such as indexicality, accent, and dialect over time in IrEng.

The theme of migration features as a thread in a growing number of corpus-based studies of IrEng, and brings together historic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic perspectives. Historical perspectives on language and migration are gained through the work of Amador-Moreno and McCafferty in particular in their analyses of correspondence between Irish immigrants with their home countries (Amador-Moreno and McCafferty 2015; Amador-Moreno et al. 2015; Amador-Moreno 2019). Amador-Moreno (2019) uses CORIECOR to explore features of orality, especially discourse-pragmatic markers, as well as deictic and pronominal forms in IrEng emigrant letters from the beginning of the eighteenth up to the twentieth century. As expected, Irish emigrants to the United States feature strongly, but there is also a focus on correspondence between the Irish in Argentina (Amador-Moreno 2012; 2019) and Newfoundland (Clarke 2012; Chapter 24 this volume). More recently, corpus-based work is emerging on the language of inward migrants to Ireland. This includes work by Migge (2015) on the use of *now* in the speech of newcomers to Ireland. Nestor et al. (2012) examined the use of *like* in data collected from Polish speakers of English living in Ireland (see also Nester and Regan 2015). Harrington (2018) provides a book-length mixed-methods treatment of a corpus collected in an Irish reception centre for asylum seekers. Santos (2019) explores the use of *like* in a corpus of Brazilian university students living in Ireland in comparison with data from LCIE. See also Chapter 28 this volume.

Walsh et al. (2008) used the LIBEL corpus along with LCIE and CANCODE to compare forms and functions of vague language in an academic versus informal conversational context. LIBEL was also the basis for work on classroom discourse in Morton et al. (2011) and O'Keeffe and Walsh (2012). The *Cambridge Limerick Shannon Corpus* (CLAS) is a million-word collection funded by Cambridge University Press consisting of spoken language collected in an Irish College of Hotel Management.² The data include Irish lecturers and undergraduates as well as international students (see Healy and Onderdonk Horan 2012). Farr (2011) built on her corpus of post-observation feedback in the context of teacher education, and Farr et al. (2019) have used corpus data collected in an Irish teacher education context, in both face-to-face and online contexts. Farrell (2020) has drawn on a corpus of 60,000 words of 'non-standard' varieties of spoken English by teachers in the classroom so as to explore variation in and attitudes to models of spoken English in this setting.

In summary, since the turn of the century there has been a growing mass of studies on IrEng that use CL in their data and methodology. Many of these draw on ICE-Ireland and LCIE and others focus on smaller personal collections. They all bring insights to IrEng vocabulary and pragmatics, often through the examination of sociolinguistically relevant variables.

Looking to the future, we can anticipate more breadth of study in the advent of tools that allow for large-scale analyses that are not possible using manual methods, while bearing in mind all the caveats which apply when interrogating large

² CLAS is held by Cambridge University Press as part of the Cambridge English Corpus. It is not publicly available but researchers can apply for access to it.

corpora: representativeness—accuracy of compilation, avoidance of data contamination, etc. This also necessitates some reflection on CL as a methodology. A starting point in single-word frequency items is core to form-to-function approaches in CL, as we discuss in section 12.5.1, but this could be counterbalanced by also drawing on function-to-form processes. As a starting point, single-word frequency items, which are core to form-to-function approaches in CL, as we discuss in section 12.5.1, need to be counterbalanced by also drawing on function-to-form processes.

12.5 APPROACHES AND METHODS FOR EXPLORING IRISH ENGLISH AND CORPUS LINGUISTICS

Having taken stock of the range and breadth of CL-based work on IrEng, let us now reflect on the methods used. A corpus can tell us how many times a form is used but, as Jones (2022) points out, it cannot tell us why it is used, why speakers tend to use it with or before another word, or why a form is rarely used. These types of finding must come from interpretations and interrogations of the data itself. In other words, corpora alone cannot tell us much about language; the insights come from analysis of the data (Evison 2010).

When looking at form using a corpus, there are two main ‘ways in’: word frequency lists and key word lists (see below section 12.5.1). To move beyond lists, software functions such as concordancing and collocational analysis can be used by way of follow-up, as we exemplify in section 12.5.1. This type of exploration, which moves from frequency lists to the exploration of use within concordances and/or collocation analysis, is referred to as ‘form-to-function’ analysis (see Aijmer 2018; O’Keeffe 2018). It begins with the form and works towards the analysis of the function (see below section 12.5.1). The majority of CL research follows this form-to-function pathway. The opposite route is referred to as the ‘function-to-form’ route (see O’Keeffe 2018), and involves beginning one’s inquiry in search of a particular function. To do so, one needs to have an efficient means of finding, within the corpus, where this function occurs. For instance, if a researcher wished to examine vague language, vocatives, hedging, or a particular speech act, working from frequency and key wordlists and concordances (see below section 12.5.1) will identify some but by no means all of the exponents of a given function or speech act. In an ideal world, a corpus would be tagged for the particular function that is the object of the investigation but that is the exception rather than the rule. On the other hand, if one is working with a small corpus, it is possible to annotate it yourself for all the instances of a particular function. In IrEng research, there are some examples of this, for instance, Amador-Moreno and Terrazas-Calero (2017), who, as discussed in section 12.3.1, look at a corpus of contemporary Irish writing. Their dataset has been manually coded for particular features such as discourse markers, intensifiers,

and hedges, allowing the authors to recall all instances of the feature that they have pre-coded. Such coding is, of course, a very labour-intensive process, but allows the creation of a rich resource.

12.5.1 Looking at Irish English using a form-to-function approach

The following functions are core to all corpus software and fundamental to a form-to-function exploration of a corpus:

- *Word and phrase frequency lists.* The software will quickly generate a list of all single or multi-word unit items in a given corpus, in order of most to least frequent (or in alphabetical order if required).
- *Key wordlists.* Statistically significant key word results are easily calculated by corpus software but they require a 'reference corpus', usually a larger corpus that is used for comparison.
- *Collocation statistics.* These relate to how words go together or form fixed relationships. There are different statistical measures for collocational relationships.
- *Concordances.* Corpus software can quickly generate lists of all of the occurrences of a search word (the node) and align these so that the search word is at the centre of the screen. The source file for any one occurrence can be accessed from this to allow for contextual analysis. Concordancing is essential for qualitative analysis.

12.5.1.1 Frequency lists

Table 12.3 lists the top 20 words in LCIE by frequency. The list comprises mostly function rather than content forms, as one would expect. The usefulness of such a wordlist might not seem obvious at first, as it is essentially a rank-order list. It needs some point of comparison. The BNC is commonly used as a comparison, as illustrated in Table 12.3.

This initial comparison shows up some similarities: many of the same words (though sometimes in differing rank order) are in the top 20 most frequent items. Some differences also catch the eye. As researchers using a corpus, we are usually attracted to what is different in a wordlist, and this can represent the start of a 'research treasure hunt'. A point of note: we also need to look more closely at what seems to be similar in frequency rather than assume that a form functions in the same way just because it has the same frequency with its reference point.

Looking at what is different (in Table 12.3), a researcher might follow up on the items *like* and *there*, as these feature in the IrEng top 20 most frequent and they are not listed on the BNC results. This suggests that they may be used to do something more or something different in IrEng. The next step then would be to look at these items in greater depth using the concordancing function.

Table 12.3 The top 20 most frequent words in LCIE in comparison with the top 20 most frequent words in the BNC spoken corpus

LCIE		BNC Spoken	
Word	Frequency PMW	Word	Frequency PMW
<i>The</i>	35621	<i>the</i>	41074
<i>I</i>	30863	<i>I</i>	30980
<i>You</i>	26935	<i>you</i>	26865
<i>It</i>	24418	<i>and</i>	26195
<i>And</i>	23940	<i>it</i>	25197
<i>To</i>	20301	<i>to</i>	23425
<i>That</i>	19278	<i>that</i>	22736
<i>A</i>	17926	<i>a</i>	20685
<i>'s</i>	16836	<i>of</i>	17511
<i>Of</i>	14207	<i>in</i>	14068
<i>yeah</i>	13883	<i>n't</i>	12634
<i>In</i>	13523	<i>we</i>	10870
<i>n't</i>	11779	<i>is</i>	10534
<i>Was</i>	11262	<i>do</i>	9963
<i>Is</i>	11092	<i>they</i>	9668
<i>They</i>	9831	<i>er</i>	8845
<i>Do</i>	9772	<i>was</i>	8382
<i>He</i>	9705	<i>yeah</i>	8162
<i>Like</i>	8779	<i>on</i>	8125
<i>there</i>	8723	<i>have</i>	7742

12.5.1.2 Concordances

Figure 12.1 shows us just one of many screens of concordance lines of the search or 'node' word *there* in LCIE. Concordances can be sorted to the left or right of the node word, and this can show overall trends in relation to the pattern and clausal position of the search item. For example, in Figure 12.1, the lines are sorted to the right of the node *there*. We notice that *there* is followed by a full stop and a new speaker turn tag <\$X>. This shows a possible trend for *there* in the turn-final slot. This is of course just one screen of many; this hypothesis would need to be substantiated, but it is one of a number of bottom-up routes to explore in this form-led process.

Other routes for exploration based on just this one screen in Figure 12.1 might include the possible pattern of the use of *there* with imperatives. It leads to a hypothesis that *there* may be functioning as a hedge (rather than deictically). Consider the examples from Figure 12.1.

- (1) *Flick to Big Brother there.*
- (2) *Beep the horn there.*

Left context	KWIC	Right context
nly be there for another month anyway. <\$1> You won't even you will only have about three weeks	there	. <\$6> That's fuckin shit what am I drinking it for? <\$5> Did they give it to her? <\$2> Oh ya
.Dee? <\$5> I was seduced. <\$2> You were seduced by a sixteen year old? <\$5> None of ye were	there	. <\$1> What last night? <\$6> Dee is the blonde one that lives down there? <\$5> Una don't
ybody thinks it's sixteen but it's seventeen. <\$1> Ya so Niall you'd better w= you'd better be careful	there	. <\$6> Ya but to get married is it seventeen ya in Ireland? <\$1> I don't know I assume so. <
hold on. <\$6> She didn't did she? <\$5> She did ya. <\$6> Aw Christ. <\$5> You got the smart one	there	. <\$6> Oh keep showing it BBC ya ya. <\$5> who was it <\$4> or Leopard or what? <\$6> L
where the McDonalds stuff is? <\$1> Your not above in fuckin Castlebar now. <\$5> Una just leave it	there	. <\$6> I could say things about where you are from but I won't. >\$3> Oh you jammy basi
ian. <\$2> They might go up to Caroline's now you see. <\$1> Why? <\$2> Up to see the two babies	there	. <\$6> Davina McCall. <\$5> You love her . <\$6> She used to be deadly when she used to t
ou do serve them drink at the end of the day it's the bounce that gets into trouble if the person's in	there	. <\$1> I wouldn't mind but that lady was drinking under-age. <\$2> That's just Bridie bulling :
n ye. <\$1> Yeah but shure we had an excuse. <\$2> What was that? <\$1> We were meant to be in	there	. <\$2> To make hot chocolate and to enjoy yourselves. <\$6> And am what subjects did I
. <\$6> I'm at Mairead's house. <\$1> Give me the phone so. <\$2> Honest to God Mary. <\$6>	There	. <\$6> I thought he didn't work anyway until= <\$1> Yeah but he'll be tired and he's a long
or you? <\$1> No I've nearly written it now. <\$2> Do you want a magnum? <\$6> It's in the fridge	there	. <\$1> No. <\$2> Have it if you want it. <\$6> Did you like the pancakes? <\$6> You har
me they want to write on it or they'd have photocopies. <\$2> Yeah I know it would automatically be	there	. <\$1> Like I'm just going to say I'll write my own address cause it's too awkward for me. <\$
ou write it. <\$6> And works well in a team. <\$6> See this Mary? <\$1> Yeah I know I've a line	there	. <\$2> That goes there. <\$6> See where you see the star? <\$6> It matches up there.
I works well in a team. <\$6> See this Mary? <\$1> Yeah I know I've a line there. <\$2> That goes	there	. <\$6> See where you see the star? <\$6> It matches up there. <\$6> Okay? <\$1> \
re a line there. <\$2> That goes there. <\$6> See where you see the star? <\$6> It matches up	there	. <\$6> Okay? <\$1> Yeah. <\$6> And then I'll draw a line and write Caroline O'Loughlin
they were all gone in. <\$6> He's so stupid that he didn't even know that. <\$6> Beep the horn	there	. <\$1> I'm going listening to music. <\$6> I'm not going having any conversation with you
all mirror like for the living room over the fireplace. <\$2> Oh lovely. <\$6> That was good for over	there	. <\$6> I saw this picture in MaryLand in Henry's street. <\$6> It's kind of a rectangle pi
re lovely. <\$2> 'Twas sixteen euro. <\$3> That's not bad. <\$6> That's cheap. <\$2> I hope it's still	there	. <\$6> I'm going down Monday to collect Imogen. <\$6> What time were you up at? <
ask everyone else what they got. <\$6> Did you know anyone that was teaching languages over	there	. <\$3> No. <\$6> I do what am I saying. <\$2> Were they fluent? <\$3> Yeah they were pr
a bit. <\$6> After this green car. <\$6> Straight down here. <\$6> Be careful there's a ramp	there	. <\$6> We'll have to reverse back there. <\$6> You're shocks will definitely be gone. <

FIGURE 12.1 Screenshot of some of the concordance lines of *there* in LCIE

The researcher would need to follow up on this by reading and categorizing all 430 screens (of 20 lines per screen) of concordances for *there* so as to isolate all instances of imperative plus *there* (where *there* is not being used deictically). Moving just two more screens forward from the one illustrated in Figure 12.1 generates two more instances, and therefore this might be a fruitful hunch:

- (3) *Mind the dog there.*
- (4) *Pass over the Coke there.*

To follow up on this, a researcher might use part-of-speech (PoS) tags to narrow down the number of searches to only those instances of *there* which occur after an imperative. There is still likely to be a need for manual sifting. For example, this Corpus Query Language (CQL) search string (which makes use of PoS tagging) generates interesting candidate items:

[tag='SENT']?[tag!='P.*|N.*']][tag='VV'][][1,5]{word='there'}

- (5) <\$1> *Den wants the dinner?* <\$4> *Yeah ask him there.* <\$1> *Sit down there Den.*
- (6) <\$1> *We're there now.* <\$2> <\$H> *Look out there now.*
- (7) <\$1> *Just send it on there now to myself.*

Each of these will then require contextual reading so as to ascertain whether *there* has a deictic function (Example 5, for instance, appears to be deictic). The researcher can also follow up on the frequency with which *now* co-occurs with *there*. Perhaps this has a pragmatic value that is worth exploring, as the following example also suggests. We could also follow up on the use of *there now* in the speech act of offering:

- (8) <\$2> *Will you have a cup of tea there now?*
 <\$1> *No I'm fine thanks.*
 <\$2> *Go on make a cup of tea for yourselves there and have a biscuit with it.*

What we are describing thus far is an iterative process of looking at forms and patterns, trying to hypothesize about form(s), meaning, and use, as well as trying to semantically disambiguate contexts and spot other patterns to follow up on along the way. Essentially, this corpus-based approach works from a form to its functional meaning in context. It is a type of foraging that is time-consuming but it can lead to interesting insights. Ultimately, all of the forms, or a sample in the case of high-frequency items, need to be systematically checked and categorized. For example, a researcher might closely examine all 160 instances of *there now* in LCIE so as to characterize its use as either a deictic or pragmatic marker of politeness possibly linked to a particular speech act or speech event. It is particularly effective when conducting corpus pragmatics research. In this form-to-function approach, much can be gained but much can also be missed. As Aijmer (2018) notes, it can fall down in terms of its ability to recall *all* instances of a particular function. And as O'Keeffe et al. (2020) point out, given that the study of how language functions is at the core of empirical work in pragmatics, there is need to think carefully about how CL can accommodate both a form-to-function and a function-to-form approach to language corpora—an issue which is salient to the CL-based study of IrEng (see also O'Keeffe 2018).

12.5.2 Looking at Irish English using a function-to-form approach

As O'Keeffe et al. (2020) note, lurking within a corpus are many speech acts and other pragmatic phenomena, but the challenge is to find them in a systematic way. Traditionally, the discourse completion task (DCT) was the main instrument of function-to-form research (see O'Keeffe et al. 2020: ch. 2). A discourse completion task uses a prompt to elicit the language that a user thinks they would use in a particular situation. By using a DCT, ambiguity of context is avoided because the functional scope of the instrument can pre-define the variables of the study and, therefore,

control the context and conditions very carefully (e.g. the gender, age, social and interpersonal relationship, and so on, of the speakers, as discussed in chapter 2 of O'Keeffe et al. 2020). A DCT, for instance, can be streamlined to gather apologies in the context of a student apologizing to a college professor for being late to class. This gives a contextual concentration and richness that provides a narrower range of the forms used in this specific context and speaker relationship, with restricted conditions. Schauer and Adolphs (2006) compared a corpus-based form-to-function and a DCT-based function-to-form approach to looking at thanking routines. The forms generated from the DCTs were almost all in the corpus, bar items such as *Cheers Sweetie*. While they noted differences, such as that the naturally occurring data manifested across longer stretches of turns, their work illustrated the usefulness of DCTs as a functional 'way into' corpora. This is discussed in depth in O'Keeffe (2018) and O'Keeffe et al. (2020) which advocate the use of DCT realizations as seeds for corpus-based research. Essentially, for IrEng this could mean drawing on antecedent research. In other words, output from DCT-based research has the potential to offer Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDs) that can give CL a functional way into IrEng data. This is explored further below.

The emergence of corpus tools and annotation systems that facilitate pragmatically annotated corpora (O'Keeffe et al. 2020) means that we are now able to conduct one-to-one pragmatic function searches to recall all the instances of a given pragmatic function or phenomenon (see Kallen and Kirk 2012; Archer and Culpeper 2018; Weisser 2015; 2018). Crucially, this type of research can only be undertaken *if* the corpus has been annotated for pragmatic features. However, this is not without its challenges, as evidenced through ongoing debates about approaches to annotation schemes (see Archer and Culpeper 2018; Weisser 2015; 2018). The mismatch, and oftentimes ambiguity, between form and function means that automatic assignment of tags will often lack precision, and laborious manual checking is necessary, as noted by Rühlemann and Ajmer (2015). IrEng has led the way in innovations in pragmatically annotated corpora: the SPICE-Ireland corpus offers an example of a spoken corpus that has been pragmatically annotated (Kallen and Kirk 2012). All 15 spoken text categories in the corpus were annotated pragmatically using an annotation scheme comprised of five components: the speech act status of each utterance in the corpus, based on Searle's (1976) categories of illocutionary acts, tone movements, discourse markers, utterance tags, and quotatives (see Kirk 2016: 306). An example of work based on SPICE is found in Kirk (2015) in his exploration of *kind of* and *sort of* as pragmatic markers.

Returning to DCTs, years of work, in particular by Schneider and Barron and their associates, has shown the value of corpus interrogation in terms of how it might provide IFIDs that will aid function-to-form analyses. Consider Barron's (2005) work on offers using a DCT. Taking just one of the many realizations that this study elicited (*do*

cql [word="Do|do"] [tag="PP"] [word="want|fancy"] [] {0,2} {t... 167 (101.35 per million)

	Details	Left context	KWIC	Right context
1	doc#3	<\$O12>. <\$4> Feckin feck. <\$1> What	do you want Dee	? <\$2> Those silver present boxes. <\$3>
2	doc#4	sing the winning song <\$E> <\$1> MX	do you want more onions	than that? <\$2> No this is okay. </s><s>
3	doc#4	r? <\$4> No we're goin to college. <\$1>	Do you want a cup	of tea MX? <\$2> No thanks mam no. <\$
4	doc#30	rch. </s><s> I made no gravy. </s><s>	Do you want ketchup	for the thing? <\$3> I want nothing. </s>
5	doc#30	ill so. <\$3> Within the next week. <\$2>	Do you want ketchup	there? <\$3> I was above at the land loo
6	doc#30	ry dry. <\$3> After a while maybe. <\$2>	Do you want some ketchup	with the lamb steak? <\$3> No. </s><s>
7	doc#30	i3> Yea but those ones are fresh. <\$2>	Do you want a spud	Mary? <\$1> No. <\$2> Ok. </s><s> Sorr
8	doc#30	i3> Yea but those ones are fresh. <\$2>	Do you want a spud Mary	? <\$1> No. <\$2> Ok. </s><s> Sorry for
9	doc#30	Will you not have more? <\$3> No. <\$2>	Do you want some onion	rings Mary? <\$3> Go on. <\$2> I'll have
10	doc#30	at the most way you'd like them? <\$2>	Do you want more ice-cream	? </s><s> What? <\$3> Isn't that the mo
11	doc#30	making pancakes? <\$2> Yea. </s><s>	Do you want some pancakes	? </s><s> Do you? <\$3> Pancakes? <\$
12	doc#30	ith the floor. <\$2> Why's that? </s><s>	Do you want a biscuit	? <\$3> Nothing that was ever known. <
13	doc#33	and see what the mattress is like. <\$1>	Do you want your old cot	back? <\$3> No. <\$E> laughter <\$E>. <
14	doc#36	I lost one nil in both games. <\$F> Brian	do you want another bit	of pasta? <\$1> Ah no Mary-Tina. <\$M>
15	doc#36	<\$2> Stay here for another while. <\$F>	Do you want another bun	Triona? <\$2> Ah you're grand Mary we'
16	doc#36	<\$2> Stay here for another while. <\$F>	Do you want another bun Triona	? <\$2> Ah you're grand Mary we're goin
17	doc#41	<s> That's all there is to it really. <\$H>	Do you want the number	of my bank? </s><s> One eight fifty two
18	doc#52	is it? <\$1> Yeah I think so yeah. <\$4>	Do you want a cup	of coffee Martin? <\$2> Yep. <\$1> First f
19	doc#52	is what are the? <\$4> They're crackers	do you want cheese	on them? </s><s> They're very hard no
20	doc#52	Syl. <\$4> He has his <\$G1> <\$3> Now	do you want those things	will I put them onto your system? <\$1> <

FIGURE 12.2 Sample of hits using *do you want/fancy + noun* search of LCIETable 12.4 Top 10 PoS tag patterns for *Do you want/fancy + noun* in LCIE

	Tag sequence	Freq.	Example
1	VVP PP VVP DT NN	38	Do you want a spud Mary?
2	VVP PP VVP NN	23	Do you want tea?
3	VV PP VV DT NN	20	Do you want some seven up?
4	VV PP VV NN	12	Do you want tart and cream?
5	VVP PP VVP JJR NN	5	Mairead do you want more gravy?
6	VVP PP VVP PPZ NN	4	Do you want your seat back?
7	VVP PP VVP NNS	4	... do you want beans?
8	VVP PP VVP DT NP	3	... do you want another chippie Bridie?
9	VVP PP VVP DT NNS	3	Now do you want those things?
10	VVP PP VVP DT JJ NN	3	Do you want some lemon meringue for dessert?

	Lemma	Frequency	Per million tokens
1	☐ do you want tea	13	7.89
2	☐ do you want a cup	10	6.07
3	☐ do you want anything	4	2.43
4	☐ do you want more tea	3	1.82
5	☐ do you want a glass	3	1.82
6	☐ do you want something	2	1.21
7	☐ do you want some orange juice	2	1.21
8	☐ do you want more ice-cream	2	1.21
9	☐ do you want ketchup	2	1.21
10	☐ do you want coke	2	1.21
11	☐ do you want cheese	2	1.21
12	☐ do you want bean	2	1.21
13	☐ do you want another bit	2	1.21
14	☐ do you want a hand	2	1.21
15	☐ do you want a drink	2	1.21
16	☐ do you want a bag	2	1.21
17	☐ do you want your seat	1	0.61
18	☐ do you want your old cot	1	0.61
19	☐ do you want those thing	1	0.61
20	☐ do you want the towel	1	0.61

FIGURE 12.3 Top 20 lemmatized patterns of *do you want/fancy + noun* search of LCIE

you want/fancy + Noun) to search LCIE using a CQL search via Sketch Engine, we get 167 hits. These could then be sifted, sorted, and categorized (see Figure 12.2) through concordancing.

We can examine the lemmatized results to get a better overview, as shown in Figure 12.3. Figure 12.3 clearly shows that many of the offers are in the context of food. We can also look even more globally at the results by examining the PoS tag results. Table 12.4 shows us the tag sequences. This could lead the researcher down many avenues. For example, one might explore the use of indefinite article as the determiner with noun instead of *some + plural noun* in offering a food item (e.g. *Do you want a spud? Do you want a chippie?* Instead of *Do you want some spuds? Do you want some chippies?*). On closer analysis, we can also see that the offers extend over turns (as noted by Schauer and Adolphs 2006) amid threads of conversation:

- (9) <\$1> ... *Good dancer isn't she? Do you want some orange juice?*
<\$2> *I'll have a drop.*
<\$1> *Do you want more?*
<\$2> *No.*
<\$1> *What was I saying. Oh do you want tart and cream? Do you want ice-cream?*
<\$2> *No. Cream.*

- <\$1> *I'm going to have just ice-cream. I'll just whip up a bit of cream.*
 <\$2> *Yeah will it hold? It will.*
 <\$1> *What? It'll hold better unwhipped.*
 <\$2> *That's what I mean it'll hold like.*
 <\$1> *Yeah. <\$E> coughing <\\$E>*
 <\$1> *What were you doing so all evening Jason?* [LCIE]

Here we have briefly explored just one of 29 realizations for offers in IrEng put forward by Barron (2005) based on DCT results. There is clearly major scope for more function-to-form based work on IrEng. For more methodological options in function-to-form corpus-based research, see O'Keeffe (2018) and O'Keeffe et al. (2020).

12.6 CONCLUSION: LOOKING TO THE PAST AND LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

Without doubt, the study of IrEng has embraced a corpus-based methodology as one of the main tools for empirical research. This has brought a greater focus on pragmatic variables. It has especially promoted a focus on spoken-language features such as PMs, vague language, and politeness, and these features in IrEng have been compared with other Englishes in a global context. It is fair to say that this wealth of work has added greatly to the advancement of this kind of methodology and fed into the coinage of 'corpus pragmatics' (see O'Keeffe et al. 2020), with the SPICE Ireland corpus as a leading example in pragmatic annotation. However, despite the fact that most of the work on corpus-based IrEng is in the realms of spoken language pragmatics, it is perhaps surprising that it is almost exclusively within a form-to-function approach. As this chapter advocates, there is major scope to redress this imbalance, and a wealth of insight to be gained in the process.

In reviewing the CL work on IrEng over the last two decades or so, we can recognize a proliferation of work, and it is heartening to see the emergence of many book-length treatments of different areas of IrEng across domains of discourse within a variationist-pragmatic perspective. This certainly is a testament to the healthy and outward-looking state of IrEng research, where data from corpus collections is adding to the description of English discourse globally. However, it is perhaps surprising that we are still lacking a comprehensive corpus-based overview of the grammar of IrEng as a variety. As Kirk (2011) notes, variation is not an absolute, with much diversity in the degree to which speakers orient to or are influenced by standard written English (not least of all the degree to which level of education is a factor). So much work on IrEng has focused on spoken language, and this ties in very much with Kirk's (2011) discussion on the nature of 'standard'

IrEng and the analyses provided of supraregional IrEng offered in the work of Hickey (see e.g. 2012a; 2012b). However, there is need to delve deeper into data to fully describe IrEng. This is largely impeded, at the time of writing, by: (i) the fact that the two main 'contemporary' corpora of IrEng were collected around the turn of the millennium, and are ageing by the day, and (ii) they do not contain enough data to look comprehensively at the socio-economic and educational variables (among many others) to fully describe the internal variation within IrEng. As Kirk (2011: 32) notes, referring to ICE-Ireland: 'it is mostly educated or professional people, including students and many with power and/or prestige who, we surmise, have been influenced by the norms of written language, whose speech is transcribed in the ICE-Ireland corpus.' The same can largely be said of LCIE.

Looking to the future, it is clear that CL research projects should diversify and increase in topic and scope. The advanced technology to handle larger, more detailed corpora is available and will continue to progress, so that the options of CL will also increase correspondingly. Nonetheless, there are practical difficulties involved here: funding for projects will have to be made available by educational institutions and government departments. Perhaps most importantly, young scholars need to be convinced of the potential and value of CL research so that this field can continue to flourish in years to come.

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CHAPTER 13

IRISH ENGLISH IN ADVERTISING

JOAN O'SULLIVAN

13.1 INTRODUCTION

THE study of advertising can be a useful gauge of the 'ideological temperature' in a particular society (Vestergaard and Schrøder 1985: 120); an investigation of the language used in advertising can reflect prevailing language ideologies as well as language ideological change in the particular linguistic context. The Irish context is an interesting locus for such research, given Ireland's rather complex linguistic environment. While under the Irish Constitution, Irish is the first official language of Ireland, Irish English (henceforth IrEng) (English as it is spoken in Ireland) has effectively replaced the Irish language as the first language of almost the entire population (Filppula 1999: 9–11). Also, the colonial history of Ireland and the history of shared media boundaries between Britain and Ireland make the Irish advertising context an appropriate setting for studying language ideology. Ideological issues associated with standard and non-standard varieties are especially visible in the colonial situation (Lee 1992: 160).

In addition, southern IrEng has, in relatively recent years, undergone the most important case of language change in modern-day Ireland (Hickey 2004: 46), namely the shift in pronunciation of Dublin English to a new form which has spread rapidly throughout southern Ireland.¹ The way in which this variety is exploited in advertising can also reflect (changing) language ideologies.

¹ Broadly, Ireland can be divided, in linguistic terms, into two sections; one section is the north (or the province of Ulster), comprising the six counties of Northern Ireland (which are part of the UK) but also the Republic of Ireland County of Donegal); the second section is that of the south, which comprises the provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught (Hickey 2004: 30).

13.2 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC CHANGE

Language ideologies have been defined as ‘sets of representations through which language is imbued with cultural meaning for a certain community’. These representations are ‘ways of understanding the world that emerge from interaction with particular (public) representations of it’ (Cameron 2003: 447–8). Therefore, language ideologies emerge from the way language is represented, particularly in the public sphere. In relation to radio, Spitulnik (1998) points out that this medium has a role in the establishment of language ideologies and is in turn shaped by such ideologies. Coupland observes the influence of the mass media on ‘the evaluative and ideological worlds in which language variation exists in late modernity’ (2010: 56, 69).

The concept of sociolinguistic change has come to the fore in challenging researchers to look beyond the notion of language change in the traditional Labovian sense (Androutsopoulos 2014). Sociolinguistic change has been defined as ‘the changing relationship between language and society’, and as encompassing ‘changes that are socially consequential in one way or another for language users’ (Coupland, Thøgersen, and Mortensen 2016: 37). The processes of change being considered are changes in the relationship between language and society, ‘when change is detectable in shifting ideologies of language, possibly resulting in new language practices, but not necessarily resulting in changed formal features of language or in a changed structure of a language or dialect system’ (Coupland 2016: 422). Changes in language ideology are viewed as clear examples of sociolinguistic change (Coupland, Thøgersen, and Mortensen 2016: 37).

Vernacularization is a process by which vernacular linguistic styles, features, and genres ‘gain access into domains that have been the preserve of standardness’ (Coupland 2014: 87). The focus is on non-standardness in terms of particular elements of regional or social varieties which may even be stigmatized (Bell 2011: 180). The vernacularization process can be seen as a pattern of sociolinguistic change (Androutsopoulos 2017: 409).

Media data is seen as being of value in research on sociolinguistic change (Coupland 2016: 423); not only can such data reflect language variation and change, but it can also demonstrate how particular styles and varieties are represented and contextualized in the media.

This chapter will investigate language ideological change in the context of IrEng as indicative of sociolinguistic change (Coupland 2009a; 2014; Androutsopoulos 2014) by examining language variety choice in relation to accent and dialect in radio advertising in Ireland through a corpus of radio advertisements, the Irish Radio Advertisement Corpus (IRAC). IRAC comprises five sub-corpora which provide ‘snapshots’ of radio advertisement compilations, taken at 10-yearly intervals between 1977 and 2017; analysis of the corpus, therefore, provides information on diachronic linguistic change and sociolinguistic change in the Irish context over a 40-year period. In relation to IrEng, McCafferty and Amador-Moreno (2012: 265) have highlighted a ‘striking paucity of

empirical research taking a long-term diachronic perspective, and this study seeks to contribute to addressing this gap.

As well as language variety choice, the advertisements are also examined in relation to their indexicality. The concept of 'indexicality' refers to the social meaning of linguistic forms and the association of such forms with 'typical' persons (Gal and Irvine 1995: 972). Sociolinguistic change can be manifest in the way in which particular varieties and sub-varieties point to or 'index' particular identities and the changing nature of these indexical values for different varieties.

13.3 LANGUAGE VARIETY IN RADIO ADVERTISING IN IRELAND

In order to investigate how language variety choice can reflect language ideology in the Irish advertising context, it is important to describe the main varieties exploited in IRAC, Standard Southern British English (SSBE), and IrEng.

13.3.1 Standard Southern British English

Standard language varieties have traditionally been viewed in terms of high status and prestige (Milroy 2000). British Received Pronunciation (RP), for example, represents the pronunciation norm of Great Britain and is seen as having high social status as regards education, income, and profession in the British context. It is used in particular by BBC newsreaders and presenters (Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt 2012: 3–4), though by no means exclusively nowadays. A colonial history can cause perceptions of the standard variety as superior to the local variety. Bell (1991: 145) cites the example of prestige New Zealand radio and TV in the 1980s, in which announcers spoke with a close-to RP accent. More recently, the term Standard Southern British English (SSBE) has been used instead of RP, as it is seen as 'less evaluative' (Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt 2012).

However, we need to consider what a 'standard' variety is in the Irish context. Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' (1991: 12) refers to a set of dispositions which generate specific actions and reactions and lead to 'regular' practices, views, and attitudes concerning what is or is not appropriate in a particular situation. This is particularly relevant to the use of RP or SSBE in the Irish context. Hickey (2005: 33) considers how, on the one hand, Irish people do not want to be seen as having an 'unacceptable' accent but, on the other, '[i]t would not befit any nationalist minded Irish person to imitate an English accent', which is regarded as 'snobbish', 'pretentious', and worthy of derision (Hickey 2005: 34). In addition, it is important to point out that 'Standard English' in terms of accent was never adopted as an exonormative model for speakers in Ireland (Hickey 2012). This suggests that while SSBE is available for exploitation in the context of radio advertising

in Ireland, a ‘standard’ or prestige accent variety of IrEng (as opposed to vernacular IrEng) may be more appropriate in this context.

13.3.2 Irish English

13.3.2.1 *Differentiating Irish English and Standard Southern British English*

A number of IrEng accent features are common to speakers of different social and educational backgrounds within Ireland (Filppula 1999: 12) but are key in differentiating IrEng and SSBE. Rhotic pronunciation, where /r/ is pronounced in syllable-final position (as in *river, fur*) and where followed by a consonant (as in *dark, yard*) (Amador-Moreno 2010: 77), contrasts with non-rhotic SSBE pronunciation, where /r/ is generally not pronounced in such positions. Hickey (2004: 41) refers to rhoticity as a key phonological feature of IrEng. Further examples of these common IrEng features are lenited /t/ in words such as *city* [sɪt̪i] and *heat* [hi:t̪], and also the distinction between /m/ and /w/ (Hickey 2005: 33), whereby the words *which* and *witch* are not homophones as in standard pronunciation (although this feature is now decidedly recessive). The deletion of yod after /n/ as in /nju:/ realized as [nu:] is also associated with IrEng. These features can be considered as indicators in the Labovian tradition in that they show low speaker awareness, transcend social class and style changes (Hickey 2005: 81), and are not stigmatized. However, they are important in differentiating IrEng speakers from British English speakers.

13.3.2.2 *Vernacular Irish English*

Hickey (2020a) observes that Irish people may be sensitive to ‘strongly vernacular’ accents. Markers (as opposed to indicators, Labov 1972) are features in a variety of which speakers show some awareness (albeit subconscious) and are sensitive to social factors. For example, the feature of TH/DH-stopping, pervasive in southern IrEng, refers to the realization of the initial consonant of words in the THIN and THIS lexical sets as either a dental stop or an alveolar stop (Kallen 2013: 50; Hickey 2017: 204). The former is not regarded as strongly vernacular and is found in supraregional forms of IrEng; (O’Baill 1990: 159). On the other hand, the use of the alveolar stop, which does not distinguish between pairs such as *tree* and *three*, *fate* and *faith*, *breed* and *breathe*, *dare* and *there* (Amador-Moreno 2010: 78) is seen as stigmatized. Because they mark social subgroups, these features tend to recede in more formal styles.

13.3.2.3 ‘Non-local’ or ‘quasi-standard’ Irish English

What has been termed ‘non-local’ Dublin English and what can ‘loosely’² be referred to as ‘educated’ middle class Dublin English is said to have functioned as a ‘quasi-standard’

² Hickey (2005: 208) adds the caveat that too much weight should not be attached to the stipulation of formal education for speakers of this variety, the salient point being that it is not the local variety.

in the south of Ireland since the beginning of the twentieth century (Hickey 2005: 208). Hickey contrasts 'non-local' with 'local' Dublin English, associated with speakers who 'show strongest identification with traditional conservative Dublin life of which the popular accent is very much a part'. Focusing mainly on phonological features, Hickey further subdivides the non-local group into a larger 'mainstream' section and a more specific, smaller (at the time) group (which he initially terms 'fashionable' or 'new' Dublin English), which actively dissociates itself from the 'low-prestige' group (Hickey 2004: 44).

Filppula (2012: 86) claims that while a 'commonly accepted, codified or observed national-level IrEng standard' does not exist, nevertheless so-called 'Dublin 4 English' has been identified as being associated with a 'standard' for IrEng. This form can be equated with Hickey's 'fashionable' Dublin English and is associated with the development of a shift in pronunciation in southern IrEng in the late 1980s and 1990s. The origin of this accent is attributed to speakers from the affluent Dublin 4 area, the 'Dublin 4 set' (Hickey 2005: 47), who saw themselves as 'trendy, modern, [and] sophisticated' and wanted to dissociate from the local culture. However, this new 'D4' accent soon became the object of comment and ridicule and was often satirized in the media. Another term, 'Dartspeak',³ was coined in reference to the putative accent of southside suburban residents. This term was later changed to 'Dortspeak', a satirical term deriving from the rounded vowel pronunciation. Hickey (2005: 48) describes how this accent 'came to be disliked' and was avoided by younger speakers.⁴

The second half of the 1990s saw the beginning of a period of population growth and increased prosperity in Ireland, due to the economic boom. In-migration to Dublin city increased, forming a set of 'socially mobile' speakers, who dissociated from local and traditional values and culture (Hickey 2004: 46). These conditions are seen as central to language change. While discarding unpopular elements of D4/Dortspeak, such as the retracted onset for the PRICE vowel, i.e. [aɪ], the pronunciation nevertheless retained a number of features of these accents. The resulting accent was originally termed 'new' Dublin English by Hickey, but he now refers to it as 'advanced' Dublin English (Hickey 2020a), henceforth AdvDE. This accent displays similarities to some features of British and American English, although Hickey contends that these are largely coincidental and not systematic. AdvDE is seen by those speakers outside of Dublin who wish to distance themselves from their regional variety as an

³ DART is an acronym for Dublin Area Rapid Transport, a suburban railway serving commuters in the southern part of Dublin city.

⁴ It has also been the subject of ridicule in the many novels by the popular Irish writer Paul Howard centred around the fictional south Dublin character Ross O'Carroll-Kelly.

acceptable ‘non-local’ urban, sophisticated accent and serves as an unofficial standard for the rest of the Republic. It was particularly apparent in the case of younger female speakers but was later adopted by males also, as it spread quickly throughout the Irish Republic, and is now established as the mainstream variety for younger speakers (Hickey 2020a).

13.3.2.4 *Classifying Irish English sub-varieties*

For the purposes of this study, a distinction is made between vernacular (or ‘local’) and non-vernacular (or ‘non-local’) sub-varieties of IrEng. The category of ‘supraregional southern’ IrEng (Hickey 2004: 92) is used here to describe the older, mainstream non-vernacular pronunciation form in the south of Ireland); this ‘educated and urbane’ (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 120) variety is derived from middle-class Dublin English of the mid-twentieth century. Hickey states that, as in the case of any urban accent, particular popular features can be found in ‘educated’ non-local forms (2005: 28). He terms this locally influenced but conservative variety a ‘moderate Dublin accent’ including features such as fronting of the /au/ diphthong and raising of low back vowels. The more recent ‘non-local’ variety, AdvDE is associated with the ‘Dublin vowel shift’ (Hickey 2004: 47). Features include a retraction of diphthongs with a low or back starting point, a raising of low back vowels, /r/ retroflexion, and /l/ velarization. Hickey (2020a) confirms earlier speculation that AdvDE has now become established throughout the Irish Republic as the new mainstream form of IrEng, and continues to develop. Current innovations include the lowering of short front vowels, in particular those of the DRESS lexical set, the retraction of the TRAP vowel, and a more extreme form of GOOSE fronting, a feature which has characteristically been associated with Dublin English.

We can thus differentiate between two very broad categories of southern IrEng. The term ‘non-local’ will be used here as an umbrella term for the accent sub-categories of moderate Dublin outlined above, supraregional southern and AdvDE, which are viewed broadly by Hickey (2005) as ‘standard’ IrEng and align generally with what Kelly-Holmes (2005: 120) refers to as the ‘educated, urbane’ voices which dominate Irish media. The term ‘local’ IrEng, on the other hand, will be employed in this context to refer to the category consisting of easily distinguishable vernacular accents, including both local Dublin (also referred to as ‘popular’ by Hickey 2004: 57) and other regional (rural and provincial) accents. More detailed differentiation of IrEng varieties is provided by Hickey (2020a) based on Wells’s (1982) lexical sets, and is employed in categorizing varieties. Table 13.1 summarizes the accent sub-varieties of Irish English, as used in this study.

Dialectal items (lexis) associated with IrEng are categorized separately as an IrEng dialectal variety. This is based on the observation that dialectal items can be used in conjunction with non-local as well as local accent sub-varieties.

Table 13.1 Terminology for IrEng accent sub-varieties (O’Sullivan 2020: 223)		
Broad accent category	Accent sub-variety name	Alternative accent sub-variety names
Non-local/standard (Hickey 2004)	Advanced Dublin English (Hickey 2004) (AdvDE)	‘fashionable’ or ‘new’ Dublin English (Hickey 2004); ‘Dublin 4’ or ‘D4’ (Hickey 2004; Filppula 2012: 86); ‘Dortspeak’ (Myers 2000: 65); ‘educated urbane’, ‘neutral’ (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 120)
	Moderate Dublin English (Hickey 2004) (ModD)	‘educated’ (Hickey 2005: 208); ‘educated urbane’, ‘neutral’ (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 120)
	Supraregional Southern (Hickey 2004) (SrS)	‘educated’ (Hickey 2005: 208); ‘non-local’ (Hickey 2020a); ‘educated urbane’, ‘neutral’ (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 120)
Local (Hickey 2004)	Local Dublin English (LD)	‘Popular Dublin English’ (Hickey 2004)
	Regional (Reg)	‘Local’ (Hickey 2004); ‘Rural South-West/West’ (Hickey 2004); accents subsumed under ‘Regional’ category

13.4 ADVERTISEMENT COMPONENTS: ACTION AND COMMENT

Analysis in relation to the components of the advertisement can be helpful in the investigation of language ideology. Advertisements can be distinguished by their ‘Action’ and ‘Comment’ components based on the genre of the discourse (Sussex 1989). The Action component generally consists of dialogic interaction in specific contexts. The Comment component (which names and provides general information on the product), on the other hand, is generally the voice-over of the advertisement or the ‘voice of authority’ (Piller 2001); it tends to be monologic and decontextualized. In his study of a corpus of 108 advertisements (broadcast on a Swiss German channel in 1989), Lee observes that the Comment voice ‘articulates with general discourses of power and authority, within which [High German] constitutes the normal or “unmarked” choice in diglossic societies’ (Lee 1992: 172). This component functions as a ‘purveyor of privileged information’—a major function of the discourse of power (Lee 1992: 172–3). The Action component, by contrast, is dominated by non-standard Swiss varieties and ‘articulates with discourses of everyday informal interaction’. Lee sees parallels between the tendency to use High German in the Swiss context and that of post-colonial societies to use standard British English. In both situations, the standard variety has prestige but is not ‘the language of the heart and the emotions’ (1992: 183).

13.5 IRAC INTER-VARIETAL ANALYSIS: STANDARD SOUTHERN BRITISH ENGLISH AND IRISH ENGLISH

The IRAC corpus, which comprises the data for this study, is made up of five sub-corpora based on the years 1977, 1987, 1997, 2007, and 2017; each sub-corpus comprises 40 advertisements broadcast on RTE Radio 1 at these five time-points. It was found that the varieties which predominate in IRAC are IrEng and SSBE. These varieties were identified by whether they showed syllable-final /r/ retention (IrEng) or deletion (SSBE; Hickey 2004: 41; as described in section 13.3) in the particular component, Action and Comment. Figure 13.1 illustrates the percentage of advertisement components displaying a rhotic (IrEng) and a non-rhotic (SSBE) accent through the decades of the corpus.

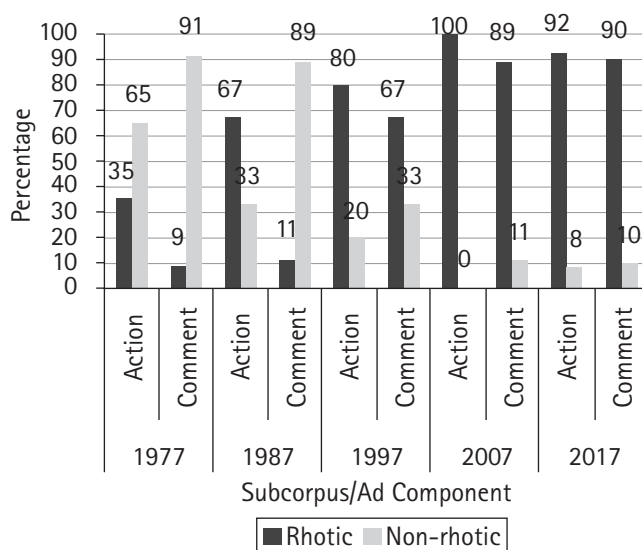


FIGURE 13.1 Percentage of advertisement components displaying rhotic (IrEng) and non-rhotic (SSBE) accent

As illustrated above, in all five sub-corpora, rhotic pronunciation is more prevalent as a feature of the Action, with non-rhotic pronunciation occurring more often in the Comment components. In addition, the presence of rhotic pronunciation shows a marked increase through the decades, not only in the Action but also in the Comment component of the advertisements, at the expense of the non-rhotic pronunciation. Of particular note is the greater presence of non-rhotic accents in the Action components of the 1977 sub-corpus. This sub-corpus, however, is the only one in which non-rhotic accents exceed rhotic ones in this component; indeed, in the Action components of the 2007 sub-corpus, non-rhotic accents have disappeared

but, interestingly, make a slight comeback in 2017. Furthermore, as the decades advance, non-rhotic accents have a far lower presence in the Comment also, being replaced by IrEng rhotic accents.

As we can see in Figure 13.2, as regards dialectal variety, the 1987, 1997, and 2007 sub-corpora show a greater use of IrEng in terms of dialect than that of 1977; nevertheless, the use of dialectal IrEng falls off again in 2017. As with accent variety, dialectal IrEng is more frequent in the Action as against the Comment components in the case of all five sub-corpora.

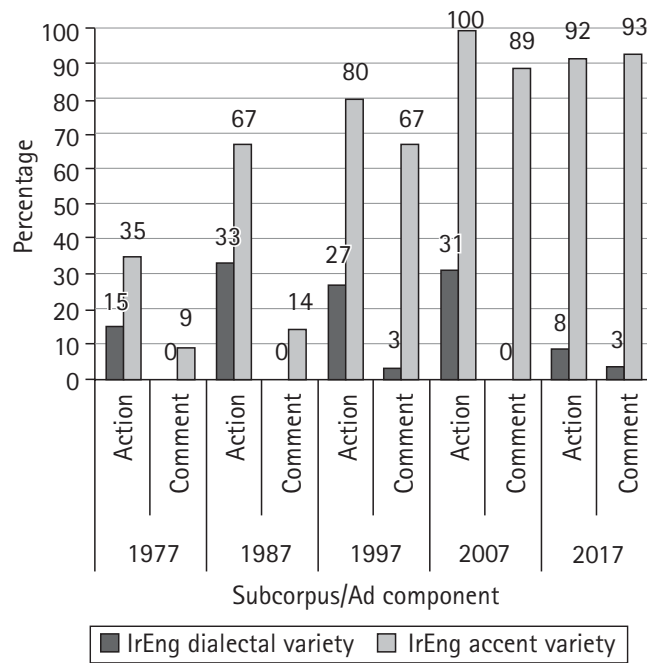


FIGURE 13.2 Percentage of advertisement components displaying IrEng accent and dialectal variety (O’Sullivan 2019: 109)

The dominance of SSBE in the Comment components of the two earlier sub-corpora demonstrates the operation of what can be interpreted as standard language ideologies which situate SSBE as the variety most appropriate in relaying the advertising message, with non-local IrEng varieties having a far lesser role as voice of authority. This effect is reduced significantly, however, in the more recent decades, with rhotic accents dominating in both components. We will now examine, at a qualitative level, some examples of advertisements which illustrate these findings. In the transcriptions, MCV and FCV refer to the male and female voice of the Comment respectively. M1, M2, F1, F2, etc. refer to the speakers in the Action components, indicating first male speaker, second male speaker, first female speaker, second female speaker, etc.

13.5.1 Standard Southern British English in IRAC

As discussed above, the more frequent occurrence of non-rhotic pronunciation in the two earlier sub-corpora, especially in the Comment, associates this pronunciation form with discourses of ‘power and authority’ (Lee 1992: 172–3). However, on closer examination, the majority of advertisements in the 1977 and 1987 sub-corpora, although they employ non-rhotic pronunciation, do not consistently use SSBE phonological features, and display ‘telltale’ IrEng features alongside this feature.

The Philips microwave oven advertisement, for example, comprises a Comment component only and does not have an Action component. Although it displays non-rhotic pronunciation, it has evidence of the IrEng slit fricative [ɬ] in the pronunciation of *heat* (Line 003). This is an indicator, in that it transcends social class and style changes (Hickey 2020a) and is not stigmatized; notwithstanding this, it is indicative of IrEng and serves to highlight the rather conscious use of non-rhotic pronunciation alongside IrEng phonological features. Other noteworthy pronunciation features in the advertisement include the insertion of yod in the word *minutes* [mɪnɪts] pronounced as [mɪnjɪts] (Line 004). This can be understood as a form of hypercorrection (Labov 1966)—that is, the tendency by the speaker to ‘overshoot the mark’ in more formal speech styles (Romaine 2000: 75) in the attempt to adopt the linguistic norms of a higher social group. This illustrates the concept of overt prestige (Trudgill 1972) which accounts for changes in speech which are above the level of consciousness and usually in the direction of prestige forms which have linguistic ‘value’ (Bourdieu 1991).

1977 Philips microwave ovens

- 001 FCV Philips make their energy saving microwave ovens
 002 to make life easier [i:ziəʔ] for [fɔ:ʔ] you (.)
 003 Philips microwave ovens can defrost (.) heat [hi:ɬ]
 004 or cook a wide variety of food in minutes [mɪnjɪtɜz]
 005 allowing you more time
 006 to be a good host (.) hostess (.) husband or [ɔ:ʔ]
 007 Philips microwave ovens

EXTRACT 13.1 Sample of advertisement from earliest group (i)

In the 1977 sub-corpus, a striking feature is that of non-rhotic pronunciation in both the Action and Comment components.

In the 1977 ‘Glorney’s Home and Garden store’ advertisement below, although both Action and Comment employ non-rhotic pronunciation, IrEng features are also evident in the form of yod deletion in the pronunciation of [nju:] as [nu:]. Line 002 shows the standard form, but in further enunciations, the speaker uses the IrEng pronunciation (Lines 003 and 004) as does the MCV (Line 009). Yod-deletion is an indicator in that it is not significant as a social marker and has low awareness with speakers (Hickey 2005: 81). However, the mix of features underpins the deliberate nature of the non-rhotic feature in both Action and Comment. This is combined with a careful pronunciation (as in the noticeable enunciation

of final /d/ in the words *Islandbridge* and *and* (Line 008) to illustrate what Milroy (2000) refers to as a criterion in discussions of standardization, that of carefulness, a consequence of standard ideology. The context is that of a middle-class couple shopping for fittings for a new house from the 'international selection'; the advertisement attempts to exploit the standard, prestige variety (Coupland 2003) in representing 'everyday informal interaction' (Lee 1992: 172–3) as well as the voice of authority in the Comment.

1977 Glorney's

- 001 *F1* I always swore I'd never [nevə^r] do it again (.)
 002 once was enough but well:: here we go again (.) a new [nju:] house
 003 and that means a new [nu:] bathroom [bɑ:θrɒm] suite (.)
 004 new [nu:] kitchen (.) new [nju:] fireplaces [faɪəpleɪsɪz] (.)
 005 windows (.) doors [dɔ:z] and all the building material (.)
 006 that's why John's off to Glorney's [glɔ:'ni:z] (.)
 007 their international [ɪntə'næʃənəl] selection means one stop does the lot
 008 MCV Glorney's [glɔ:'ni:z] (.) Islandbridge and
 009 now new [nu:] spacious showrooms in Townsend Street (.)
 010 Glorney's [glɔ:'ni:z] (.) where houses become homes

EXTRACT 13.2 Sample of advertisement from earliest group (i)

The conscious emulation of the standard pronunciation form in these advertisements is reflective of the operation of standard language ideology which places SSBE as 'correct' and IrEng rhotic pronunciation as a deviant form.

13.5.2 Vernacular Irish English in IRAC

While in the 1987 sub-corpus, the SSBE-associated non-rhotic accent is still dominant in the Comment, in the Action it declines to approximately half of that in the previous decade (Figure 13.1). Also, the use of IrEng dialectal variety in the 1987 Action component is more than double that of 1977 and displays the highest use of dialectal IrEng of all the decades (Figure 13.2). These developments could be indicative of the vernacularization process, suggesting a change in language ideology in relation to the standard (SSBE) and symptomatic of sociolinguistic change (O'Sullivan and Kelly-Holmes 2017). The advertisements in Extract 13.3 illustrate this pattern.

1987 Switzer's, Todd's, Cash's, and Moon's

- 001 *MCV* Christmas at Switzer's [swɪtsə^rz] Todd's Cash's and Moon's (.)
 002 and it's definitely going to be white [maɪt] or possibly slate or even eau de nil
 003 because we've got lingerie [læɪn ʒəri] that's full of Christmas sparkle [spɑ:kl] (.)
 004 Charno [tʃɑ:nɒv] slips from thirteen [θɜ:ti:n] ninety nine to twenty one fifty (.)
 005 camisole tops by Gossard [gɒsɑ:d] Charno and Warner [wɔ:nə]
 006 from ten ninety nine to seventeen fifty plus the lovely Barbara [bɑ:brə] range
 007 from sixteen ninety five to thirty [θɜ:ti] five ninety five

- 008 ((laughter of santa bears))
 009 M1 hurry [hʊri:] ʊp [ʊp] to the lin:gerie [la:n.ʒərəi] department [depæ: tmənt]⁵
 010 that's knickers to you (.)
 011 *the santa bears have discovered that camisoles make great parachutes*

EXTRACT 13.3 Sample of advertisement from middle group (i)

As with the 1977 advertisements, it is notable again in this advertisement that the speaker in the Comment component does not consistently use SSBE phonological features. His retention of [ʍ], a salient IrEng marker (Hickey 2004: 41), in his pronunciation of *white* [waɪt] as [ʍaɪt] (Line 002), highlights the conscious nature of the emulation of SSBE. However, in the Action component, a local Dublin accent is employed (as indicated by the *short /ʊ/ in hurry* [hʊri:] ʊp [ʊp] (Hickey 2005: 35) in Line 009). Although the Action component does not contain any specifically IrEng dialectal items, the term *knickers* (Line 010) contrasts with the French term *lingerie* (Lines 003 and 009) and could be said to associate the IrEng pronunciation with a sense of the uncouth. The non-rhotic pronunciation in the Comment contrasts with the local accent in the Action, and situates the Comment voice as serious, sophisticated, and refined. This is heightened through the employment of the French-language items *eau de nil* and *lingerie* in the Comment (Lines 002 and 003), French being associated with fashion and beauty (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 56).

In another 1987 advertisement for Perrier mineral water, the setting is *below*⁶ in an Irish country ballroom where Seánín⁷ sits nervously as he listens to *Mighty Mick and the Sideliners* (Line 002). This intertextual reference is a play on a well-known Irish Country and Western style showband, a music genre associated stereotypically with rural audiences. As he is approached by a young woman for a 'Ladies Choice' dance, Seánín tells, in a hesitating voice, of how, as *herself*⁸ approaches, *sure you know, I can't put a foot under me at all at all*⁹ (Lines 003 and 004). Kirk and Kallen (2006: 108) observe how any IrEng features of one level (e.g. a lexical item positioned close to a grammatical item) may reinforce that of another to 'give a flavour of Celticity which is more than the sum of its parts'. The pragmatic marker *sure* is often exploited in film and advertising as a salient marker of IrEng (Kelly-Holmes 2005; Hickey 2020b), and here it combines with the IrEng-associated clause final pragmatic marker *like* (Amador-Moreno 2010; Schweinberger 2012) (Line 005), the non-standard reflexive pronoun use, and the IrEng-associated sentence tag *at all at all* (Line 004) (Todd 1999) in positioning

⁵ Local Dublin English is weakly rhotic {rhoticity} (Hickey 2005: 40).

⁶ Dolan (2004: 1) defines the IrEng word 'above' as loosely meaning 'up'. The word 'below' in this context can be understood similarly as 'down'.

⁷ The suffix *ín* represents the Irish diminutive (Dolan 2004: 84).

⁸ The occurrence of the reflexive pronoun in subject position and without reference to an antecedent is a typical feature of IrEng (Filppula 1999: 77–8).

⁹ The sentence tag *at all at all* is an example of rhythmic retention resulting from language shift. The tag echoes the Irish tag *ar chor ar bith* (Todd 1999).

the character as stereotypically rural Irish. As he sips his Perrier, however, Seánín begins to speak eloquently in a pseudo-French accent of the *goddess* before [him] (Line 008), who in turn asks Seánín if he fancies *a bi' o' leppin'*¹⁰ (Line 009). This anachronistic vernacular does not break the spell of the Perrier, however, and Seánín continues speaking confidently and expressively, in the French language. The advertisement concludes with a non-rhotic Comment voice (Line 011).

1987 Perrier

- 001 M1 what (.) I'm below [bɪ lo:] in the Moonlight Ballroom
 002 listenin' to Mighty Mick and the Sideliners
 003 when don't they call a Ladies' Choice and (.) well (.) herself starts towards me
 004 and (.) sure you know I can't put a foot under me at all at all
 005 so I hide behind my [mi:] Perrier with my [mi:] cap well pulled down like
 006 and (.) when I take a sip out of the sparklin' [spɑ:rkɫən] liquid
 007 with its tiny diamond like bubbles [bœbelz] that seem to create a halo
 008 round the [ze] golden tresses of the [ze] goddess before me (.)
 009 F1 hey Seánín (.) d'ya [djə] fancy a bit [bɪ] of [ə] leppin' [lepən]
 010 M1 ah ma petit (.) ma petite ballerina (.) allons (.) dansez
 011 MCV naturally sparkling [spɑ:klɪŋ] Perrier (.) from the centre of the earth [3:θ]

EXTRACT 13.4 Sample of advertisement from middle group (ii)

The IrEng phonological, lexical, grammatical, and pragmatic features in these advertisements are associated with characterizations which could be construed as unsophisticated, culturally stigmatized, and comic, bordering on stage Irishness (Cronin 2011: 55). This is heightened through the juxtaposition of IrEng with the romantic connotations of the French language elements (Piller 2001: 169). The Comment voice is non-rhotic and is responsible for the serious task of interpreting the Action scenario and providing information on the product, suggesting that the standard variety is the most suitable one for this function.

13.5.3 The indexicality of Standard Southern British English and Vernacular Irish English in IRAC

As we have seen, the concept of indexicality refers to the social meaning of linguistic forms and their association with 'typical' persons (Gal and Irvine 1995: 972). The way in which particular features and varieties point to or 'index' particular identities and the changing nature of these indexical values can indicate sociolinguistic change.

In both the Switzer's and Perrier advertisements described above, the juxtaposition of the French elements, which have connotations of fashion and romance (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 56) with the local IrEng varieties, on the face of it, associate the local varieties

¹⁰ 'Leap is pronounced lep by our people' (Joyce 1979 [1910]: 98).

with a lack of refinement and sophistication. The exaggerated local IrEng features are undermined, in that they are associated with characters who are depicted as unsophisticated and (in the case of Perrier) lacking in confidence. In addition, the use of SSBE in the Comment components of both advertisements associates this voice with expertise, and its contrast with the unsophisticated vernacular in the Action heightens its prestige. This has particular resonance with our definition of language ideology as ‘representations’ of language (Woolard 1998: 3; Cameron 2003: 448), from which users of language learn how particular speech patterns are interpreted and understood in their culture.

However, it is important to consider alternative interpretations of these representations. Coupland refers to a movement away from indexical conceptions of social identity to the notion of social identification, which allows for meanings to be ‘locally negotiated in reflexive and strategic communicative practice’ (2003: 427). This can be achieved through what he refers to as dialect stylization.

The strategy of stylization involves the performance of identities which are not presumed to be part of the current speech event (in this case the advertisement), often by the use of hyperbolic phonological features which are associated with the particular identity repertoire, through play or parody (Coupland 2001: 345). In Coupland’s study of English language national radio broadcasts, stylized representations of Welsh identity by the radio presenters make it clear to the audience that the representations are performed or ‘put on’ (2001: 345–7) and not designed to be accurate or ‘real’ representations, and therefore the dialect is not denigrated. As he puts it, ‘The transparent knowingness of the representation (“this is us momentarily playing at being the real, traditional us”) gives the audience license to enjoy the parading of themselves, and even to find it confirmatory, credentialising, and solidary—as well as humorous’ (Coupland 2001: 371). It must be clear to the audience that it is ‘play’, that they, the audience, are party to the joke rather than the object of it.

In the Switzer’s advertisement, the Action component is patently stylized. This is achieved through the hyperbolized local Dublin accent; furthermore the exaggerated pronunciation in Line 009 of the French term *lingerie* serves to mock and in this way ‘other’ (Irvine and Gal 2009) the word for the listener, positioning it as ‘posh’ and ‘foreign’. This is further accentuated by the pronunciation of this word by the SSBE speaker in the Comment component. The substitution of the more common term, *knickers*, effectively creates an ingroup of Irish listeners. While the Comment voice achieves a sophistication through the non-rhotic pronunciation and through the use of the French language terms, the local Dublin English pronunciation, combined with the derisive tone of the Action component, allows for an alternative reading of the Comment as ‘posh’. While in the Perrier advertisement, the French language is not the subject of mocking or ridicule, the contrasting varieties nevertheless serve to heighten the ingroup values in this case, demonstrating what Coupland describes as ‘an ideological alignment against “posh”’ (Coupland 2009b: 324) and the emergence of a more multi-centred sociolinguistic culture in which the status of ‘posh’ speakers is questioned. This is also indicative of the vernacularization process. However, it should be noted that vernacularization and this ‘ideological alignment against posh’ does not mean that

language ideological oppositions are reversed, with the vernacular thriving at the expense of standard forms; the vernacular achieves its status by virtue of its performance as ‘play’ in the advertisements and so the associated social meaning must be ‘reflexively constructed in situ’ (Coupland 2016: 425).

13.6 IRAC INTRA-VARIETAL ANALYSIS: IRISH ENGLISH SUB-VARIETIES

While the use of IrEng dialectal variety is highest in 1987, 1997, and 2007, it decreases again in 2017 (Figure 13.2). However, an IrEng rhotic accent remains the dominant accent from 1997 to 2017 (Figure 13.1). The question arises, therefore, as to whether the increase in IrEng accent demonstrates vernacularization or whether it is a movement towards another form of standard as a quasi-standard variety of IrEng. Figures 13.3 and 13.4 show the IrEng sub-varieties (see Table 13.1) which occur in both Comment and Action components of the five decades.

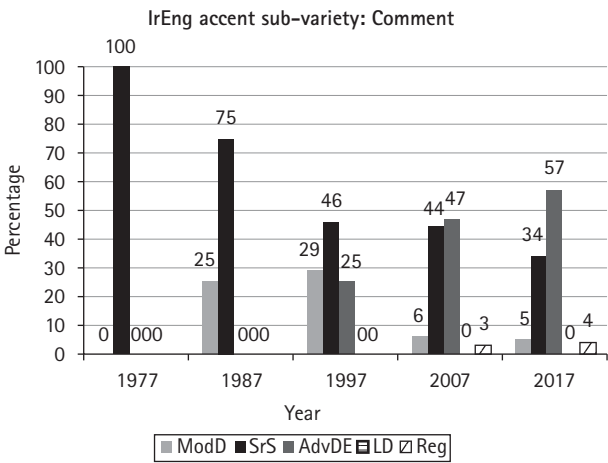


FIGURE 13.3 Irish English accent sub-varieties—Comment component

Focusing on the three more recent decades in which an IrEng rhotic accent dominates, the vast majority of the Comment components which display rhotic (IrEng) accents in the 1997, 2007, and 2017 sub-corpora come under the umbrella term of ‘non-local’ Irish accents, and fall into one of its subcategories—the locally influenced ModD, SrS (in which the more local Dublin features are absent), or the more recently established AdvD. The corresponding Action components also show a marked decline in the occurrence of IrEng local accents, with an increase in non-local accents. The most remarkable difference in these later sub-corpora is the appearance of the dissociative

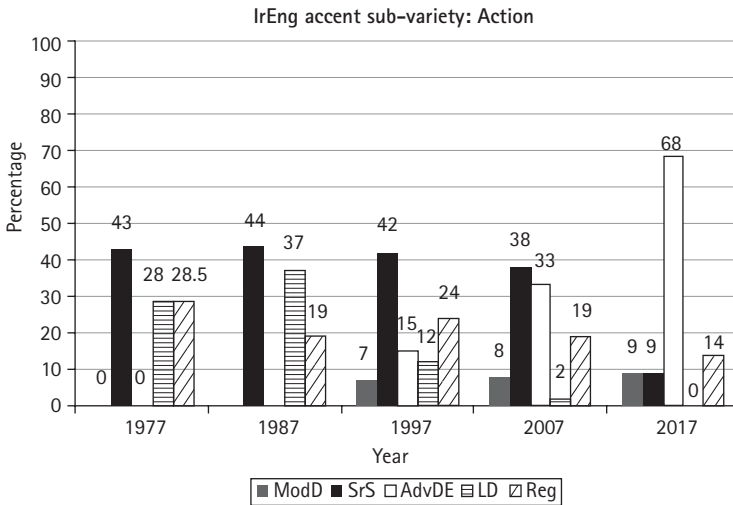


FIGURE 13.4 Irish English accent sub-varieties—Action component

accent variety of AdvDE, which increases in both components through the decades; this suggests that this form is being exploited as the mainstream form, representing not only the voice of authority but also that of everyday informal interaction in the Action.

13.6.1 Advanced Dublin English in IRAC

We will now examine an advertisement from 2007 which shows AdvDE features in both Comment and Action.

The advertisement for the Spar grocery chain (Extract 13.5) features the characters of Santa Claus (M2) and Rudolph, his reindeer (M1), as they make their Christmas gift deliveries. The advertisement depends predominantly on accent. The accents of both characters are exaggerated and characterize stereotypical images of both ‘posh’ Dublin and ‘straightforward’ provincial Irishness. Rudolph speaks with a hyperbolized version of the regional accent associated with the southern Irish county of Cork (mainly achieved through the accent’s considerable intonational range; Lines 003 and 011; Hickey 2004: 33), but also through the dental plosive realization of *the* as [d̪e] and *then* as [d̪en] (Line 008) and *think* as [t̪ɪnk] (Line 011); the only IrEng dialectal feature is the term *Santy* for *Santa* (Line 011) (Sammon 2002: 182). Santa’s accent, in contrast to the Cork accent, is an extreme form of AdvDE, including for example, T-flapping (Line 002) and GOAT-diphthongization (Lines 005 and 006). The word *sparkly* [sp ɹkli] (Line 007), in particular, is hyperbolized, the advanced form being closer to [sp ɹkli], as in the realization of *Spar* in the Comment (Line 010). Hickey (2004: 49) observes that the combination of retroflex /r/ and vowel raising was a feature which was attracting comment around the time of his publication (2004); the extreme form plays on this feature, and

is accentuated by its positioning alongside the voice of the Comment, which although displaying some advanced features (as in retroflex /r/ in Line 010), is more muted than it is in the Action.

2007 Spar

- 001 M1 ((panting)) (.) right (.) what've we got to eat?
 002 M2 got [gɒr] a carrot at the last house Rudolph (.) looks nice
 003 M1 nice? nice? how do I know it isn't a genetically ↑ modified carrot?
 004 we've no idea where it's been (.) is it Fairtrade?
 005 M2 ammm ok [ke] (.) well Spar now has reindeer food for just two euro [j r]
 006 and all proceeds [pr si:dz] go [g] to the Irish Hospice Foundation
 007 and it's all a bit sparkly [spɔ:kli] and magical too
 008 M1 oh right (.) well let's hope the [de] next family has some then [den] (.)
 009 MCV always there [ðe] for you with reindeer food at Christmas
 010 under the tree at Spar [sp :] (.)
 011 M1 Santy (.) I think [t nk] we should get a hybrid ↑ sleigh::

EXTRACT 13.5 Sample of advertisement from later group

The extreme representations of both Cork accent and AdvDE in the Action are set apart from the voice of the Comment which, interestingly, also employs AdvDE features to convey the serious voice of authority. The ideological implications of this strategy are complex, and better understood through an analysis of their indexical value.

13.6.2 The indexicality of Advanced Dublin English in IRAC

As we have seen, AdvDE has now become established as the new mainstream form of IrEng (Hickey 2020a). Its dissociation from the local vernacular and its indexical associations as 'educated and urbane' (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 120) suggests that it may be filling the ideological space of SSBE as the prestige voice of the Comment component in the later sub-corpora. Coupland (2007: 89) observes that style-shifting away from vernaculars in western anglophone countries, to escape the stigma of their indexical associations, may be seen as positive. Nevertheless, the ideological climate makes style-shifting 'a highly charged and risky business, subject to social monitoring and threatening further sanctions when it "goes wrong"'.

This 'social monitoring' is apparent in the way in which AdvDE has been the object of media comment in recent years. What non-linguists have to say about language, or folk metalanguage (Preston 2004), is the basis for much of what we can learn about the ideological foundations of linguistic activity (Johnson and Ensslin 2007). Moore (2011) discusses media commentary in relation to AdvDE. Referring interchangeably to 'New', 'Advanced', or 'fashionable Dublin English' (a.k.a. 'D4') Moore (2011: 45) speaks of the 'moral panic' that he says has taken hold in Ireland with regard to this pronunciation

(Moore 2011: 57). Resonating with Coupland's observation of how 'posh' denatures the establishment voice and renders it inauthentic, Moore (2011: 42) claims that the D4 accent is 'explicitly denaturalized' as an ideological construct in the Irish sociolinguistic context. According to this construct, the accent has 'no community of "native speakers", only people who are pretending to be something they aren't; not authentically linked to any particular place, it spreads across the countryside like an infectious disease. Above all, it has no connection to a shared Irish past—it was only invented recently, somewhat before and during the economic boom years of the 'Celtic Tiger' economy' (Moore 2011: 49).

As employed in the Spar advertisement (Extract 13.5), both the Cork accent and the AdvDE accent are strongly indexical: Santa's hyperbolized AdvDE accent has connotations of 'poshness' and inauthenticity, while Rudolph's Cork accent indexes candour and authenticity. The juxtaposition of these hyperbolized accents intensifies their indexical values. Like the Perrier advertisement, the AdvDE and the Cork accent can be seen as stylization (Coupland 2001; 2007). Hickey (2005: 106) refers to the 'phonetic gulf' between what he then referred to as 'new' Dublin English and conservative Cork English. Through the stylized representation, however, the 'voice' of the advertisement distances itself somewhat from full ownership of both these voices (Coupland 2001: 372). The patent artificiality of both accents allows for reflexivity in relation to the putative contradictory values of these accents. The advertisement, in effect, acknowledges that the AdvDE accent is seen as contrived, but also that the strongly vernacular Cork accent is also contrived, and that neither variety 'tells the whole story' in its representation of Irishness (O'Sullivan 2020). However, despite the self-reflexivity in the stylizing of the two accent varieties, the prestige status of AdvDE is still maintained through its use in the Comment. Also, in the Action, while the Cork-accented Rudolph is not denigrated, he is seen as the comic character, while Santa is the more serious figure, imparting the important information.

This hyperbolized representation of AdvDE is seen again in the 2017 sub-corpus in an advertisement (Extract 13.6) promoting TV licences, and demonstrates how this form has (by 2017) become enregistered as a stereotype in the Irish linguistic environment (O'Sullivan 2020: 246). Enregisterment is the process by which speech styles and their social meanings come to be recognized in a particular cultural setting; once speech styles are 'enregistered' in this way, they are available to be discussed, evaluated, and used in new ways (Coupland 2014). The advertisement displays intertextuality in that it plays on the popular 'Ross O'Carroll Kelly' series (see footnote 4 above), which satirizes the accent and the group (from the privileged southside of Dublin) it indexes (Amador-Moreno and Terrazas-Calero 2017; Terrazas-Calero 2020). The advertisement features a voiceover bearing strong similarities to the character of Ross O'Carroll-Kelly, a wealthy rugby union 'jock' from the prestigious and affluent D4 area in Dublin's southside. It hyperbolizes particular 'unpopular' features of the accent, many of which have been discarded (Hickey 2004: 46). These include the combination of retroflex /r/ and vowel raising (Line 007), as discussed in relation to the Spar advertisement, and a rather

extreme and hyperbolized PRIDE retraction (Line 001). Again, the stylization allows a distancing from full ownership of the accent.

2017 TV Licence

- 001 M1 Tired [taird] of lining [lainɪn] out for rugby tickets
 002 The ruck for hotel rooms and the scrum for flights
 003 So why not offload all the arrangements
 004 For your next away game to SetPiece travel
 005 The rugby match specialists
 006 Let Set Piece Travel organise everything
 007 Putting in the hard [hʌɹd] yards [jʌɹdz]
 008 so all you have to do is choose
 009 Which of the guys [gʌɹz] is coming on tour
 010 MCV Like a great rugby getaway
 011 There are much better things to do with one thousand euro
 012 Than pay a TV licence fine
 013 Get your TV licence at TV licence dot ie
 014 It's the law
 015 M1 One try [traɪ] and you'll be converted
 016 Set Piece Travel. Answering Ireland's [aɪrləndz] fans call
 017 MCV Brought to you by the Department of Communications Climate Action and Environment

EXTRACT 13.6 Sample of advertisement from latest group

However, while in its hyperbolized form, AdvDE can index pretentiousness and 'poshness' in the Action components, it is more often associated in this component with everyday discourse and is not represented as inauthentic, but rather with middle-class contexts and a contemporary and cosmopolitan 'urban modernity' (Hickey 2005). In this way, it highlights Woolard's (2006) observation of how the indexical value of a form may be transferred between different contexts and speakers and thus change in the transfer process.

13.7 CONCLUSION

We have seen how sociolinguistic change encompasses 'changes that are socially consequential ... for language users' (Coupland, Thøgersen, and Mortensen 2016: 37). The social consequences of using SSBE in the advertisements are clear in terms of its being regarded as 'snobbish' and 'pretentious' (Hickey 2005: 34) in the Irish sociolinguistic environment, and therefore it is no longer ideologically sustainable in Ireland, even in media contexts. On the other hand, vernacular IrEng (in terms of accent and dialect), although indexing a lack of sophistication and refinement, appears to become more acceptable as the decades progress. This may be attributed to vernacularization and an 'ideological alignment against posh' (Coupland 2009b: 324), but also to the strategy of dialect stylization which allows for reflexivity and distancing from 'full ownership'

(Coupland 2001: 372) of this form. However, this does not imply the reversal of language-ideological oppositions, with the vernacular automatically achieving higher status than the standard, but rather shows that social meaning is dependent on reflexive construction in context (Coupland 2016: 425).

In addition, the emergent AdvDE has social consequences in terms of the conflict between, on the one hand, the ‘urban sophistication’ afforded by this variety and, on the other, the discomfort brought about by its putative inauthenticity and rejection of the ‘shared Irish past’ (Moore 2011: 49). Nevertheless, overall in IRAC, AdvDE appears to have successfully replaced SSBE, not only as a ‘quasi-standard’ variety most suitable for the authoritative voice of the Comment, but also as representing the voice of ‘everyday’ discourse in the advertisements. This has been helped by the strategy of stylization which has allowed the Irish population to face up to their discomfort with the so-called inauthenticity of this now mainstream form, and to recognize it as ‘real language use in the present, as opposed to a myth of current language use based on reference to the past’ (White 2006: 20).

The advent of AdvDE to replace SSBE as the voice of authority can, at one level, be interpreted as a movement away from standard language ideology to a more nationalistic one, in that the new authoritative voice is an IrEng as opposed to a British English variety.¹¹ However, the fact that AdvDE is based on a rejection of the vernacular and its emergence as a new incarnation of standard (based on parallels with SSBE and North American English) (see Hickey 2005; 2020a) suggests that standard language ideology may still prevail, albeit involving a looser conception of standard. The diachronic study of variety choice in media data such as radio advertisements can therefore indicate sociolinguistic change in highlighting the extent to which particular styles and varieties are used in the media and how they are represented over time, demonstrating the changing relationship between language and society in the Irish context.

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¹¹ There is actually some pedigree to this movement, as it can be seen to have started in the years after independence for the south of Ireland in 1922 (see the discussion in Hickey 2020c).

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CHAPTER 14

IRISH ENGLISH IN THE MEDIA

SHANE WALSH

14.1 INTRODUCTION

ENGLISH, or rather an Irish version of it, is the primary mode of communication on the island of Ireland. It is only to be expected, then, that the variety has made its way into the media and appears in spoken form on radio, television, and film and in written form in newspapers, blogs, and internet forums. However, despite this wealth of potential material for linguistic investigation, research into the use of Irish English (IrEng) in the media is still in its infancy. This is in keeping with a trend for other World Englishes, with Moody noting that '[s]ociolinguists have traditionally been reluctant, or at least hesitant, to draw linguistic data from the media in examination of linguistic variation' (2019: 652). The reasons for this are manifold, but are largely bound up in notions of authenticity and standardness. Since much media language is not spontaneous or naturally occurring, it is often regarded as less authentic and, thus, as a lesser specimen for examination. Likewise, even if the language is spontaneous or naturally occurring, there is still the perception that, due to its very appearance in the media, traditional gatekeepers of language, this language is not 'pure vernacular' in the Labovian sense but instead adheres to prescribed standards, which are 'not normally expressive, or even tolerant, of variation' (Moody 2019: 652). However, growing research is putting paid to these perceptions of media language as less apt for study. Indeed, as we shall see, researchers into IrEng in the media are playing a key role in this respect, with many studies comparing their media language findings to corpora of real speech and finding considerable similarities.

In this regard, this chapter addresses the use of IrEng across a broad range of media, as well as its role and reception therein. Beginning with traditional outlets, such as the printed press, radio, television, and cinema, the discussion then turns to IrEng in new media, such as the internet and social media. Rather than offering an overview of the

media landscape in Ireland, which would go beyond the scope of the chapter,¹ it will instead offer a summary of scholarship on IrEng in the various media, supplement it with previously unpublished research by the author, and suggest further lines of investigation.

14.2 NEWSPAPERS

Despite the press being the oldest of the traditional media, research on IrEng in newspapers is not as widespread as one might expect. This may be due to the aforementioned belief that newspapers have a duty to ‘uphold certain linguistic standards’ (Cameron 1995: 58) and thus are unlikely to contain many vernacular features. Indeed, Ó Lúing regarded newspapers as ‘an important barrier to the advance of Hiberno-English’² (1984: 105), and argued that ‘[t]o this day leading articles in Irish daily newspapers are written in sober Standard English in which there is neither trace nor echo of Gaelic idiom or Hiberno-English’ (105). While new research for this chapter will put Ó Lúing’s claim to the test, it is true that previous scholarship on IrEng in newspapers has tended not to look at leading articles, instead focusing on humorous pieces, which are usually richer in dialect features.³

One example of this trend is Kallen’s (2013) research on humorous columns by Finley Peter Dunne which appeared in syndicated newspapers across the USA at the end of the nineteenth century. These pieces are typical of the genre and are also evidence that IrEng in newspapers need not be restricted to Irish shores.⁴ The columns are written in broad literary dialect, in which Dunne adapts the persona of ‘Mr. Dooley’, an Irish immigrant from Roscommon, and employs linguistic features ‘which tally with what we know of the spoken language’ of the time (Kallen 2013: 261). In this light, Kallen notes that Dunne’s variable spelling of words in the FLEECE lexical set, for example, is not a shortcoming, but rather ‘a realistic depiction of change in progress (particularly in a transplanted setting)’ (2013: 261), making the columns a valuable source of linguistic evidence.

Closer to home, Brian O’Nolan’s humorous columns for the *Irish Times*, written between 1940 and 1966 under the pseudonym ‘Myles na Gopaleen’, have also received scholarly attention. Again, Kallen (2013) singles them out for linguistic analysis, and both he and Moylan (2009) include some in their samples of recommended IrEng texts.

¹ For a history of the media in Ireland, see Morash (2010).

² Hiberno-English is an older name for IrEng. While it has fallen out of fashion with linguists, it is still often used in public discourse.

³ The fact that these columns are often collected and published in book form, thereby facilitating data collection for the researcher, may be another reason for this trend.

⁴ Similarly, as part of a larger project on the use of IrEng features by descendants of Irish emigrants in Argentina, Amador-Moreno (2019) has examined articles and letters to the editor published in the *Southern Cross*, an Irish-Argentine newspaper.

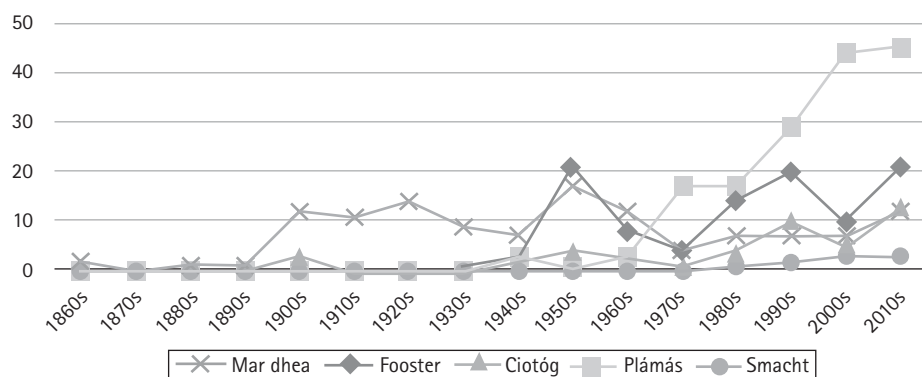
Kallen pays particular attention to Myles's use of systems of personal reference that are typical of the variety and used to create a distance, such as '*the* brother' for '*my* brother' (p. 264). Similarly, Zingg (2013) examines the columns in the collection *The Best of Myles* and discusses the lexical, syntactic, and phonetic features used by the author to give a voice to his famed 'plain people of Ireland'.

The language of Ross O'Carroll-Kelly, a humorous character created by Paul Howard for the *Sunday Tribune* in 1998 who has appeared weekly in the *Irish Times* since 2007, has been studied in depth by Amador-Moreno (2012b; 2015; 2016). Although her analysis has focused on the character's spin-off novels, and examines pragmatic markers and quotatives, there is no reason to believe that the language in the newspaper column should be any different, as it continues to be written contemporaneously with the novels. That is not to say, however, that O'Carroll-Kelly's language is always the same. Indeed, Amador-Moreno and Terrazas-Calero (2017: 261), comparing his language over a decade, argue that the character's speech is changing to reflect real language change taking place in Ireland, such as the adaption of *yeah* in collocation with *no*, as in 'She's like, "Are you okay?" And I'm there "Yeah, no I'm just a bit nervous"' (261). Thus, like Mr Dooley's columns, these representations of IrEng speech offer valuable snapshots of change in progress.

Beyond research on humorous material, there have been few other studies on IrEng in newspapers. Tristram (2007), however, examines a corpus of national and regional press for the presence of Gaelic loanwords in the IrEng lexicon of newspapers. Despite Ó Lúing's earlier observation, she finds numerous Irish terms in otherwise English-language articles, particularly in the fields of politics and government, law and order, and education. In addition to the Irish names of leading political parties, she notes Irish terms for offices and institutions such as *Taoiseach* ('Prime Minister'), *Dáil Éireann* ('Irish Parliament'), *Seanad* ('Senate'), *Garda* (short form of *An Garda Síochána*, 'the Guardian of the Peace'), and *Gaelscoileanna* (schools in which all instruction and activities take place through the medium of Irish). While the discovery of official Irish-language terminology for Irish institutions should come as no surprise, she also finds traces of Gaelic idiom that go beyond references to cultural institutions. These include proverbs or Irish blessings at the end of English-language obituaries, such as *Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam* ('May his soul be on God's right side'),⁵ as well as English idioms containing Irish lexis, such as 'to have a great *grá* for something' ('to really like something').

To complement Tristram's work and to test Ó Lúing's claim regarding a lack of Irish flavour in newspaper articles, new research for this chapter examined the *Irish Times*' 160-year archive for a selection of loanwords from Irish that have entered IrEng vocabulary (Hickey 2007: 362–70), namely *plámás* ('sweet talk, flatter(y)'), *ciotóg* ('left-

⁵ Comparing death notices in Irish, Scottish, and Welsh newspapers, Burmeister (2013: 87) comments on such language display in Ireland, noting that Irish-language phrases serve 'a symbolic function within the frame of death notices, appearing in religious blessings or proverbs without communicating important information'.

FIGURE 14.1 Irish Loanwords in *The Irish Times* (per decade)

handed'),⁶ *smacht* ('discipline'), *mar dhea* (an ironic interjection meaning 'as if', 'yeah right', or 'supposedly'), and *fooster* ('to act clumsily, hesitantly, or ineffectually'); see Figure 14.1. Taking into account possible alternative spellings, e.g. *ciotóg*, *citeog*, and *kithogue*, each hit was manually checked to ensure that (a) the search really returned the correct word (in older newspapers, the quality of the original scanned copy meant that there were many false positives); (b) that the word appeared in an English-language article and thus was a feature of IrEng (the *Irish Times* also publishes articles in Irish); and (c) the word was not a proper name: *Ciotóg*, for example, regularly appeared as the name of a racehorse, a greyhound, and a dance company. Such uses were excluded, as was the name of a regular sports column from the 2000s 'The Ciotóg Side', so as not to inflate the number of occurrences. Thereafter, each example was transcribed together with its year of publication, author, and genre. The features were counted by decade and trends were observed. While each item behaved slightly differently, some general trends emerged. In line with the research discussed above, up until the 1960s, the majority of instances were found in humorous and/or fictional contexts⁷ and were usually the preserve of the same few writers, particularly the pseudonymous 'Murty' and 'Myles na Gopaleen'. Since then, however, the features have appeared across a larger variety of genres, including politics and editorials, have been used by a broader range of journalists, and have increased in general, particularly since the 1990s. Not only that, but the anglicized spellings of these loanwords (e.g. *morya(h)* and *kithogue*) have fallen out of favour over time, giving more prominence to the original Irish spellings. Thus, while Ó Lúing's observation may have reflected the situation as he perceived it in the early 1980s, quantitative evidence from the *Irish Times* shows that the paper is not a barrier to IrEng and is not stifling the echoes of Gaelic idiom. Indeed, if anything, it is amplifying them.

⁶ This word has a long history of use in varieties of English across Ireland, both north and south; see the entries relating to it in Hickey (2002: e.g. 283).

⁷ Studying Irish loanwords in Late Modern English, Cesiri (2009) also found that Irish terms were more likely to appear in literary contexts than journalistic ones, which she attributes to the topics in the latter being more restrictive than in the former.

Some examples of the various loanwords are offered here with additional comments on contexts of use.

Plámás. Despite *plámás* also being a verb, the noun form occurs twice as often in the archive, with 105 nouns, 52 verbs, and 2 unclear cases. Interestingly, although the term occasionally co-occurs with synonyms like ‘soft-soap’, ‘blarney’, or ‘glad-hand’, in the vast majority of cases it goes unexplained, as in example (1), suggesting an assumption that the average reader is familiar with it.

- (1) Mr Reagan takes the view that there is no point in *plamasing* the Soviets. (9 May 1985)

Fooster. Again, *fooster* mostly goes unglossed, suggesting that it too can be assumed to be understood. Even when it occasionally occurs with synonyms, as below or in ‘fiddled and foostered’ or ‘fooster, fudge, and falter’, the fact that these are alliterative suggests that they are probably more for stylistic effect than for clarification.

- (2) The reason for the PAYE demonstrations was the fumbling and cowardly *foostering* of the Government on the farm levy. (3 May 1979)

Ciotóg. Occurrences of *ciotóg* have increased greatly since the 1990s, reflecting discourses in society that aim to redress a right-handed bias in the design of tools, etc. Numerous instances also come from the world of sport, where the term extends to people who are predominantly left-footed, as in example (3). Surprisingly, this is the loanword that is explained the most in the corpus, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century.

- (3) Twice inside the final few minutes, Dublin were crying out for a *citeog* to pop the ball over the bar, instead Mossy Quinn made a mess of things with his right peg. (27 April 2011)

Smacht. Support for the notion of the recent growth of Irish terms in the IrEng lexicon of newspapers is evident in the fact that *smacht* does not appear in English-language articles before 1980. It typically collocates with *put*, as in example (4), and occurs in contexts in which discipline or order is imposed, particularly in parenting and policing. It, too, is rarely glossed.

- (4) ‘Something has to be done to put “*smacht*” on the criminals of this country,’ he said. (13 October 2015)

Mar dhea: *Mar dhea* (and its alternate spellings) are well spread throughout the archive, although most early occurrences are in humorous columns. Once more, it is a term that goes unexplained, and whilst generally a postmodifier, as in (5), it occasionally occurs before the term or concept it is poking fun at, e.g. calling George W. Bush and Tony Blair

‘the mar dheá leaders of the free world’ or ridiculing the name of the *Fianna Fáil* party—‘the mar dheá “Soldiers of Destiny”’.

- (5) ‘In these great times for the economy, *mar dheá*, we are borrowing £2.2 billion in the next three years and we still have a quarter of a million unemployed, 1.6 million dependants, and 20,000 people dropping out of the education system every year.’ (13 May 1997)

The above examples and Figure 14.1 demonstrate the growing presence of Irish loanwords in the *Irish Times*. A similar trend can be seen in features of IrEng grammar, with two IrEng negation patterns, namely contraction in *amn’t* (Hickey 2007: 178) and *usen’t/usedn’t*, also showing an increase over time, particularly since the late 1990s/early 2000s, as evident in Figure 14.2.

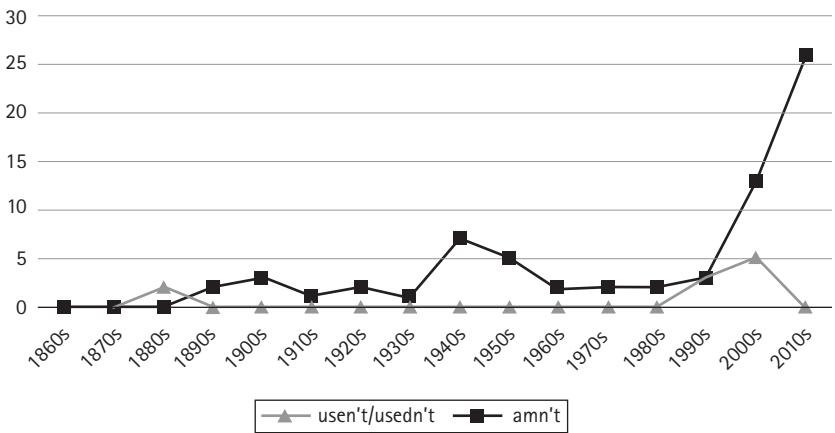


FIGURE 14.2 Negation in *The Irish Times* (by decade)

As is apparent from the examples below, *amn’t* can occur in a variety of contexts, although, in keeping with Kallen (2013: 116), there is a clear preference for interrogatives (71.2%) over declaratives (16.5%) and question tags (12.3%). Examples of each type are given below:

- (6) I was caught loads of times and they’d just take them off me and throw me out of the station... I had to ask ‘Why *amn’t* I getting charged?’ (2 April 2016)
- (7) ‘I fell off the wagon again at 16 and started messing about again in things I *amn’t* proud of.’ (19 May 2018)
- (8) ‘I’m really red now, *amn’t* I?’ (13 April 2009)

In the case of *usen't/usedn't*, the examples reflect both possible spellings and nicely illustrate that IrEng allows variability regarding the use of the infinitive marker *to* with habitual *used* (cf. Hickey 2007: 17; Kallen 2013: 117).

- (9) 'We *usen't* be able to take him on a bus or a car journey. He'd get too upset.' (22 January 2002)
- (10) 'They *usedn't* take the Leinster championship that seriously, but they were so embarrassed by that defeat that this year has been different.' (2 November 1997)
- (11) 'People here *usen't* to appreciate some of the things that mattered, but that has now blessedly changed,' he said. (3 May 2006)
- (12) 'For three or four years, I was going around like a woman obsessed, *usedn't* to take a day off, although things have eased off a bit lately.' (2 February 1998)

While these negative contractions appear across a variety of genres, they usually occur in direct quotes or interviews. This is also reflected in research by Berizzi and Rossi (2013) into the syntax of the *after*-perfect, one of the most renowned IrEng features (Hickey 2007: 197–208). Although they offer examples from the *Irish Independent*, *Irish Examiner*, *Galway Independent*, and *The Kingdom*, and state that they deliberately chose 'examples from the online editions of the major national newspapers, since the phenomenon is so pervasive of the language that it also appears in the standard written language' (Berizzi and Rossi 2013: 55), many of their examples are actually direct quotes, thus suggesting a high degree of orality in what is a written medium. This is perhaps to be expected, as Heywood and Semino (2007: 34) found that in almost 50% of the data in their corpus of contemporary British newspaper news, the reports likewise involved the presentation of spoken communication. Given the oral nature of modern newspaper texts, it is a shame that they remain an underexplored source of potential dialect material for scholars of IrEng.

In addition to being a useful source of examples of IrEng, newspapers are important sites of discourse on the variety. Columns such as Diarmuid Ó Muirthe's weekly 'The Words We Use', which ran in *The Irish Times* for 22 years, play a key role in celebrating and increasing public awareness of the IrEng lexicon. Indeed, the columns were so popular that they were also collected into bestselling books (Ó Muirthe 2006; 2011). Newspaper articles in Ireland's main broadsheets also regularly discuss the perceived demise of traditional IrEng due to the influence of Americanisms or the spread of new forms of expression or pronunciation. This discourse is illustrated in research into the emergence of the Dublin 4/D4 accent (Hickey 1999; 2005), a fashionable pronunciation named after the postcode of an affluent area of South Dublin. Moore (2011), drawing on Hickey's research, examined a collection of articles from the *Irish Independent* and *Sunday Independent*, identifying recurring elements in the discussions of the accent,

such as the disease metaphor, the contagion narrative—with young women as the main vectors—the grating sound of the accent, anger towards its speakers, and imitations of the accent in the articles via respellings (2011: 54). He also observed the same pattern in discourse on the accent in other media, such as online forums and the comments section of YouTube videos.

14.3 RADIO

As sources of spoken data, radio recordings are an obvious choice for researchers and, accordingly, both scripted and unscripted material have been studied widely in the IrEng context. Since the scripted material that has been investigated, however, consists predominantly of radio advertising, it is discussed in a separate chapter in this volume (see O'Sullivan, Chapter 13). The unscripted material takes the form of radio interviews and phone-ins, with a corpus of radio phone-in data from RTÉ Radio 1's *Liveline* proving to be a rich source of material. The data, compiled by O'Keeffe in 1998, also form part of the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (LCIE), (see O'Keeffe, Chapter 12 this volume). This million-word corpus of contemporary spoken IrEng makes it possible to compare the radio speech with other spoken data from that larger corpus and with material from international corpora of Englishes, thereby enabling comparisons across registers, genres, and different varieties. In contrast to the newspaper data which, as we have seen, have predominantly been examined for canonical lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic features of IrEng, the *Liveline* data have primarily been analysed in terms of pragmatics, thereby reflecting global trends (cf. Moody 2019: 653). For example, studies have been conducted on vocatives (McCarthy and O'Keeffe 2003; O'Keeffe 2006), vagueness (O'Keeffe 2004; Evison, McCarthy, and O'Keeffe 2007), response tokens (O'Keeffe and Adolphs 2008), question forms (O'Keeffe 2005; 2006), and hedging (Farr and O'Keeffe 2002). While some of these admittedly reveal more about the genre-specific use of language in radio phone-ins, e.g. call management, than about IrEng usage in general, others offer more revealing insights.

Farr and O'Keeffe (2002), for example, identify the pervasive use of *would* as a hedging device in the radio data, even when the propositional content of what the speakers are saying is undisputed (e.g. 'I would have had black hair' rather than simply 'I had black hair'). They argue that this usage reflects how Irish people tend to avoid directness and that '“forwardness”, which ranges from being direct to being self-promoting is not valued within Irish society' (p. 41).⁸ A similar sociopragmatic feature of IrEng is the avoidance of overt demonstrations of power. This is reflected in the phone-ins via

⁸ *Would* as a marker of tentativeness in IrEng has also been noted in journalistic data. Ronan (2012) found examples in magazines in the 'Popular Humanities' portion of ICE-Ireland, a million-word corpus of spoken and written IrEng divided into the linguistic areas of Northern and Southern Ireland. Again, they were in cases where propositional content was not in doubt, e.g. 'Recent opinion polls *would* indicate that the English-speaking Irish may let loose the occasional sigh for the language' (p. 169).

the adoption of strategies to create pseudo-intimacy and to redress the power imbalance between the host and the guests, such as employing first-name vocatives (McCarthy and O’Keeffe 2003). Moreover, the *Liveline* data reveal how the host frequently plays down the force of questions by using redundant reflexive pronouns as hedges (e.g. ‘You were a boarder there *yourself?*’ or ‘You’ve a daughter *yourself?*’), which O’Keeffe argues ‘serve as downtoners by personalizing the question’ (2005: 21).⁹ These studies show that even a relatively small corpus of radio data lends itself to numerous types of analysis and contributes greatly to our understanding of the pragmatics of the variety.

Unscripted radio data can also be a useful resource and have been used, for example, to investigate characteristic features of IrEng used by people living outside Ireland. Amador-Moreno (2012a) investigates the use of IrEng by the Irish-Argentine community in Buenos Aires, who are descendants of emigrants from the Irish midlands and Wexford in the nineteenth century. Using recordings from a 1987 RTÉ radio documentary *Neath the Southern Cross*, she identifies morphosyntactic and phonological features that are typical of IrEng and have been preserved in the speech of third- and fourth-generation Irish Argentines. Examples include habitual structures, such as *do(es) be*, as well as rhoticity, dental stop realizations of the interdental fricatives ʈɪ and ɖɪ, and the realization of /t/ as a ‘slit’ fricative, [t̪] (2012a: 300–2; see also Hickey, Chapter 7 this volume). Amador-Moreno’s study shows that existing collections of radio interviews like these not only facilitate the gathering of data, but can also make research possible in the first place, particularly when researchers and speakers are divided by space and time.

Like newspapers, radio also plays a significant role in creating awareness of IrEng. For instance, the Thomas Davis lecture series ‘The English Language in Ireland’, broadcast on RTÉ radio in 1973, played an early role in raising the profile of the variety, as did the subsequent publication of the lectures (Ó Muirthe 1977). Likewise, weekly radio appearances by Terence Dolan, the editor of *The Dictionary of Hiberno-English*, on Newstalk’s *Sean Moncrieff Show* fostered regular discourse on the variety in the public domain well into the new millennium.

14.4 TELEVISION

Research into IrEng on television is a growing field, particularly regarding scripted fictional discourse, with the focus predominantly on comedies and soap operas. Studies into unscripted television discourse, in contrast, are minimal in an Irish context, unlike elsewhere, where roughly 80% of studies on language variation in the media focus on language in unscripted media, such as reality shows, talk shows, sports commentaries,

⁹ Another strategy of pseudo-intimacy, from RTÉ 2fm’s *The Gerry Ryan Show*, is the use of taboo language not normally associated with talk radio, such as the IrEng terms *feckin’* and *eejit*, which are nonetheless less offensive than their Standard English equivalents *fuckin’* and *idiot* (O’Keeffe 2006: 445).

and other spontaneous interactions (Queen 2013: 218). One unscripted genre, however, that has been used for IrEng research is the television documentary. As part of a broader study on IrEng accents from the past, Hickey (2017) used recordings from the RTÉ documentary *Irish Women Revolutionaries* to determine how women born in the late nineteenth century spoke. The data proved useful, as, in keeping with other recordings that demonstrate an absence of the BATH/TRAP split in the variety, he finds that 'BATH retraction was not a general feature of female speech in early twentieth-century Ireland' (p. 194). Likewise, Hickey (2005: 40–42) uses the documentary *Give up yer aul' sins*—an animated short that consists of recordings of Dublin schoolchildren from the early 1960s—to investigate Dublin English pronunciation at the time. Like Amador-Moreno (2012a), Hickey has shown the value of documentaries for providing ready-made material for linguistic study.

In terms of scripted discourse, dialogues from RTÉ's long-running soap opera *Fair City*, which was first aired in 1989, have been the subject of several studies. The first, a cross-cultural comparison of speech acts by Palma-Fahey (2005), examined the strategies for apologizing in *Fair City* and a Chilean soap opera, *Amores de Mercado*. She discovered that expression of regret is the preferred form in the Irish data, whereas verbs that explicitly demand forgiveness or express an apology are favoured in the Chilean context. A similar intercultural analysis can be found in Elwood (2011), which compares expressions of gratitude in *Fair City* with those in the British soap opera *Eastenders*. She finds differences in both the forms and frequencies of expressions used, with *Thanks* and expansions thereof, such as *Thanks a million*, being more frequent in the Dublin soap, while *Thank you* and *Cheers* are more prevalent in the London one. The findings of smaller corpora of scripted speech such as these can be very useful starting points for further research, particularly when compared with corpora of real speech to test whether the patterns are reflected there. This is what Palma-Fahey (2015) does when she compares the use of the pragmatic markers *well* and *you know* in her *Fair City* corpus with data from the LCIE. She finds that the syntactic positions of the features in the series reflect those of naturally occurring speech, with *well* being preferred in initial position and *you know* in medial ones. She also notes that these markers are typically used in situations involving downgrading and mitigation, just as in real IrEng speech, thereby supporting the idea of using corpora of fictional data in linguistic research. Murphy (2015) also compares spoken material from *Fair City* with real-world language. Using data from her Corpus of Fictional Irish English (COFIE), which includes five Irish soap operas spanning five decades, she compares the use of the pragmatic markers *like* and *sure* in *Fair City* with their use in *The Riordans*, which ran from 1965 to 1979. She finds that, in keeping with data in her Corpus of Age and Gender in Irish English (CAG-IE), a corpus of real speech divided into groups representing young, mid-, and older adulthood, *sure* is an established pragmatic marker (Amador-Moreno and McCafferty 2015; Hickey 2020) and tends to be used more in the older soap, which also features older characters, while *like* is an emerging one and is more common in the contemporary series, which features younger characters.

While one might expect more realistic portrayals of IrEng speech in a genre such as soap operas, which mirror real life (albeit with more melodrama), comedies tend to use broader brush-strokes for characterization, often resorting to linguistic stereotypes, particularly when the creators of the show or the intended audience are not Irish themselves. For IrEng, this means the inclusion of features that are particularly salient, i.e. ones that are most likely to stand out to outsiders and have been perpetuated over time in other contexts, such as Irish jokes (Walshe 2020). Indeed, in unpublished research into the representation of Irish speech in episodes of the American animated shows *The Simpsons* and *Family Guy*, Walshe (2009b) finds that the most common features are ones that also frequently appear in American representations of Irish speech in other media such as comic books (Walshe 2012; 2013). Examples include *it*-clefting, *'tis*, *aye*, and the vocatives *boyo* and *lad*. Given the recurrence of these stereotypical features, it should come as no surprise that all cases of *it*-clefting in the shows also involve zero subordinators, which, according to Siemund and Beal (2011: 255), 'are one of the most imitated features of dialectal Irish English and have been used as a marker of Irish nationality in literature since the eighteenth century at least'. Examples from the episodes include the following:

- (13) Guard 1: *So, it's a smokeasy Ø you're runnin' then.*
 Guard 2: *So, it's escapin' Ø you're thinkin' of then.*
 Homer: *I can't tell if those are questions or statements.*
 Guard 1: *So, it's our syntax Ø you're criticisin' then.*
 (*The Simpsons*, 'In the Name of the Grandfather', 00:17:45)
- (14) Father Sean: *So, it's sacrilege Ø you're spoutin' then.*¹⁰
 (*The Simpsons*, 'The Father, Son and the Holy Guest Star', 00:07:22)
- (15) Mickey: *I suppose it's money Ø you're wantin'.*
 (*Family Guy*, 'Peter's Two Dads', 00:16:51)

Unlike *The Simpsons* and *Family Guy*, the sitcom *Father Ted* was written by Irish writers, albeit for British television. Hence, Walshe (2011) finds that the most frequent IrEng features in the series are, again, those that are likely to be most salient to international audiences. These include unbound reflexive pronouns (*himself/herself*), the use of *will* for *shall* in questions, the discourse marker *sure*, and lexical items, such as *eejit* ('idiot') and *grand* ('fine'). Walshe also notes the importance of mild IrEng swearwords, such as *feck*, *shite*, and *gobshite*, for humour in the show, particularly as they are used incongruously by members of the clergy and little old ladies. Indeed, the show's role in popularizing the term *feck* in Britain was acknowledged by the Advertising Standards

¹⁰ It is noteworthy that *The Simpsons* examples come from different years and different writers and thus cannot simply be attributed to one writer's idiosyncratic usage.

Authority when investigating a complaint regarding its use in advertising. They argued that, given its prevalence in *Father Ted*, it was ‘unlikely to be seen as a swearword’ (Walshe 2011: 146), thereby showing the impact that IrEng in a media product can have on shaping language attitudes, even outside Ireland.

Unlike studies which examine the representation of IrEng more broadly, Vaughan and Moriarty (2018) takes a series of sketches by the comedy duo The Rubberbandits from RTÉ’s *The Republic of Telly* and explores the mediated representation of the voice of Limerick *knackers*—a socially disadvantaged group similar to America’s *white trash* or Britain’s *chavs*. They note that the duo’s performance combines features of general IrEng, such as *ye* (*you* plural), an inner-city Limerick accent and local expressions, such as the vocative *kid* and the slang term *yokes* (‘ecstasy pills’), as well as speech from the Irish Traveller community, such as *shades* (‘police’) and *bure* (‘woman/girl’). They also observe how fans of The Rubberbandits echo and orthographically reify the speech of the Limerick knacker on the duo’s Facebook page, imitating their accent via respellings such as <daycent> for *decent* and <kiid> for *kid*. They proceed to analyse the performance of one of the duo on a radio show, where he, in character, makes an erudite and eloquent defence of his art. Vaughan and Moriarty argue that the seeming discord between this educated discourse and ‘an accent whose mediated representation has hitherto served to index a less powerful voice in society’ (2018: 32) serves to re-enregister the value attached to that accent.

14.5 FILM

Research into IrEng in film has also thrived in the last decade, with the focus again being primarily on scripted fictionalized discourse. Walshe (2009a), for example, examines IrEng usage in 50 films from the 1930s to the late 2000s, documenting the most frequent morphosyntactic, lexical, and pragmatic features used by scriptwriters to convey Irish speech. He compares the rates of occurrence of these features with their acceptability ratings in Hickey’s *Survey of Irish English Usage* (2004), noting that the relative frequency of the features in the movies corresponds well to their relative acceptability among Hickey’s respondents, thereby lending support to the value of using such data as linguistic evidence. The book also focuses on Irish accents in cinema, offering examples of Irish pronunciation from the movies, as well as examining the acquisition of Irish accents by non-Irish actors and the role of dialect coaches in the process.

Accents in Irish movies are also explored by O’Riordan (2015), who investigates the phenomenon of ‘voicing’ in Irish films, involving ‘characters often ‘putting on’ other voices for ideological reasons’ (pp. 41–2). This typically manifests itself in characters muting their inner-city Dublin accents and imitating what they perceive to be more desirable American or posh Dublin accents. However, O’Riordan shows that characters can also accommodate downward, as in the movie *Dollhouse* (2012), in which the protagonist changes her accent to fit in with her lower-class friends. This research into the

ideological use of accent as a marker of identity is echoed in O'Riordan (2020), where he builds on these ideas and outlines a taxonomy for thinking about Irish accents in film.

As he does in his previous work, Walshe (2016) also examines to what degree language in film reflects actual IrEng usage, particularly regarding the geographical distribution of features across the island. Using a new corpus of 80 films (40 set in the north of Ireland and 40 set in the south), the study compares the frequencies of grammatical, lexical, and pragmatic features in the movies with their frequencies in the Northern and Southern components of ICE-Ireland and with their acceptability ratings in Hickey's *Survey of Irish English Usage* (2004). The results show a high degree of correspondence between the film data, the real-world data, and the acceptability ratings, which all show a Southern preference for unbound reflexive pronouns, the *after* perfect, and the use of *will* for *shall* in questions, for example, and a Northern tendency to lack negator contractions (e.g. *he'll not* rather than *he won't*) and to use 'zero subject coordinators' (e.g. 'It's the British Ø have your son in jail, Mrs Quigley, not me.'). These findings lend further support to the merits of using mediated language as linguistic evidence of regional variation.

Walshe (2017) takes a similar approach to examining regional variation in IrEng, and compares findings for even more features in the Northern and Southern Irish movies with real-world data from ICE-Ireland. Once more, there are numerous parallels, not only in terms of the relative frequency of feature occurrence by region, but also regarding the contexts in which they appear. Interestingly, even when there are no marked geographical differences in feature frequency, the film data confirm regional differences in contexts of use. For instance, inversion of the subject and verbal interrogatives can occur in IrEng in both *wh*-questions and *yes/no* ones, with the latter being preferred both North and South. However, even though there is no regional difference in this regard, the film data confirm observations from the literature that Northern IrEng offers greater scope for the structure, permitting it to occur with *know* and *check out*, as well as the usual verbs *ask* and *wonder* that appear in the Southern movies.

In addition to comparing the use of IrEng in film to acceptability studies or to existing corpora of real speech, one can simply compare it to what is said in the research literature on the variety. This is the approach taken by Furkó (2013) and Ajtony (2015). Furkó looks at two comedy movies, *The Guard* (2011) and *Intermission* (2003), to see whether they reflect often-discussed features of Irish conversational style, such as indirectness and implicitness. Focusing on the IrEng pragmalect (i.e. pragmatic markers and speech acts, such as requests, compliment responses, and thanks minimizers), he finds that while request patterns in the films reflect those attributed to the variety, this does not apply to the way that characters react to compliments and to thanks in the movies as compared to real life. Ajtony (2015) finds something very similar. Analysing *The Guard*, she too notes that the main character's 'aggressive, negativistic attitude contradicts what research has highlighted concerning Irish everyday speech' (p. 53), particularly regarding expected notions such as indirectness and favouring off-the-record and negative politeness strategies (cf. Kallen 2005). In this regard, the film subverts stereotypes of the Irish, and turns on its head the notion of Ireland as the land of a hundred thousand welcomes.

Expanding on his earlier study, Furkó (2020) also examines the dubbing of the aforementioned movies into Hungarian. He notes the lack of consistency by the translators in rendering IrEng features, and argues that their failure to translate pragmatic markers consistently, or at all, results ‘in a higher degree of directness and unintended bluntness’ (p. 174) in the Hungarian version of *The Guard*. As a result, the translated film dialogue ends up being even less reflective of what is said to be Irish conversational style than the original.

The importance of accurately translating IrEng film dialogue is also addressed by Cammarata (2012). He investigates both intra-lingual and inter-lingual audiovisual translation by looking at the subtitles of the film adaptations of Roddy Doyle’s *Barrytown Trilogy* (*The Commitments*, *The Snapper*, and *The Van*) both in English and in Italian. While the movies themselves are very rich in IrEng features, Cammarata notes that in the English subtitles some of the dialect features disappear or are substituted by standard features, particularly in *The Van*. In the Italian subtitles, moreover, the use of taboo language, which is a common feature of IrEng generally (cf. Murphy 2009) and especially of Doyle’s works, is downplayed and there is no distinction between formal and informal registers. To that end, Cammarata calls for Italian subtitles to use regional words or colloquialisms that reflect both the meaning and strength of the expressions in the original (cf. Rittmayer 2009).

14.6 NEW MEDIA

Much of the research on IrEng in new media relates to notions of identity construction and the enregisterment and commodification of the variety. Kallen, Ní Dhonnacha, and Wade (2020), for example, explore the commodification of both Irish and IrEng in the online linguistic landscape. Focusing on the websites *hairybaby.com*, *grandgrand.ie*, and *freshmilkclothing.com*, which provide T-shirts and other merchandise with Irish themes, they examine IrEng terms and phrases that are enregistered and commodified on the products, such as *feck it*, *sure it’s grand*, *bold* (‘naughty’), and *shift* (‘kiss’). Kelly-Holmes (2019) goes beyond the IrEng on the merchandise itself and analyses the language used on the *hairybaby.com* website in its housekeeping, framing, and product descriptions, which, unusually for the text type, are written in what she terms ‘culchie style’—‘a style of speaking associated with unworldly, rural speakers of Irish English’ (p. 353). Although the IrEng slogans on the clothes, mugs, etc. are ‘translated’ there for the prospective customer, Kelly-Holmes notes that the metapragmatic discussion of the products on the site often includes further IrEng terms and cultural references that go unexplained, thereby encouraging consumers to ‘engage in identity work and add value to the product’ (p. 361).

Identity construction is also the focus of research on new media by Vaughan and Moriarty (2020). They analyse the stylized performance used to index Irish identity in *Martin’s Life*, an animated series produced for YouTube. In addition to examining

the videos for features of (Cork) IrEng, they analyse viewer comments below the clips, noting that they regularly contain declarations regarding the performances' authenticity and familiarity. They also note how these comments, much like those on The Rubberbandits' Facebook page (Vaughan and Moriarty 2018), directly quote from the dialogue in the cartoons and/or supplement it with additional IrEng features of their own that complement the styling of IrEng in the series. Both the original performances and the stylized responses to them add to our knowledge about how contemporary Irish identity is constructed linguistically.

In another article that looks at how linguistic features index Irishness, Moore (2007) analyses the representation of Dublin Englishes online. Taking his material from the website *overheardindublin.com*, which recreates humorous dialogues overheard in the capital, he focuses on the portrayal of sociolects associated with two social classes in the city, namely 'skangers' (the Dublin equivalent of Limerick's 'knackers') and 'D4 Heads' (those from the affluent Dublin 4 area, or at least those who speak like them). As with so many of the other portrayals of IrEng discussed in this chapter, Moore offers examples of orthographic representations of the different accents, which he terms "vernacular performances" of other people's vernacular performances' (p. 25); much as Kelly-Holmes (2019) does, he stresses how the 'insider' nature of the references and humour rewards those in the know.

Given the often quite oral nature of the language in computer-mediated communication (CMC), Millar (2015) examines the use of pragmatic markers in the comments section of an Irish beauty blog (*beaut.ie*). As well as analysing canonical IrEng pragmatic markers such as *sure* and *like*, she explores more unconventional ones, namely emoticons. While she finds that the former behave similarly in CMC as in spoken contexts, she acknowledges the difficulty of analysing emoticons, since their meanings are not stable and they can occur in numerous positions. She therefore calls for more comparative research with larger corpora of similar data.

One such source could be PaddyWac, a web corpus created by Murphy and Stemle (2011) in their endeavour to find the most efficient way of retrieving IrEng material. To do so, they experimented with different approaches, such as filtering the web by national domain (in Ireland's case '.ie'), filtering by orthographic conventions (IrEng adheres more to British English spelling), and bootstrapping from a set of Ireland-specific terms, place names, and loanwords, such as those mentioned by Tristram (2007). They found that by using a combination of these strategies, they were able to most effectively find a series of IrEng structures they searched for (such as *amn't* and the *after*-perfect), whilst reducing the number of false positives. However, despite the promise of their findings for IrEng scholarship, the corpus does not appear to have been used for further published research.

The same applies to the New Corpus for Ireland (NCI). As part of a project to create a new English–Irish dictionary, Kilgariff, Rundell, and Uí Dhonnchadha (2006) created a 55 million-word corpus of Irish and IrEng material (30 million words and 25 million words respectively). Almost half of the IrEng material was gathered from websites with Irish web domains and from online versions of Irish newspapers and periodicals.

However, while there have been publications based on research into the Irish language portion of NCI, nothing has been published on the IrEng portion thus far.

As well as being an excellent source of IrEng material, the internet is an excellent forum for discussion on the variety. In this respect, Stan Carey's *Sentence First* blog fulfils both criteria. It frequently discusses features of IrEng, and illustrates them with examples taken from the web. For instance, in a discussion of the loanword *smacht*, Carey (2013) cites examples from online newspapers (herald.ie and mayonews.ie), blogs (beaut.ie, irisheconomy.ie), Facebook, and discussion forums (boards.ie and anfearrua.ie). Besides offering qualitative studies of such features, he sometimes presents quantitative analysis, as in an article on whether the letter <h> tends to be pronounced as *haitch* /heitʃ/. Operating on the understanding that an *aitch* /eitʃ/ pronunciation should be preceded by the article *an* and that *haitch* is preceded by *a*, he notes: 'A search on IrishTimes.com returned 1,946 hits for 'a HSE' and 92 for 'an HSE' (*HSE* = *Health Service Executive*), excluding readers' letters and three false positives of Irish-language *an HSE* "the HSE". Even allowing for duplications, this shows the emphatic preference for aspirating *H* in standard Hiberno-English.' A similar service is provided by @hiberno_english on Twitter. This account, curated by Marcas Ó hUiscín, provides tweets on the variety and encourages useful discussions about the usage, distribution, and frequency of IrEng features. In this way, interactive new media such as these not only foster an awareness of IrEng among the public, but also encourage discussion on the issue, providing an excellent starting point for research in the fields of language attitudes and perceptual dialectology.

14.7 CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

From the above, it will have become clear that studies on IrEng in the media have followed several patterns.

Research into newspapers has focused primarily on IrEng in humorous columns, with little attention being paid to other genres. However, with it now being easier than ever before to access extensive online newspaper archives such as that of the *Irish Times*, numerous possibilities exist for qualitative and quantitative, diachronic and synchronic research. Likewise, the New Corpus for Ireland, with its 7 million words of material from newspapers and magazines, which is searchable with Sketch Engine, remains an unexplored resource.

With regard to radio, the trend has overwhelmingly been towards pragmatic analysis of spontaneous, naturally occurring speech in national radio phone-ins. One could go beyond such shows to examine other types of unscripted radio speech, such as sports commentary or interviews. Furthermore, one could compare data from local radio stations around the country to investigate regional variation. Since most regional radio stations broadcast live from count centres in the days after general elections, for example, researchers would be guaranteed hours of unscripted speech on the same topic,

which would create an ideal situation for regional comparisons. Finally, since scripted radio speech has been thus far ignored, a good starting point would be RTÉ Radio's *Drama on One* series of radio plays.

In contrast to radio, the focus of research on IrEng on television has been on scripted programmes, particularly soap operas and comedies. Here again, researchers could branch out and explore unscripted formats such as reality shows (*Operation Transformation*, *Celebrity Bainisteoir*), talk shows (*The Late Late Show*, *The Tommy Tiernan Show*) and current affairs programmes (*Prime Time*, *Spotlight*). Alternatively, comparisons of scripted shows from different periods, like the one undertaken by Murphy (2015), would offer interesting insights into possible changes in the screen portrayal of IrEng over time. Likewise, a comparison of similar TV shows set in different parts of the country, such as *Moone Boy* (Roscommon) and *Derry Girls* (Derry), would allow for an examination of how mediated language reflects regional differences in IrEng.

Although the types of study into IrEng in film have been quite diverse, comparing, for example, scripted data to real world data, or the original films to their dubbed and subtitled versions, there is still scope to broaden the field. Documentary films remain unexplored resources, and even more research could be conducted into potential differences in IrEng use in movies in terms of region, period, social class, and genre. Given the frequent criticism of the Irish accents performed by non-Irish actors in movies (cf. Walshe 2009a; O'Riordan 2015), one could conduct acoustic analyses of such performances using software, such as PRAAT, to establish if and how the imitated accents deviate from real-life recordings.

Research into IrEng in online media has already shown the large variety of material that can be examined. This includes YouTube videos, blogs, websites, Facebook pages, and Twitter feeds, all of which allow users to interact by commenting, thereby creating an excellent resource for scholars of IrEng. Other forms of user-generated content, such as podcasts, reviews, and testimonials, could also be studied.

Finally, given the fact that the overwhelming majority of the extant research on IrEng in the media has been on media products from Southern Ireland, a focus on Northern Ireland would be desirable to offer a complete view of the linguistic landscape of media on the entire island of Ireland.

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CHAPTER 15

EMIGRANT LETTERS FROM IRELAND

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15.1 INTRODUCTION

EGO-DOCUMENTS have emerged as an important resource for historical linguistics, as shown by studies of English and other languages (e.g., Elspaß 2005; Elspaß, Langer, Scharloth, and Vandebussche 2007; Vandebussche and Elspaß 2007; Dossena and Del Lungo Camiciotti 2012; van der Wal and Rutten 2013; Auer, Schreier, and Watts 2015; Dossena 2015; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2017). The term ‘ego-document’, coined by the Dutch historian Jacques Presser (Dekker 2002) in the 1920s, has long been used in historical research to refer to autobiographical writing such as memoirs, diaries, travel accounts, and letters. Autobiographical approaches to history have provided fertile ground for micro-analyses of these types of writings (Schulze 2005), where the voice of the writer is continuously present. In the Irish context, historians of Irish emigration have used the correspondence of merchants, farmers, peasants, artisans, and labourers since Arnold Schrier’s groundbreaking *Ireland and the American Emigration 1850–1900* (1958). Like Schrier’s, other classic studies such as Kerby Miller’s *Emigrants and Exiles* (1985) and David Fitzpatrick’s *Oceans of Consolation* (1994) have studied letters as historical documents, to answer questions about why people emigrated, how mechanisms of emigration and trade worked, or how migrants fared in and eventually integrated into new communities and societies, etc. Emigrant letters allow direct access to the thoughts, feelings, ambitions, ideologies, and economic motives that led over 11 million Irish to leave Ireland over the last four centuries for North America, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Argentina, and other places. That direct access to first-person narrations is what makes them also invaluable for linguistic analysis.

Research on Irish emigrant letters from a linguistic perspective starts with Montgomery (e.g. 1995), who argued that this type of ‘untapped source of comprehensive evidence’ can allow us to document earlier (i.e. eighteenth- and nineteenth-century) stages of Irish English, which until that date remained largely unexplored. In the wake of Montgomery’s studies, letters provided (some) data for research on e.g. Dublin English (Hickey 2005), contrastive work on urban and rural varieties (Filppula 1999), and historical morphosyntax (McCafferty 2004). Later, the work emerging from CORIECOR, the Corpus of Irish English Correspondence, has contributed to the study of Irish English (IrEng) across time by focusing on diachronic change in phonology (de Rijke 2016), grammatical features (e.g. McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012a; 2012b; 2014; Amador-Moreno, Corrigan, McCafferty, and Moreton 2016; Bonness 2016), discourse-pragmatic variation (Amador-Moreno and McCafferty 2015; Amador-Moreno 2019), and sociopragmatics (Ávila-Ledesma 2018). The corpus has also been used for studies that contrast IrEng with the Englishes of Canada, Australia, Great Britain, and New Zealand (e.g. Bonness 2019; Dollinger 2019; Hickey 2019c; McCafferty 2019), all studies contained in Hickey (2019a), a volume dedicated to the linguistic examination of emigrant letters.

This chapter provides an overview of linguistic research that has been conducted on Irish emigrant letters. By identifying areas that deserve further study, we draw attention to how the use of private correspondence can be of benefit in tracing the evolution of IrEng.

As an illustration of the wealth of linguistic information that can be extracted from letters, we also present a case study of the language of a single letter writer, John Stevenson Sinclair (JSS), who emigrated to California in the late nineteenth century. His letters are not among the most vernacular in CORIECOR, but nonetheless the linguistic features present in his writing, and the usage patterns that can be quantified, can reveal a good deal about the language of the writer’s home locality and about IrEng in general. As pointed out by Hickey (2019b: 9), the extent to which the language of private correspondence is representative of the vernacular usage of a specific period is often uncertain. For this reason, all attestations of features and structures should be contrasted with other letters by different correspondents, and the caveats listed in Hickey (2019b) should be borne in mind.

At the end of the chapter, we set forth a brief description of how CORIECOR can continue to contribute to expanding our knowledge of the roots of IrEng, its evolution through the centuries, and the way IrEng features were used in specific social networks.

15.2 LETTERS AS LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

The format of the familiar letter in general has fluctuated throughout history between a spontaneous and natural style that brought it close to conversation and stiffer, more structured styles that derived from other types of letter-writing and which became the norm at a specific period of time. Antón Pelayo (2019) presents a review of the evolution

of the familiar letter from ancient times to the nineteenth century. What we know in relation to the way familiar letters were originally devised is that the first recorded models from ancient Greece conceived letter-writing as a dialogue (see Poster 2007),¹ where spontaneity was a reflection of the personality of the sender (Antón Pelayo 2019: 97). Manuals of letter-writing were produced from the sixteenth century (see Fens-de-Zeeuw 2008; Auer et al. 2015: 139–44), when a return to classical doctrines advocated the return to a humble, simple, familiar style, close to conversation (Martín Baños 2006: 21). By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, the elements of spontaneity and simplicity—emulating the flow of natural conversation—were already part of the definition of the familiar letter widely agreed upon among rhetoricians, pedagogues, and writers (but see Wyld 1920: 187).

In the English-speaking context, manuals in the nineteenth century typically recommended a conversational style as well as observance of epistolary etiquette. However, the work of Elspaß (1999), Austin (2004), and Dossena (2007), for example, has demonstrated that even barely schooled writers relied heavily on textual routines and formulaic patterns from model letters, manuals, and other text sources, when analysing Irish emigrant letters specifically, Fitzpatrick finds little evidence that these types of manuals had any influence on Irish emigrant correspondence, given that ‘the manuals drew on styles of conversation and etiquette utterly alien to the “plain people” of Ireland and out of Ireland’ (Fitzpatrick 2006: 104). Thus, it appears that while apparently complying with the stylistic rules advocated in manuals available at the time, the type of spontaneity that we find in Irish emigrant letters stemmed more from a type of social practice that was more oral than written, and indeed implies that many emigrant letter writers were completely unaware of the existence of such manuals. Montgomery (1999: 24) and Pietsch (2015: 224–5) argue that writers relied on the use of oral guides that provided ‘stylistic models that were handed down to them through a practice of imitation’ (Pietsch 2015: 224–5), a type of social practice that allowed for the recording of Irish voices from the past, and that was effective enough to carry into the present linguistic forms that were alive at the time of writing.

Given their orality, then, it seems evident that analyses of the language of personal correspondence can be very useful in charting what happened to features of the English language in Ireland, and in revealing the historical development of IrEng. Letters belong to what Culpeper and Kytö (2010: 17) consider ‘speech-like data’, i.e. they are texts characterized by ‘communicative immediacy’.² In that sense they can also document features carried overseas by Irish emigrants to North America, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere, and whether these survived and flourished or withered and fell into disuse at their new destinations. In that respect, it seems evident that the correspondence of ordinary people can teach us a great deal about the roots of IrEng, its

¹ We are grateful to Juan Carlos Iglesias-Zoido for bringing this to our attention.

² In a different context, Koch and Österreicher (1990: 8–12) discuss this concept by referring to the ‘language of immediacy’ (*Näheprache*), which is opposed to the ‘language of distance’ (*Distanzprache*).

evolution over time, and the influence of IrEng on the English language in other parts of the world.

All three themes—roots, history, and influence—are important to linguists, but the latter two have until recently been relatively neglected as far as IrEng is concerned. Certainly, progress has been made in recent years, but there are still relatively few diachronic studies of features of IrEng.³ As a result, claims have sometimes been made, even recently, about the influence of IrEng on other Englishes, especially American English, for which there is little or no direct evidence (for the possibilities, see Hickey, Chapter 23 this volume). The study of the language of Irish personal correspondence in English contributes to our understanding of what happened to English as it spread beyond Great Britain, first into the Atlantic (Ireland, North America, and the Caribbean) from the seventeenth century, then into the southern hemisphere (Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand) from the late eighteenth (Hickey 2004b). The differentiated and nuanced use of emigrant letters as evidence for the evolution of varieties is also outlined and discussed in Hickey (2019b).

15.3 TRACING THE DEVELOPMENT OF IRISH ENGLISH THROUGH EMIGRATION

The Corpus of Irish English Correspondence (CORIECOR) has been under development since 2008 (see Amador-Moreno 2022). The core of the corpus is the Irish Emigration Database hosted by the Mellon Centre for Migration Studies (<https://mellonmigrationcentre.com/about-us/irish-emigration-database-ied/>), but collections from Argentina, New Brunswick, Co. Carlow, and other parts of Ireland have been added. CORIECOR currently contains over 6,000 letters and over 4 million words. It contains only small numbers of letters from the late seventeenth, early eighteenth, and late twentieth centuries, but plenty of material for the two centuries from 1750 to 1940. The corpus has already been used to study a number of features of IrEng diachronically in some detail, for example:

1. changing uses of the progressive (McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012a);
2. developments in the use of the BE-perfect (McCafferty 2014a; 2015);
3. variation and change in the use of *shall/will* with first-person subjects (McCafferty 2011; 2015; McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012b; 2014);
4. the use of discourse markers *sure*, *like*, *anyway/anyhow*, *so*, and *now* in IrEng (Amador-Moreno 2019; Amador-Moreno and McCafferty 2015; 2019)
5. the *after*-perfect (McCafferty 2014b)
6. BE-deletion (McCafferty 2015b; 2019)

³ But see the historical sections of Hickey (2007) and the relevant chapters of Hickey (2004a).

7. the phonology of IrEng (de Rijke 2016)
8. negation patterns (Bonness 2018)
9. the Northern Subject Rule (Myklestad 2015; Bonness 2019)
10. embedded inversion (Amador-Moreno 2019)

Linguists have often been primarily interested in studying the vernacular, conceived as the most casual usage (e.g. Montgomery et al. 1993), and sometimes only letters that show high levels of vernacularity have been admitted for study—the more vernacular the better. CORIECOR covers a range of social backgrounds, so that sociolinguistic issues can also be addressed. For this reason, CORIECOR includes letters by well-educated, highly literate writers as well as people of very basic literacy and all levels between those two extremes.

Many of the letters, even those by the relatively literate, are not penned in accurately spelt, grammatically correct standard English. Literacy levels in Ireland were relatively low even late into the nineteenth century, some 60–70 years after the National School system was established (see Amador-Moreno 2019: 48–9).⁴

Letters often contain dialect words, non-standard dialect, or vernacular grammar, and phonetic spellings that may reflect everyday pronunciation among peasants and labourers. For historians and social scientists, this is a disadvantage of personal correspondence as a source (see Elliott, Gerber, and Sinke 2006: 3–4). For linguists interested in the evolution of standard British English, this may also pose problems. Such texts may defy conventional grammatical analysis, and lack of punctuation renders passages ambiguous. Punctuation aside, for linguists who want access to language data for earlier periods of regional Englishes, it is often the features that make it difficult to interpret the letters that make them interesting and useful. As Montgomery noted, the ‘less educated members of society [were] more likely to have speech intrude into their writing because their limited literacy made them more dependent on their ear’ (2001: 13).

In the search for vernacular texts, Montgomery looked for three kinds of evidence for proximity to speech:

1. surface appearance and convention (lack of punctuation, erratic capitalization, etc.);
2. phonetic spellings (with lack of silent letters, etc.);

⁴ This does not imply, of course, that the profile of the letter writer in CORIECOR is by any means homogeneous. There were geographical differences in terms of access to education, as discussed in Amador-Moreno (2019), as well as other issues connected to social stratification. An interesting point raised by Fitzpatrick (1990: 172) in relation to literacy levels is that, although until the 1880s the illiterates in the population were the most likely to emigrate, from then onwards this tendency was reversed. This means that within the time-span covered in the letters we find a very rich mixture of ‘coached’ and ‘uncoached’ writers (to use the preferred term of Timmis 2020: 1). The fact that some of the letter writers had been ‘coached’, or could be classified within the category of ‘literate’, does not mean that they avoided IrEng forms.

3. variation in usage within a given letter (which indicates the intrusion of spoken patterns; after Montgomery 1995: 31–2).

These are precisely the kinds of features that are problematic for historians. But these are also the very types of data a linguist would hope for. An example of the kind of language encountered in such letters may help illustrate how rich a data source letters can be. We look in detail at letters written by John Stevenson Sinclair, who left the townland of Sixtowns, near Draperstown, Co. (London)Derry, in 1879 and became a farmer in Healdsburg, Sonoma County, California. CORIECOR contains 12 of Sinclair's letters home. These are fairly short, amounting to approximately 4,800 words.

Sinclair appears to have had a fairly basic education, and the language of his letters shows the three types of evidence highlighted by Montgomery as indicating proximity to speech. In a brief letter to his cousin, Margaret Graham of Draperstown, punctuation is virtually nonexistent and capitalization erratic, as the opening lines show (slashes indicate line breaks in the original manuscript):

Dear Margaret I / received your Kind letter / un the 20 October I am not / half content all the news / you gave me you gave me none / a tall I saw carrie smyth 1 / year ago and mrs hart is walking / un two kanes she has a fine boy / his name is Pat hart

(John Stevenson Sinclair, 21.10.1881)

Lack of punctuation leaves the parsing of the text open to interpretation. This, of course, may be crucial for historians, who are primarily interested in the letters' contents, but such issues can also be significant for linguists, especially when letters are compiled into an electronically searchable corpus. As discussed above, for the linguist, letters are sources of good dialect evidence that can be interpreted in many instances independent of punctuation and parsing decisions.

Even frequent words vary in spelling, and less frequent words are often spelt in nonstandard ways: *thear* 'their, there', *wood* 'would', *cea* 'see', *a nanser* 'an answer', *laffing* 'laughing', *trubble* 'trouble', *smawl* 'small'. The spelling often reflects IrEng pronunciation: *sea* 'say', *teast* 'taste', *mea*, *me* 'may', for instance, all use a conventional representation of IrEng pronunciation with /e:/. Sinclair also varies spellings of his own and others' names: *Sinclair*~*Sinclare*, *Heron*~*Hearron*, *Lucinda*~*Lousinder*, *Charlotte*~*Charlote*~*Sharlotte*~*Shorlate*, *Margaret*~*Margret*~*Marget*~*Maragret*~*Margaet* (with some of these reflecting the influence of non-rhotic pronunciation, which is not Irish).

The orality of personal writings is also shown by the use of non-standard language and dialect features. Sinclair's brief letters illustrate a number of dialectal features, including a surprising amount of phonological information, which is very direct evidence of orality. Since he did not use the standard spellings of even quite frequent everyday words, many words are spelt phonetically within the constraints of the Latin alphabet. Sinclair's orthography of even basic vocabulary in the language often reflects vernacular pronunciation. This is certainly the case with the most frequent such spelling in the letters, the use of *the* [ð̪i:], the realization of *they* with a long close front unrounded /i:/,

which is still a frequent realization of this pronoun in the north of Ireland. This occurs 36 times in the Sinclair letters, as in (1)–(4); there is not a single instance of standard English *they*. Here Sinclair's written usage is categorically vernacular.

1. **the** [ði:] look verry old (JSS, 21.10.1881)
2. and I think **the** wood be along time in Ireland before **the** wood be thear one land lord (JSS, 14.12.1883)
3. I gess **the** miss me now when the door is closed (JSS, 21.01.1885)
4. the brooches your mother sent Martha and Margaret were broken into peices when **the** reached heare (JSS, 21.12.1887)

Another Northern IrEng dialectal phonological feature is the use of a centralized, more open vowel than /ɪ/ in *think*, as represented by *thank* in (5) and (6):

5. if you wear hear you wood not **thank** so much of the meting house preachers (JSS, 14.12.1883)
6. and for my self I **thank** I am the old sixpence (JSS, 15.01.1885)

A marked feature of IrEng pronunciation is the use of an open front or central vowel [æ~a] rather than half-open [ɛ] in items like *any*, *many*, as in (7) and (8).

7. lucinda was sent a great **manny** preasants (JSS, 21.10.1881)
8. I do not care to hear **anny** thing about Robinson or Josias (JSS, 21.01.1885)

In (9), we have an example of *took* realized with a short open central vowel /ʌ/, which is a widely commented-on vernacular feature of Northern IrEng (e.g. Harris 1990; 1996; Milroy 1987: 124ff.; McCafferty 2001: 157–66, 195–200).

9. a gentleman went from Healdsburg to the Pacific coastt and tuck [tʌk] Robert a long (JSS, 21.10.1881)

An example of TH-dropping is seen in (10). This is another prominent vernacular feature of Northern IrEng phonology (e.g. Milroy 1987: 123–31; McCafferty 1999: 260–63; 2001: 149–57, 184–95). It is interesting, therefore, to have evidence of TH-dropping in 1880s Co. (London)Derry, both as a general proof of its existence at that time and also as an indication that it was present in rural areas then; discussion of this phenomenon in recent sociolinguistic studies has been firmly focused on urban varieties of Northern IrEng.

10. I expect **at** [ət] Tommy and mr Heron will go up and pay me a visit to James Sinclair (JSS, 21.10.1881)

In (11), there is an example of the lowering of /ɛ/ to /æ~a/ before /k, g/, which remains typical of Northern IrEng varieties, notably Belfast. Sinclair's spelling here may indicate a wider geographical distribution of this pronunciation even west of the River Bann in the nineteenth century.

11. the took the glibs [glebes] from the **ractors** (JSS, 14.12.1883)

One of the most widely known features of Southern, but not Northern IrEng, phonology is the stopping of the interdental fricatives /ð, θ/, as represented just twice in the Sinclair letters (12)–(13):

12. I ntend to take a trip to Ireland some time to spend a **mount** or 2 (JSS, 14.12.1883)
 13. I moved on the **sixt** to James house (JSS, 14.12.1883)

Both tokens are of the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/. Sinclair originated in Co. (London)Derry, a region where this pronunciation does not occur today, though Draperstown in the nineteenth century was close to an Irish-speaking district in central Ulster, so this may well be an Irish substrate influence that was still present in Sinclair's generation but has since died out in his home region.

In (14) and (15), we see examples of what has come to be known as PEN-PIN merger in accounts of e.g. English in the American South (Schneider 2004: 272–3). This merger is widely attested in accounts of earlier stages of IrEng, but as part of a more general raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ (Hickey 2007: 312–13) in words such as *yet, get, bet*.

14. you will fine more than one **divel** in her (JSS, 15.01.1885)
 15. god **bliss** them every day the rise (JSS, 22.09.1887)

Evidence for the apparent merger in these letters suggests that it had wider currency in the past, both geographically and in terms of phonological contexts (Hickey 2007: 312–13).

Example (16) shows unrounded /a/ instead of /ɔ~ɒ/ in *on*, a feature found in many vernacular varieties of IrEng today, especially rural forms (Hickey 2007: 29), and once widespread in other Englishes as well (Trudgill 1999: 24–6). In (17), we see what may be a rendering of a more open vowel than /e/ in *complaint*; this is a feature that has been studied by e.g. McCafferty (1999), though it could equally be a case of eye dialect.

16. and i will send hur a little preasent **an** account of old times (JSS, 05.01.1883)
 17. it Ø a stomach **complant** your Aunt his (JSS, 15.01.1885)

Consonant cluster simplification is a feature of varieties of IrEng, and there is plenty of evidence for it in Sinclair's letters, eight tokens, of which seven are of *-nd* simplification. Examples are cited as (18)–(21).

18. good by no more at presant but remains your **frea**n John Stevenson Sinclair (JSS, 05.01.1883)
19. you will **fine** more than one divel in her (JSS, 15.01.1885)
20. but **mine you** Sam is a well bilt boy (JSS, 15.01.1885)
21. I was not at home when your letter came to **han** (JSS, 09.07.1885)

In (morpho)syntax, we see the following features in John Sinclair's letters. Example (22) embodies a token of a feature—past-tense *rain* lacking the *-ed* past-tense morpheme—that perhaps suggests it might have been part of the vernacular in some regions of Ireland at some time in the past, or it may be an example of cluster simplification. There is a vernacular use of *dead* as an intensifying adverb in (23), and a vernacular use of the preposition *of* in (24). The verbal *-s* form in (25) occurs with a plural subject consisting of three conjoined proper names, and might suggest that Sinclair uses non-standard verbal concord (known traditionally as the Northern Subject Rule, e.g. Montgomery 1989; 1992; 1994; 1997a; 1997b; McCafferty 2002; 2003; 2004; Pietsch 2005; Myklestad 2015; Bonness 2019). This is interesting in that Draperstown is in the Mid-Ulster English zone, while Montgomery's work on this concord system has stressed the Ulster-Scots roots of the non-standard verbal concord. And in (26), the lack of possessive *'s* in the phrase *your mamma health* is another feature also reported in Hickey (2019b: 16, table 4) and present in many emigrant letters in our corpus. Again, the question arises of whether this was typical of IrEng at earlier stages in its development. Finally, in (27) we see an example of complement shift, the Northern IrE tendency to place the complement in medial position between the auxiliary and the *-ing* form of the verb, especially when referring to a place where someone lives or works. The word order in (27) is unusual from a general English perspective, and might be worth investigating in relation to Irish and to other IrEng word order patterns where a non-finite verb form occurs clause-finally, as in *I have it done, She's very tall got/getting, He's up in Belfast working*, etc.

22. but one night about 10 days ago it **rain** (JSS, 21.10.1881)
23. old mr smyth is a **dead** old fellow he has a fine ranch (JSS, 21.10.1881)
24. she gave hur morthor 3 pounds **of** a preasant and the making of a nice drefs (JSS, 21.10.1881)
25. martha and Lucinda and Sam is goying to chool every day (JSS, 21.10.1881)
26. your Aunt wood like to now how **your mamma health** is (JSS, 21.10.1881)
27. and now **she is in a House of James living** (JSS, 14.12.1883)

So far, we have given a general introduction to the usefulness for the study of IrEng in a bundle of letters from one individual, showing that the letters display a number of characteristics that are typical of oral language use; and we have given a brief overview of a number of phonological and morphosyntactic features that are found in

Sinclair's letters. The features included in the survey above have been selected rather impressionistically. In the following, we will give a more systematic study of some of the IrEng features that are documented in Sinclair's correspondence. In doing so, we would like to implement a distinction between non-standard and vernacular features. The former would be features useful for gauging in general terms how far texts deviate from standard British English, but are shared with many other varieties of English, while the latter have a more restricted distribution and allow us to determine how 'Irish' the texts are, i.e. how many specifically Irish English features they contain.

15.4 IRISH ENGLISH DIALECTAL FEATURES IN THE SINCLAIR LETTERS

The Sinclair letters show a large number of dialectal features. Features regarded as dialectal for current purposes not only deviate from standard English usage, but are also associated with a particular region, in this case Ireland. Though they may be shared with other regions, what these features have in common is that they are to some extent regionally restricted.

15.4.1 *Non-standard verbal concord (Northern Subject Rule)*

There are in the Sinclair letters a number of examples of the concord type known traditionally as the Northern Subject Rule (NSR), which according to some scholars (e.g. Kortmann and Lunkenheimer 2013) is rare in English globally, being attested in only 9% of the 77 varieties surveyed in *eWAVE*, the *Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English*. *eWAVE* incorrectly notes that the NSR is absent in IrEng. On the contrary, it is a well-documented feature of varieties of IrEng historically (cf. McCafferty 2002; 2004; Hickey 2007: 179–82; Myklestad 2015; Bonness 2019) and synchronically (Pietsch 2005; Hickey 2005: 121). This feature is shared with Scots/Scottish English and varieties of Northern English, Orkney/Shetland and Bahamian English, Earlier AAVE, Rural AAVE, and Southeast American Enclave English, and is also found in Devon (Godfrey and Tagliamonte 1999).

Sinclair's letters illustrate both major constraints of the NSR. The subject type constraint, by which plural NP subjects permit the use of the *-s* forms (and *is*, *was*) whereas plural pronominal subjects (*they*) do not (28), is exemplified in (29)–(31).

28. martha talks nothing about home she is to high toned that is what the[y] call the rich people hear (JSS, 21.10.1881)
29. you and Mary Sinclair was my faverites (JSS, 20.07.1880)
30. all kinds of fruit was ripe in Jun (JSS, 20.07.1880)
31. I trust your farther and morthor is well and all the family (JSS, 05.03.1887)

The subject adjacency constraint permits *-s* forms (and *is*, *was*) with plural subjects separated from their verbs by at least one other sentence element. This occurs e.g. in relative clauses, as in (32)–(34). By the late nineteenth century, the operation of this part of the NSR with subjects other than third-person plurals was reportedly already unusual (McCafferty 2003: 111); however, it seems to have survived until the late nineteenth century at least, as in (35), where Sinclair uses it with a first-person plural.

32. because the took the glibs from **the ractors that was preatching** the true gospole out of the Bible (JSS, 14.12.1883)
33. all he is good for is digging down the fenses and cutting **the trees that was not his own** (JSS, 21.01.1885)
34. I will drop in un some of my cousins before the Know **that lives** in Tyrone (JSS, 05.03.1889)
35. **We** had no rain since the 10 of May **expects** no rain to winter (JSS, 20.07.1880)

The NSR is very well documented historically in Ireland, both north and south, and is known to be still used in many parts of the country. It is one of the most studied features of IrEng historically, having been researched by e.g. Montgomery (1992; 1994; 1997a; 1997b), Kallen (1990), McCafferty (2002; 2004), Pietsch (2005), and Filppula (1999: 153–9). It also had a high rate of acceptance in the entire island of Ireland, as Hickey demonstrated in his *Survey of Irish English Usage* (2007: 182–3), despite the effect of educational prescriptivism which would not have applied to anything like the same extent during the nineteenth century.

15.4.2 *Preterite for perfect*

Use of the simple past for the perfect is frequently highlighted as a feature that distinguishes even standard North American English from standard British English (e.g. Kallen 1990; Filppula 1991). Some attribute this to IrEng influence as a result of massive Irish immigration to North America since the eighteenth century (Elsness 1997). Examples from Sinclair's letters are given in (36)–(39):

36. Mary **did not write** yet to me (JSS, 20.07.1880)
37. **We had no rain** since the 10 of May (JSS, 20.07.1880)
38. John S. Sinclair never **sent** Sharlotte a letter in his life time nor I never will (JSS, 09.07.1885)
39. from the first day of landed in California my poket never **wanted** money (JSS, 05.01.1883)

Letters like these are direct evidence that this usage was carried across the Atlantic by Irish emigrants, and as such may constitute evidence for the hypothesis that this American English feature was directly influenced by the Irish.⁵

15.4.3 *Present for perfect*

The use of the present and present progressive for the perfect in reference to situations persisting over periods of time up to reference time is another feature that sets IrEng apart from most other varieties. There are three tokens of this with the simple present in the letters, cited as (40)–(42) if we accept that the first clause of (42) is an example of *be*-deletion.

- 40. I gess you all **now** hur for the last 6 years as well as Jo. S. S. (JSS, 09.07.1885)
- 41. Margaret I **thing** long to hear from you (JSS, 05.03.1889)
- 42. your Aunts health **Ø** not so good since she had the fever (JSS, 15.01.1885)

This perfective has been studied by a number of scholars (e.g. Harris 1993; Filppula 1999), and is a well-attested feature of IrEng.

15.4.4 *BE-perfect*

A further perfective construction is the *BE*-perfect, which is either a survival in IrEng of a perfective that in earlier stages of the language was associated with intransitive verbs of motion and process verbs, or a case of convergence between Irish and IrEng (McCafferty 2014a; 2015). The examples in (43)–(45) all use *get* in the sense of ‘become’.

- 43. she **is got** very thin (JSS, 14.12.1883)
- 44. I **am got** used to it now (JSS, 05.03.1889)
- 45. **she is got** slim (JSS, 15.01.1885)

However, the *BE*-perfect alternates with *have* in Sinclair’s letters, even with *get*, as in (46).

- 46. my Doughter margret **has got** to be a big girl (JSS, 14.12.1883)

⁵ The *after*-perfect, which is the most distinctive perfect construction of Irish English, is not found in Sinclair’s letters. This construction has proved to be rare in other letter-based studies too: in the much larger CORIECOR data set, there are just 41 tokens in all. Its pragmatic restriction largely to contexts referring to the immediate or recent past may explain the paucity of occurrences in letters that often refer to events in the lives of the letter-writers over periods of weeks and months or even years, rather than days, hours, and minutes. In addition, the largely northern Irish letters of CORIECOR would not lead one to expect high occurrences of the *after*-perfect. In the *Survey of Irish English Usage*, the Ulster counties trailed behind the southern counties in this respect (Hickey 2007: 207).

The BE-perfect is often listed as a feature of IrEng, but has become restricted to use with certain verbs. This seems to have come about in the course of the nineteenth century, as indicated by a survey of its use in CORIECOR (McCafferty 2019).

15.4.5 *Second-person plural pronoun*

The second-person plural pronoun in IrEng (*ye* or *yous*) is accepted as an Irish substrate influence, driven by the need for language-shifters to replicate in the new language a distinction made in the outset one (Hickey 2003). The plural pronoun is found in several forms: *ye*, *yous(e)*, *yez*, *yiz/yis*, *yeez*. In Sinclair's letters, *yous* is the form used, as in (47) and (48).

47. I received your letter we were glad to hear of **yous** all been well (JSS, 15.01.1885)

48. hoping when this letter arrives to you that it will find **yous** all well (JSS, 21.12.1887)

15.4.6 *Irish English discourse marker final like*

In the Sinclair letters, there is a striking instance of an older discourse marker use of *like* that is typical of IrEng speech (49). Here, *like* occurs clause-finally.

49. I will Have Ø return ticket I have to see Robert **like** (JSS, 05.03.1889)

This has been documented as a feature of older British and Irish dialects (Tagliamonte 2013: 170–72; D'Arcy 2017: 13, 49; Hickey 2007: 376; Schweinberger 2020). This discourse marker is widely used in the corpus (Amador-Moreno 2019: 110–16). It is an indication of the orality and informality of the writing.

15.4.7 *Zero subject relatives*

Zero subject relatives are a feature of several regional varieties of English, but have been shown to be particularly frequent in IrEng (Tagliamonte 2013: 199–200; Filppula 1999: 185–94; Hickey 2007: 260–61). The only token in the Sinclair letters is (50).

50. there are 2 acres in it Ø is sewed in oats to weeks ago (JSS, 21.12.1887)

15.4.8 *Embedded question inversion*

The inversion of verb and subject exemplified in the embedded questions in (51)–(54) is a well-documented feature of IrEng (see Amador-Moreno 2019: 168–76).

51. I want [...] you to let me now how the crops ar or is **John Hearron home yet or is David J Taylor Dead** (JSS, 30.07.1882)

52. I want to now **how is David John Taylor is getting along** and Paddy [Hewn?] also (JSS 21.12.1887)
53. you give me now news about the old neighbour a tall, or **how shorlate is getting along** or did Robinson sent hur any money yet (JSS, 30.07.1882)
54. please tell me **what is** the trubble about that farm your farther boat from us (JSS, 17.08.1889)

15.4.9 *First-person will/shall*

Because it contravened a pet rule of normative grammarians, and also was a neat shibboleth distinguishing the 'better sort' from the riff-raff, *will* with first-person subjects, where grammarians and arbiters of good usage insisted on *shall*, is historically one of the most widely condemned ways in which IrEng deviates from standard English (Beal 2004: 96–7; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 90–91; Filppula 1999: 20, 54; Hickey 2007: 17,179).

There are 55 tokens of *will* used with the first-person pronoun *I* and a single token of *we will* in the Sinclair letters. Examples are listed in (55)–(59). Not a single instance of *shall* occurs with any grammatical person in these letters, though Sinclair does use the innovative *going to* future three times. The categorical predominance of *will* is expected, given that usage in IrEng shifted sharply from predominant *shall*-use in the late eighteenth century to overwhelming *will*-use by the late nineteenth (McCafferty 2011; McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012b; 2014).

55. **we will** have to eat our Christmas dinner all alone this Christmas with out my Children's mother (JSS, 21.12.1887)
56. and **I will** have to pay no more rent (JSS, 14.12.1883)
57. the got there revolvers and charged them and said **I will** kill him for he is a son of a bitch (JSS, 21.01.1885)
58. it the first and last visite evere **I will** make in old Ireland (JSS, 05.03.1889)
59. **I will** leave Margaret at your House but **I will** not stop (JSS, 17.08.1889)

15.4.10 *Resumptive pronouns*

Resumptive pronouns (Hickey 2007: 156–7) are a feature that is said to be influenced by an Irish-language strategy for disambiguating the object of a sentence. John Sinclair uses this kind of pronoun on two occasions in one of his letters, (60) and (61).

60. I want you to Send **me** John Hearron adress **to me** (JSS, 30.07.1882)
61. I want you to send **me** your picture **to me** (JSS, 30.07.1882)

15.4.11 *Other vernacular features*

New data sets may throw up evidence not previously capitalized upon in previous research and hence raise new questions which have not received much attention to date (but see Hickey 2019b: 10). Two of the more frequent, hence more interesting, features that unexpectedly occur in Sinclair's letters are BE-deletion and zero possessive. There are six instances of zero possessive in the material and 18 cases of BE-deletion.

Until recently, these features, which are well known from e.g. AAVE and Caribbean English-based creoles, had been reported in the literature on IrEng only from the south-east in the late twentieth century (Hickey 2007: 176–7). Raymond Hickey (personal communication) reports this from present-day Waterford, and suggests that BE-deletion may have been more widespread in the past. Hickey (2007: 176–7) remarks that BE-deletion shows a tendency to occur with third-person subjects, and indeed, 17 of 18 occurrences in the Sinclair letters are in third-person contexts. Kortmann and Lunkenheimer's (2013) *eWAVE* survey claims that this is attested before a progressive and before *gonna* in IrEng, but not before an NP, AdjP, or locative. Sinclair's letters have *be*-deletion in progressive (63 and 64), NP (65 and 66) and AdjP (67 and 68) contexts, showing that it was more widespread in the late nineteenth century.

BE-deletion with progressives

63. I Ø not saying this before yours faces it is far behind your backs (JSS, 20.07.1880)

64. I dont care one cent what Ø goying on in great Britten (JSS, 05.03.1889)

BE-deletion before an NP

65. she is living with a few family in Healdsburg and has 15 Dolars a mounth that Ø 3 pounds of your money (JSS, 15.01.1885)

66. it Ø the first and last visite evere I will make in old Ireland (JSS, 05.03.1889)

BE-deletion before an AdjP

67. I think she Ø better than when she left (JSS, 30.07.1882)

68. well that Ø all rite. (JSS, 22.09.1887)

BE-deletion before a clause

69. I ope that you have good crops on the Den farm that Ø what I want to hear (JSS, 21.01.1885)

70. and god curs on Kelly and the robinsons that Ø what I say about them, (JSS, 22.09.1887)

Sinclair's usage also shows a preference for *that* and *it* as subjects in clauses where *be* is deleted: 12 of 18 tokens are of these types, and there is one token of *what* as subject; two

subjects are pronominal (*I, she*) and three are NPs (*your Aunts health, your farther and Mother and Brothers, the ground*).

Zero possessive occurs seven times in the Sinclair letters, as in (71) and (72).

71. your Aunt wood like to now how **your mamma health** is (JSS, 21.10.1881)

72. . I want you to Send me John **Hearron** adress to me (JSS, 30.07.1882)

It would be interesting to see whether zero possessive is more widely attested in CORIECOR. As for BE-deletion, we know that this was a fairly widespread feature of IrEng in the past (McCafferty 2014c; Hickey 2019b: 16).

15.5 CONCLUSIONS

The above is not an exhaustive account of vernacular features encountered in John Stevenson Sinclair's letters home to Ireland. These short texts nevertheless document many features of interest to dialectologists and linguists, showing what a valuable data source a pile of personal letters may be (Hickey 2019b). As we have seen, this small dataset not only offers support for the findings of previous studies of IrEng, but also generates hypotheses that can be followed up in larger investigations that are likely to repay the effort involved in empirical linguistic studies.

Sinclair's letters illustrate non-standard dialectal features known to be distinctive of IrEng, both in its northern varieties and in more general island-wide forms. They also display features that have received less attention from linguists. Despite the difficulties of reading texts like these, and the inevitable question marks that will always remain as to whether we interpret and punctuate them as their writers intended, letters from people like Sinclair provide evidence of vernacular usage in the past. While many of the linguistic features of IrEng found in such letters have been studied before, the detailed history of vernacular varieties of English in general remains to be written, and the same is true of the history of IrEng. Few studies of this variety are truly diachronic in the sense that they trace the development of linguistic features through time, so that the existence of a large corpus of IrEng correspondence offers us the opportunity to study IrEng diachronically in a way that until recently had only been attempted for a small number of features (Sullivan 1980; McCafferty 2004; Hickey 2005: 158–77).

That some letters also provide evidence of features not widely thought of as present in IrEng—e.g., zero past tense, zero possessive's, and BE-deletion—is a bonus. Such morphological features are often lacking in English acquired by adults through untutored, informal exposure to the language (Fairman 2008; Hickey 2007: 125–6); hence, their study contributes important new knowledge about the history of IrEng. Thus, a letter corpus has the potential not only to fill gaps in the diachronic account of IrEng, which

was an important new overseas variety of English, but also to expand our knowledge of IrEng in new directions.

These examples from the language of a small bundle of letters cover a broad spectrum of features found in IrEng. They offer support for earlier accounts of this variety and provide fresh evidence of linguistic usages which have received less attention from linguists. In that sense, this type of material contributes to variationist sociolinguistics, by providing us with direct access to primary textual materials by identifiable individuals and groups. CORIECOR contains further letters from John Sinclair's social network. Examination of these and letters that circulated between members of other social networks would undoubtedly provide evidence that might extend our knowledge of IrEng even further. Given that such letters were written to and from emigrants, they may help us understand how and to what extent IrEng has influenced the development of new varieties of English in other territories. More generally, too, letters like these can help us understand the processes of language evolution through migration, whether to colonial settler societies or older established communities.

As a step further in our study of the Irish emigrant letters contained in CORIECOR, a recently funded research project⁶ called CORVIZ (CORIECOR Visualized) uses visualization tools in order to better explore the language use of individual writers who have been grouped into networks of family, friends, colleagues, business associates, etc., to permit research based on social network approaches that have proved fruitful in relation to other varieties of English (Fitzmaurice 2007; Russi 2016). The project makes sections of CORIECOR available to the wider academic community, thus providing more direct access to primary textual materials by identifiable individuals and groups, which variationist sociolinguistics calls for in specific documented periods (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2017). The CORVIZ website (<https://corviz.h.uib.no/index.php>), which is still under development, will contain details of findings and research methods, so that the case studies will be replicable. This will provide insights into the *layered simultaneity* between the various micro- and macro-levels of contextual meaning that is so necessary (Säily et al. 2017: 3), where visualization and statistical techniques can help reveal the variability within varieties of English in specific time periods and among specific social groups (Vartiainen et al. 2013). These types of data visualization form a context within which the analysis of IrEng across time can gain definition.

Zooming into the language of individual writers allows us to analyse intra-speaker variation, which has become a key research issue in historical sociolinguistics (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 32), following more broadly the variationist sociolinguistic research agenda that has focused on the role of individuals in ongoing linguistic change.

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PART III

IRISH
ENGLISH IN USE

CHAPTER 16

DUBLIN ENGLISH AND THIRD-WAVE SOCIOLINGUISTICS

MARION SCHULTE

16.1 INTRODUCTION

DUBLIN is not only the capital of the Republic of Ireland, it is also by far the largest city on the island of Ireland. In 2016, almost a quarter of the population of the Republic of Ireland, more than 1,100,000 people, lived in Dublin and its suburbs (Census 2016). It is thus maybe not surprising that much of the recent linguistic research on Irish English has concentrated on Dublin. This includes research on all levels of linguistic description, with many investigations focusing on sociolinguistic aspects. Studies of Irish English may use data from Dublin in addition to data from other parts of Ireland (e.g. Hickey 2007a; Kallen 2013), but the present chapter will only discuss studies that specifically address Dublin English. This chapter will not give an overview of the various features of Dublin English, but will instead outline the different sociolinguistic approaches to this urban variety of Irish English. For a discussion of the various features, please consult the relevant passages in the pertinent literature, especially Hickey (2005) for a general overview.¹

Sociolinguistic investigations of Dublin English cluster around a number of topics, which will be discussed in detail in the following sections. Most of the existing studies work primarily with language production data, and studies on language perception and experimental study designs are much less common. Synchronic investigations of contemporary language use are in the majority, in spite of some studies that also

¹ Recordings of Dublin speakers can be found on the CD that accompanies Hickey (2005). Sound files and analyses can also be found on the website 'Variation and Change in Dublin English' (Hickey 2021a).

consider diachronic aspects. The general turn towards third-wave sociolinguistic studies in the last decade (cf. Eckert 2012) has influenced recent research on Dublin English, complementing existing first- or second wave studies. Ethnographic studies discussing micro-level social aspects are comparatively rare, while studies working with cross-sections of the population and addressing macro-level social aspects that correlate with language variation have been the norm to date. Much of the sociolinguistic research on Dublin English has focused on phonetic and phonological variation. These sociophonetic investigations, including studies on paralinguistic aspects, will be discussed in the following section before studies dealing with morphosyntactic and lexical aspects of sociolinguistic variation are addressed. The remaining sections discuss the relationship of Dublin English and Standard Irish English,² investigations of multilingualism in Dublin and language perception, attitudes and language ideology. A qualitative analysis of a paralinguistic feature of Dublin English is presented, before a conclusion that summarizes the main findings.

16.2 SOCIOPHONETIC ASPECTS OF DUBLIN ENGLISH

Connections between the sound system of Dublin English and sociolinguistic aspects in a variationist sociolinguistic tradition are particularly prominent in the literature, just as sociophonetics has been a vibrant field of research also with regard to other varieties of English and other languages. Recent sociophonetic studies of Dublin English use acoustic phonetic methods and statistical modelling, while earlier studies often employ mainly auditory methods of analysis. The focus of most investigations lies on segmental phenomena, especially on the realizations of vowel and consonant phonemes and correlations with macro-social attributes of the speakers who produce them.

Based on language production data and their correlation with social factors, various types of Dublin English have been differentiated in the literature. Bertz (1975; 1987),³ the earliest large-scale linguistic study of the sound system of Dublin English, postulates the existence of three forms of Dublin English: Popular, General, and Educated

² What is called Standard Irish English here is the supraregional form of English spoken in the Republic of Ireland (cf. Hickey 2004). Although this supraregional Irish English is not fully codified, it can be differentiated from other varieties of English used outside of Ireland but also from more local forms of Irish English in Ireland itself (Hickey 2012; Kirk 2011). Standard Irish English is only spoken, as 'written formal Irish English [...] is virtually identical to written formal British English' (Hickey 2012: 98). In the postcolonial context of Ireland, this developing national standard 'might be an appropriate present-day vehicle for expressing national identity' (White 2006: 229; see also section 16.5 below).

³ Bertz (1975) is an unpublished PhD thesis written in German. Bertz (1987) provides a brief summary of data and findings in English.

(Bertz 1987: 38). These 'types reflect expectations which we connect with speakers of a certain educational/occupational background and on a certain stylistic level' (Bertz 1987: 38), and he thus links different macro-social attributes of speakers and contextual aspects of language variation. Similar broad classifications have been proposed in later investigations, e.g. Hickey (2005), although they are named and motivated somewhat differently there. While Bertz connects the three forms of Dublin English largely with aspects related to social class, Hickey puts identity at the centre of his classification. The most basic sociolinguistic differentiation established in Hickey's work is the distinction between local and non-local Dublin English, with a further subdivision of non-local Dublin English into mainstream and new (Hickey 2005: 8). This classification is not only based on social class, but rather on a speaker's identity: speakers of local Dublin English 'show strongest identification with traditional conservative Dublin life of which the popular accent is very much a part' (Hickey 2005: 7), while speakers of non-local Dublin English 'do not wish a narrow, restrictive identification with popular Dublin culture' (Hickey 2005: 7). This classification has grown out of his earlier publications (e.g. Hickey 1999), where he distinguishes popular and educated Dublin English on the basis of access to education: speakers of popular Dublin English 'have not enjoyed more than secondary education and little professional training' (Hickey 1999: 220). He assumes that the differences in language use, and especially pronunciation, between these speaker groups are due to 'the extent to which the latter group [speakers of educated Dublin English] have induced changes to hivy themselves off from the lower-classes of their native city' (Hickey 1999: 219), highlighting the sociolinguistic process of dissociation, the opposite of accommodation. Social class and speaker identity thus both play a role for the broad classification of Dublin English, although identity is foregrounded in more recent publications. Hickey's classification has been extremely influential, and has been taken up by later studies as well.

The different sub-varieties of Dublin English are connected with residential areas in Dublin. Hickey describes the southside as generally more 'residentially desirable' (1998: 83) than the northside, and assumes a 'clear divide between the north and the south side of the city' (2005: 27). The linguistic changes he observes are closely linked with certain residential areas in Dublin, most characteristically with Dublin 4, an area in south Dublin that is known for its expensive property prices and thus a population who is able to pay these. Hickey claims that speakers from Dublin 4 'developed a mode of pronunciation which was different from local forms of Dublin English' (2005: 47) to dissociate themselves from speakers with more local Dublin English pronunciation. Dublin residents have been shown to perceive these differences in language perception experiments conducted by Hickey (2005), which is confirmed by Lonergan (2013; 2016; see also section 16.7 below).

A basic north/south split is reported in a number of studies that address attitudes and perceptions of Dublin English, although it is not completely clear how far this split is actually produced by Dubliners. Lonergan (2013) claims that the perceptual differences between a south-eastern and north-western variety cannot be found in his production data. Inner-city Dubliners differ substantially from residents of other areas, but

the vowel and consonant realizations produced by north- and southsiders 'differ little from each other' (Loneragan 2013: 340). The results of previous studies make this finding quite unexpected. It should be pointed out that the similarities between north- and southsiders and their difference from inner-city speakers in Loneragan's study could also be influenced by the recruiting method. The majority of participants from these areas were recruited via the friend-of-a-friend approach, so they are connected to one another and their language production might therefore be comparatively similar, while the participants from inner-city Dublin volunteered after Loneragan approached community groups in that area because he 'had almost no social contacts' (Loneragan 2013: 63) there. Loneragan assumes that the labels 'northsider' and 'soutsider' that are clearly salient for Dubliners, and also often used in the sociolinguistic literature, represent proxies to talk about social class in a society that usually shies away from describing itself as classed and that assumes social class is an 'English concept, abandoned with independence' (Loneragan 2013: 343). As the southside is on the whole more prosperous than the northside, *southsider* is used to refer to a middle-class person, and *northsider* refers to a working-class person. Loneragan demonstrates the importance of sociolinguistic aspects in the analysis of the phonetics of Dublin English, which is clearly socially stratified according to a number of variables that include social class, gender, and age. In addition, as Hickey points out (personal communication), parts of the north of Dublin are better off than others, e.g. Clontarf vis-à-vis Coolock; and the expansion of the north-west, e.g. Blanchardstown, has meant that parts of the northside population are perhaps closer to those on the south than the traditional sections of the northside population. On the southside there is also a traditional working-class area, Ringsend, which is now experiencing considerable gentrification due to its proximity to the city centre and business offices.

Most sociophonetic studies connect particular vowel and consonant realizations with macro-social attributes. Some investigations aim at a complete overview of the phonemic inventory of Dublin English. Bertz (1975) conducted an auditory analysis on the basis of recorded interviews with a large number of Dublin residents, and provides numerous examples for the realizations of each segment he considers. Social factors that are frequently mentioned here are social class, age, and gender. A shorter section of Bertz (1975) also deals with suprasegmental aspects, but provides hardly any details on sociolinguistic issues. In spite of the broad sociolinguistic classification and the detailed descriptions of individual realizations, Bertz does not offer a systematic discussion of sociolinguistic aspects in connection with particular realizations.

Although a large number of realizations of various phonemes, and also morpho-syntactic and lexical constructions, are discussed in Hickey (2005); he particularly highlights change in the Dublin English vowel system as a linguistic expression of the dissociation attempts of speaker groups in the capital. In non-local Dublin English, the diphthongs from the PRIDE and CHOICE lexical sets are retracted, and low back vowels, in particular THOUGHT, are raised (Hickey 2005: 49). Support for this back vowel raising is provided by other studies (Loneragan 2015), although Loneragan is sceptical about the centrality of increasing linguistic distance between local and non-local Dublin accents

as the reason for this shift. Lonergan (2013), like Hickey (2005), finds ongoing shifts in the Dublin English vowel system. This change affects the back vowels, which are raised and fronted, and the front vowels, which are lowered and retracted (cf. Lonergan 2013: 340; Hickey 2018: 11–12). Lonergan's PhD thesis (Lonergan 2013) is an acoustic phonetic study of Dublin English that systematically addresses all relevant lexical sets and discusses correlations between realizations and the social factors age, gender, and place of residence for each of them. Schulte (2023) and O'Dwyer (2020) also discuss vowel realizations, but neither of these studies aim at a comprehensive overview of the variety. Both studies address the realizations of the PRICE vowel in their respective speaker groups. Schulte (2023) concentrates on intra-speaker variation, and links individual realizations produced by the same speaker in different contexts with macro-level social aspects like speaker gender, occupation, age, and residence. The stances speakers take with regard to the topic of conversation are shown to be important here. When speakers position themselves as experts on a topic, for example, they tend to use variants that are associated with more powerful speaker groups and have generally high prestige in the Dublin speech community (Schulte 2023). The opposite is also true: when speakers portray themselves as not knowledgeable, they tend to use variants that are associated with less powerful groups and have lower prestige. In the case of the PRICE vowel, a low and back onset is often connected with residence in south(-east) Dublin, an area linked with financial prosperity and the middle class (cf. also Hickey 2005). This realization is connected with the verbal function of *like*, while discourse-pragmatic functions of *like* have a higher and fronted onset. Metalinguistic comments in the interviews clearly show that the usage of discourse-pragmatic *like* has very low prestige—something that is also found in other speech communities outside Ireland (e.g. D'Arcy 2007). Although O'Dwyer (2020) investigates a completely different group of speakers, his results point in a similar direction. Based on an ethnographic study of male speakers in a north Dublin sports club, O'Dwyer finds that a low, non-centralized realization of the PRICE vowel offset is linked with an authoritative stance (O'Dwyer 2020: 89). A centralized realization, possibly related to the local Dublin English variant [əɪ] with a centralized onset (Hickey 2005: 15–16, 35–8), on the other hand, is associated with a tough stance and a 'proper' Dublin identity, while a lower and retracted realization is associated with an authoritative stance and a 'posh' identity (p. 93).

Consonant realizations have also been linked to social correlates, although existing research tends to concentrate on a particular subsection of the consonant inventory and often addresses variation in the segments /t/, /θ/, and /ð/ in particular. Coronal consonants are generally considered to be an interesting area of Irish English phonology—Hickey (2009: 124) calls it 'the most complex', and Kallen (2013: 50) says it is the 'single most distinctive area' of Irish English phonology. In the context of dialect convergence and divergence, Kallen (2005) discusses the realizations of Irish English /t/. Although this study deals with Irish English generally, Kallen draws on a number of unpublished studies based on data from Dublin, which were carried out in the 1980s and early 1990s. He highlights the connection between social class and gender and the realization of /t/.

Connections between such macro-social factors as well as stylistic considerations as correlates of phonetic and phonological aspects of Dublin English are further supported by the work done by Hickey (e.g. 1998; 1999; 2005; 2007b). Hickey (2005) lists a number of consonant realizations that are connected with local Dublin English, for example stops [t] and [d] for interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, a tendency not to realize yod after /n/ and before a stressed vowel (Hickey 2005: 81–2), and the lenition of /t/ beyond a fricated realization (Hickey 2005: 38, 81). He proposes a cline of lenition that is connected with the different sub-varieties of Dublin English, where /t/ can be realized as an apico-alveolar fricative, [t̪], in all varieties, but the lenition is continued beyond that to [h], glottal stop [ʔ] and even deletion only in local Dublin English (Hickey 2005: 39; 2008: 89; 2009: 123).

Rhoticity and the realization of interdental fricatives and the phoneme /t/ are discussed in Lonergan (2013), as he identifies these as areas of high variability in the Dublin English consonant system. His results largely support previous work by Hickey (2005). With regard to rhoticity, he finds ongoing language change, as especially younger men from the inner city produce a less rhotic accent than other speaker groups. A stopped realization of the interdental fricatives is more common for inner-city speakers, with men using a number of varying realizations. The realizations of /t/ are also socially stratified, and Lonergan proposes an ongoing shift towards a flapped realization in intervocalic position, particularly among younger men. This supports the findings in Hickey (2005: 77–8), who finds flapped realizations in intervocalic contexts and describes this as a ‘recent phenomenon’ (Hickey 2005: 77). As in his analysis of vowel segments, he finds differences between inner-city speakers on the one hand and north- and southsiders on the other. Inner-city Dubliners are less likely than others to produce fricated realizations of /t/, but favour alveolar and glottal stops instead, something that is not as commonly encountered in north- and southside speakers.

Kallen (2005), Hickey (2005), and Lonergan (2013) all point to complex sociophonetic variation especially in the /t/ segment. Schulte (2023) and O’Dwyer (2020) also address this, but focus on situational context and speaker stances rather than on a correlation of language production and macro-level social factors in Dublin more generally. Their results suggest that speaker stances are connected with the various realizations of /t/. Schulte (2023) shows that a fricated realization is associated with middle-class pronunciation (cf. also Hickey 2005 and subsequent publications, and Lonergan 2013 for comparable results) and confirms that it has high prestige. This realization occurs when speakers take expert stances both in Schulte (2020a; 2023) and in O’Dwyer (2020), while glottal variants in particular are connected with non-expert and distancing stances. These latter variants have much less prestige than fricated /t/ in general and are often connected with comparatively powerless speaker groups. Female and male speakers use the different realizations differently to take distancing and non-conformity stances (Schulte 2023: 138–41). O’Dwyer (2020) shows that the default realization of word-final /t/ is glottalized, but an authoritative stance correlates with fricated /t/ realizations (O’Dwyer 2020: 29). The presence of a fricated /t/ also indicates the sociopragmatic weight a speaker puts on their utterance (O’Dwyer 2020: 141).

This illustrates the need for more investigations that connect situational and contextual factors with the sociolinguistic overviews of Dublin English provided especially by Hickey (2005), Schulte (2023), and O'Dwyer (2020) both conduct third-wave analyses (cf. Eckert 2012), but only consider a small set of features, and their results are not generalizable. Schulte (2023) recruited a comparatively diverse set of participants with regard to macro-level social aspects, and connects these aspects with contextual variation. This study emphasizes how linguistic features and social aspects on a micro- and macro-level are dynamically linked. O'Dwyer (2020) provides an ethnographic investigation of the language used by a small community, male members of a sports club in north Dublin. His primary interest is the exploration of 'masculinity and male interactional identity work' (O'Dwyer 2020: 24), and he links performances of male identity as either authoritative or tough with the clustered use of linguistic variables. These performances are then connected with social meanings at the community level, i.e. within the sports club and among residents of the north Dublin suburb, and to a lesser extent with macro-level aspects that concern Dublin as a whole. This study also provides an analysis of the role of humour in social interactions within an all-male sports context, and thus offers new perspectives on contemporary sociolinguistic variation in Dublin. Although ethnographic studies can thus provide unique insights into language variation in communities and small groups, they are still rare in the context of Dublin English.

All of the above-mentioned investigations focus on synchronic aspects of language variation, although Hickey (2005) and Schulte (2023) contain chapters on the development of Dublin English. Diachronic sociolinguistic studies are currently emerging, however. In contrast to most other sociophonetic studies, Hickey (2005) discusses the development of Dublin English by referring to sources like letters, literary texts, and prescriptive comments from various periods. He concentrates on establishing which features of contemporary Dublin English are already attested in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources, and even to a certain extent before then. This is a fascinating endeavour and something that is not often attempted with regard to Dublin English, although recent advances in historical sociolinguistics have shown that such material can be used fruitfully (e.g. Anipa 2012; Elspaß 2012; van Hattum, Chapter 4 this volume), provided there is data available. The feature-based description remains more detailed here than a sociolinguistic analysis of these sources, however.

Schulte (2023) provides a diachronic perspective in addition to a synchronic discussion of the interplay between macro-level and micro-level social aspects and phonetic realization by considering the development of word-final /t/ realizations on the basis of data obtained from the RTÉ Archives, a resource also exploited by Hickey (2017; 2020) and Schulte (2021). The RTÉ Archives are accessible online and contain data from the early twentieth century onwards. These were analysed auditorily and the phonetic realizations are connected with sociopolitical developments in Ireland. Schulte (2023) shows that the fricative realization, which is the most salient synchronic variant and widely perceived as particularly Irish (e.g. Wells 1982; Hickey 2005), only started to gain prestige, i.e. acceptance in supraregional Irish English, and increase in frequency

after the independence of the Republic of Ireland, a conclusion also reached by Hickey (2020). O'Sullivan (2013; 2018; 2020) discusses phonological aspects of Dublin English in the context of audience design in radio advertisements, and thus deals prominently with the role of mediatized language in Irish society (see also Walshe, Chapter 14 this volume). The analysis is auditory, and considers different features of varieties of Dublin English. These diachronic studies find evidence for change in the status of different Dublin and supraregional Irish accents in the 1990s and early 2000s. While Standard Southern British English was associated with prestige and power in earlier subcorpora, these attributes have shifted to an endonormative variety, in particular to advanced Dublin English in the most recent subcorpus from 2017, 'an accent variety which represents a more hybrid identity' (O'Sullivan 2020: 247). Similar work concentrates more on questions of standardization and authenticity regarding Irish English generally rather than on Dublin English specifically (e.g. O'Sullivan 2017; O'Sullivan and Kelly-Holmes 2017; see also O'Sullivan, Chapter 13 this volume). Other diachronic sociophonetic studies do not deal only with Dublin English, although a large part of the data these studies consider comes from Dublin residents (Hickey 2017; 2020; Schulte 2021), and thus also add to our understanding of the development and diachronic usage changes of Dublin English.

16.3 PARALINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF DUBLIN ENGLISH

A number of phonetic studies analyse the perception of different voice qualities and other parameters of the sound signal, e.g. loudness, on the basis of responses by participants who are speakers of Irish English, and sometimes even specifically speakers from Dublin (e.g. Gobl and Ní Chasaide 2003; Yanushevskaya, Gobl, and Ní Chasaide 2005, 2018). These studies describe complex experimental designs that focus on language perception—both aspects that the majority of sociolinguistic research on Dublin English does not often engage with—but sociolinguistic analysis is not their primary focus. Gobl and Ní Chasaide (2003), for example, is based on participants living in Dublin, and the sample is gender-balanced. They do not consider this variable further in the discussion of the results, however. The connection of voice quality and social factors like gender in Dublin English would certainly be an interesting area of study, as different voice qualities have been correlated with identity construction in other varieties of English (e.g. Podesva 2007; Podesva and Callier 2015; Hildebrand-Edgar 2016; Hornibrook, Ormond, and MacLagan 2018). These studies show that voice quality may be linked with issues commonly addressed in third-wave sociolinguistic studies, such as speaker positioning and stance-taking. Such points have not been explored with regard to Dublin English, however.

A short sociolinguistic analysis of another paralinguistic feature, click sounds, is presented in Schulte (2020b). Click sounds in Dublin English are shown to have similar functions to those of discourse-pragmatic markers, which include the structuring of discourse, signalling important information, and the expression of disagreement. The sociolinguistic dimension of this feature is addressed as well, as the usage of clicks is similar to the usage of fricated /t/, a realization that has been linked with stances of power and authority in Dublin English (O'Dwyer 2020; Schulte 2023). It thus seems possible that speakers who take such stances also express that by a comparatively frequent usage of clicks. The sociolinguistic analysis of paralinguistic features in Dublin English is clearly an under-explored field, and the brief study of clicks in Dublin English presented in section 16.8 attempts to start closing that gap.

16.4 MORPHOSYNTACTIC AND LEXICAL ASPECTS OF DUBLIN ENGLISH SOCIOLINGUISTICS

A few studies correlate morphosyntactic and lexical aspects of language in Dublin with macro-social factors. Bertz (1987) provides a short list of some grammatical and lexical constructions that he observed in Dublin English in the 1970s and 1980s. He gives numerous examples of each of the phenomena he mentions, and also connects them with different macro-social categories relating to the speaker, including gender and social class in the form of the three different 'types' (Bertz 1987: 38) of Dublin English he identifies: Popular, General, and Educated Dublin English. The discussion is not systematic in this regard, however, and Bertz does not always comment on the correlations between the use of particular features and sociolinguistic considerations. Although a large part of Hickey (2005) deals with sociophonetic aspects of Dublin English, the book also discusses morphosyntactic and lexical features. This discussion concentrates on the description of constructions and gives multiple examples of Dublin English usage, and the correlation with social factors is not as prominent as in the sociophonetic sections. Hickey does, however, demonstrate in a perception study of morphosyntactic structures that 'males [...] showed a greater acceptance of vernacular structures' (2005: 132) (cf. also section 16.7).

Kallen's (1991) discussion of the use of *after* as part of the *after*-perfect construction in Dublin approaches grammatical variation quite differently. The data for his study come from extensive field notes and occasional recordings by participant observers. In his analysis, Kallen considers both formal linguistic as well as pragmatic aspects of the tokens in his corpus. He shows that the use of *after* is linked to certain speech acts and communicative situations (1991: 66, 69). Although different age groups do not seem to use this construction to different extents and for different purposes, the formality of the

situation is correlated with different frequencies: the more formal the communicative situation, the less likely the use of *after* seems to become. As an example, Kallen mentions public meetings, where *after* is used only once in spite of ‘hundreds of hours’ (1991: 69) of observation, while the feature frequently occurs in informal conversations in shops. As well as contextual aspects of use, Kallen also considers macro-social factors such as age and social class, and thus combines various levels of sociolinguistic description with a formal analysis that is similar to the most recent sociophonetic studies of Dublin English. This article also highlights the importance of ethnographic data collection to supplement experimental methods like recorded interviews, which are usually much more formal. Such an approach has also been adopted by O’Keeffe and Amador-Moreno (2009), who analyse Irish English without a focus on Dublin. Nonetheless, there is much still left to be discovered in this area, especially with regard to Dublin English.

16.5 DUBLIN ENGLISH AND THE QUESTION OF STANDARD IRISH ENGLISH

Connections between Dublin English and Irish English more generally are drawn particularly by Hickey (e.g. 1998; 2005; 2012). Neither Irish English nor Dublin English are fully codified, and formal written language use in Ireland is ‘virtually identical to written formal British English’ (Hickey 2012: 98), as grammars and dictionaries used in Ireland are published in the UK. Informal writing may include different morphosyntactic constructions or lexical items that are indicative of Irish English, however. Hickey (2012: 102) uses the terms ‘Standard Irish English’ for the formal written usage in Ireland, and ‘supraregional Irish English’ for the ‘type of spoken Irish English which is widely used in public and which is not stigmatized and not the object of censorious comments by others’. A distinction between a written and a spoken standard language is something Ireland has in common with many non-Western societies (cf. Smakman and Nekesa Barasa 2016), which is probably due to its colonial history and the resulting bilingualism. Hickey assumes that the spoken standard, supraregional Irish English, is influenced by non-local forms of Dublin English, and that a mainstream Dublin accent is equivalent to ‘the supraregional accent of English in the south of Ireland, a quasi-standard’ (Hickey 2005: 28), and its speakers are associated with the middle class (cf. also Hickey 1999: 218; Kirk 2011). Speakers of local Dublin English, on the other hand, consist of a ‘closely-knit community which inhibits change’ (2005: 34), and Hickey stresses the conservative characteristics of this form of Dublin English. Hickey (2012: 115) claims: ‘Because of the status of Dublin, non-vernacular speech of the capital acts as the lead variety or at least guideline for the rest of the country when others, outside Dublin, are seeking a non-local, generally acceptable form of Irish English.’ O’Sullivan (2017) and O’Sullivan and Kelly-Holmes (2017) also address questions of standardness and authenticity in Irish English and link this with different forms of Dublin English. White (2006) investigates

attitudes to Standard Irish English in Ireland and describes some linguistic features of the standard. She claims that Standard Irish English could be a marker of national identity in Ireland, a role which has traditionally been associated with Irish.

16.6 MULTILINGUALISM IN DUBLIN

The Republic of Ireland is a bilingual state with the official languages Irish and English. In addition to these official languages, other languages are used in Ireland as well. The most recent census data show that more than 600,000 residents, or almost 13% of the total population, speak a language other than English or Irish at home (Census 2016: 54). It is thus unsurprising that a number of linguistic studies address various issues relating to multilingualism, especially in Dublin (see Carson, McMonagle, and Murphy 2015 for an overview of Dublin multilingualism in various domains). This includes linguistic landscaping studies, which are discussed below, but also studies that investigate the attitudes and language use of individual immigrants or speaker groups (e.g. Migge 2012; 2015; Nestor and Regan 2015; Diskin 2017; Schulte 2022). For a discussion of the latter type of studies, see Diskin-Holdaway (Chapter 28 this volume). Research on multilingualism in Dublin often investigates the uses of Irish English and immigrant languages, while research on the use of Irish in the Republic of Ireland seems to be largely concentrated on areas outside of Dublin (e.g. Kallen 2014; but see O'Rourke and Walsh 2015; 2020; Walsh 2020 for accounts of new speakers of Irish also in Dublin), and the learning and use of Irish is almost never mentioned in connection with immigration (Gilmartin 2015: 78).

Investigations of the linguistic landscape in the capital highlight the use of English, Irish, and immigrant languages in public spaces (e.g. Kallen 2010; Schulte 2016; McMonagle 2017; Hickey 2021b). These studies show that Irish and English are generally present in official signage, but that the signage in other domains can be much more complex. Kallen (2010: 50–1), for example, claims that multiple languages feature on the signs of small businesses in certain areas of the city, but their prominence is not necessarily directly related to the amount of people who speak that language. According to him, 'Polish and Chinese are the most frequently used languages apart from English' (2010: 51) in these contexts. Although the Chinese community is of a similar size to the Lithuanian one, the Chinese language is rarely represented on written public signs. Further complexities are added by international tourism. Kallen (2008) stresses the importance not only of language choice but also, among other aspects, of code choices that include aspects such as colour or font. These also index social meanings that have to be considered when analysing the linguistic landscape. McMonagle (2017) describes both elite multilingualism in certain parts of Dublin in connection with a globalized economy, but also multilingual signage related to restaurants and small shops owned by immigrants especially in the north inner city. She links these different contexts with socio-economic stratification, and claims that both forms of multilingualism 'are largely

symbolic in the eyes of the resident, monolingual population of Dublin, they index vastly differing degrees of social prestige' (McMonagle 2017: 251). Schulte (2016) finds that English dominates the linguistic landscape in south Dublin, at least outside official bilingual signage. Taken together, these studies thus suggest that languages other than English, and to a lesser extent Irish, are present in some parts of Dublin, but do not generally feature prominently in it. The presence of languages other than English and Irish may well be a relatively recent development due to large-scale immigration since the 1990s (Cronin 2004; Kallen 2010), but different languages are represented to very different extents, and this is not necessarily directly linked to the numbers of speakers who use these languages. Future studies might therefore consider the social, political, and economic situation of speaker groups when discussing the presence or absence of languages in the public sphere, but might also incorporate more data than written signage and interviews with residents or stakeholders. It would be interesting to see, for example, how the languages spoken in Dublin relate to the languages visible in the linguistic landscape (cf. Birnie 2018).

16.7 STUDIES ON LANGUAGE PERCEPTION, ATTITUDES, AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

Although most of the studies that investigate Dublin English analyse language production, a number of investigations consider how different accents and dialects are perceived (see also Lucek, Chapter 27 this volume). Hickey (2005) shows that Dublin residents notice differences between north- and southside accents in language perception experiments (Hickey 2005: 92–9). Two speakers of different forms of Dublin English, one male and one female, are included in the sample, and the ratings regarding their attributes—participants were asked to rate the three aspects 'important, intelligent'; 'pleasant, friendly'; and 'well educated'—are quite different. The male speaker of local Dublin English was assessed as being far less important and intelligent and well educated than the female speaker with a Dublin 4 accent, but both speakers are rated as similarly pleasant and friendly. In map-drawing tasks, most participants from Dublin distinguished between at least two different accents in Dublin (Hickey 2005: 103), 'generally a northern and a southern form' (Hickey 2005: 104). In another study, Corrigan, Edge, and Lonergan (2012) investigate the perception of Dublin accent and dialect features, working with participants from a working-class neighbourhood in inner-city Dublin, and find support for ongoing change for some of these features. In addition to an analysis of language production of a large number of Dubliners, Lonergan (2013) also provides a perceptual study of Dublin English by considering maps drawn by participants, questionnaires, and metalinguistic comments. He shows that Dubliners perceive a clear difference in the language used by speakers who live in the south-east of the city versus those who live in the north and west, and a 'less clear linguistic difference

was perceived between the speech of inner city Dubliners and the speech of Dubliners from the northern and western suburbs' (Lonergan 2013: 339). The highest overall status of these perceived varieties was assigned to the south-eastern, or D4, variety. This ties in well with Hickey's earlier results (Hickey 2005). Lonergan (2016) uses maps drawn by 73 participants from different areas in Dublin, and shows that many of them distinguish a number of different sub-varieties of Dublin English, but a basic distinction between north- and southside accents is made by most participants. Four distinctive areas are particularly salient: the north, inner city, south-west, and a band along the south-east coast (Lonergan 2016: 238). The perception of the north/south split in Dublin English is not supported by Lonergan's production data, however, which shows that people from these areas 'differed little', while 'inner city Dubliners' realizations differed dramatically from those of the other two groups' (Lonergan 2016: 255; see comments in section 16.2 above). Lucek (2020) discusses the perception of Dublin English as well as other urban Irish Englishes. He finds further support for a clear north/south divide in Dublin in public perception. Both residents from Dublin and those from elsewhere in Ireland reiterate this basic distinction.

Information on the perception of a potential south Dublin variety also come from the analysis of literary sources, in particular the Ross O'Carroll-Kelly column in the *Irish Times* and the novel series, which are written by Paul Howard and centre on the fictional character Ross, a youngish man from south Dublin (Amador-Moreno 2012; 2015; Amador-Moreno and Terrazas-Calero 2017). Amador-Moreno (2015: 377–80), for example, finds evidence for the frication of word-final /t/ in South Dublin that fits the analysis of sociophonetic studies based on non-fictional data (see section 16.2 above).

Edwards (1977) focuses on the connection between language use and social status. This investigation is less interested in the linguistic features produced by speakers who belong to different social groups or how these features vary according to different communicative situations, but instead focus on the social implications of language use in Dublin. Edwards (1977) elicits language produced by school-age boys from different parts of Dublin, and asks five adult raters to judge these samples anonymously and according to different linguistic and extra-linguistic criteria including the child's intelligence and fluency. He finds significant differences in the ratings according to a socio-economic classification of the children: 'On all measures, the judges rated the (ND) [non disadvantaged] children significantly more favourably [...] than the (D) [disadvantaged] group' (Edwards 1977: 69). He points out that the comparatively unfavourable ratings of the disadvantaged group of children 'may, at least in part, reflect current social prejudices against certain speech styles and may have serious consequences' (p. 70).

Lucek (2021) analyses language ideologies held by students, teachers, and principles in a secondary school in a predominantly working-class area in Dublin. This study deals with similar topics to those of Edwards (1977), but focuses on the behaviour and opinions expressed by the stakeholders themselves, rather than the perceptions of secondary school students' language use expressed by other people. Lucek conducted an interview with the principal and a focus group with students. This study shows that

a standard language ideology is expressed by both students and principal, and that students engage with that in complex ways by adapting their language use according to context. They know that a working-class, local Dublin accent does not have as much prestige as non-local accents, and thus use non-local accents to their own advantage, for example in job interviews. A local accent carries prestige in other situations, however, and the students thus seem to adapt their language use accordingly.

16.8 OUTLOOK: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF CLICK SOUNDS IN DUBLIN ENGLISH

As was detailed in section 16.3, paralinguistic features of Dublin English have so far been hardly investigated at all from a sociolinguistic perspective. This section presents a brief qualitative analysis of click sounds produced by 19 speakers from Dublin to contribute to filling this research gap. These clicks are not realizations of consonant phonemes, and are thus unlike those used in the languages of Southern Africa, which contain clicks in their sound inventories. Ameka (1999: 213) lists a similar sound used in English, *tut-tut*, a ‘series of dental clicks’, as an interjection. The criteria given for interjections in Ameka (1999) would suggest that the clicks investigated here can also be classified as interjections, with the qualification that they cannot be considered lexical units because of their unusual phonology (see also the discussion and references in Stange 2016). All speakers were recorded as part of a sociophonetic study on language use in Dublin (cf. Schulte 2023 for detailed information on data and methodology), and the clicks produced in the first 20 minutes of each interview, or in the whole interview if more than one speaker were recorded, are analysed. A previous study (Schulte 2020b) deals with the same topic, but considers a smaller number of speakers and focuses on the forms and functions of these sounds rather than their sociolinguistic meaning.

Schulte (2020b) distinguishes two basic types of clicks: those followed immediately by speech, Type A, and those followed by a pause, Type B. Both types have discourse-pragmatic functions. Type A clicks ‘mostly precede new or important information and often open a speaker’s turn’ (Schulte 2020b: 2). Type B clicks ‘mostly precede information that expresses the speaker’s disagreement, e.g. with a previous utterance by their interlocutor, or information the speaker wants to distance themselves from, e.g. views held by other people that the speaker reports’ (Schulte 2020b: 3). Schulte (2020b) distinguishes between primarily discursive functions of Type A and mainly pragmatic functions of Type B clicks, but the larger sample analysed here makes it doubtful whether this holds, as a small number of speakers seem to use one type almost exclusively but still use this with both discursive and pragmatic functions.

Only two of the 19 speakers investigated here do not produce any clicks, but the frequencies of clicks vary enormously between speakers, as can be seen in Figure 16.1. Some speakers, for example Adam, Cian, and Emma, produce almost no clicks, while others, especially Daniel and Katie, produce them frequently. Overall, male speakers seem to produce fewer clicks than female speakers in this sample, with the exception of Daniel.

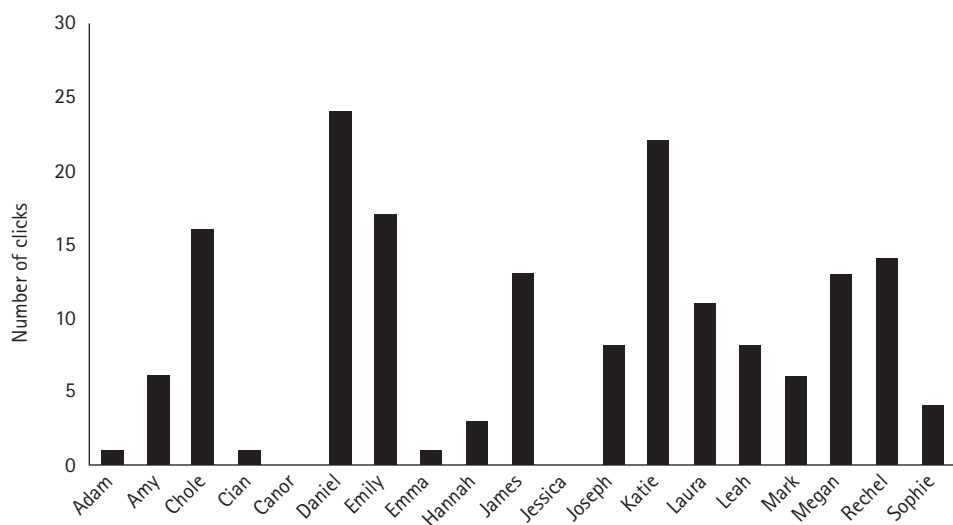


FIGURE 16.1 Number of clicks produced by each speaker

The functions listed in Schulte (2020b) can also be found throughout the larger speaker sample. Clicks are often used to signal that a speaker wants to take the floor and to draw attention to subsequent discourse-new or important information, as can be seen in examples (1) and (2) below. Clicks can thus be found often when a change is initiated by the speaker, for example by beginning a new topic. Example (3) illustrates this, as Emma explains an app, but then switches to showing it instead. This switch is preceded by a click. These sounds can also convey speaker stances, however, and a distancing function seems to be particularly common: speakers use clicks to precede information they provide but evaluate negatively, for example antisocial behaviour in her estate described by Megan in example (4), or when they disagree with another speaker as in example (5). It is sometimes difficult to clearly separate discourse from pragmatic functions, as some tokens seem to have both a signalling or turn-taking and a distancing function, like example (6). The symbol # in the transcriptions indicates a pause.

- (1) Emily: '[click] Well they're going to a more intensive school.'
- (2) James: '[click] # My mother is from Finglas.'

- (3) Emma: 'There's an app called YikYak, and it's a non # anonymous erm # [click] # I'll show you.'
- (4) Megan: '[click] Yeah, you know, when they're just kinda hanging around on the field and there's like loads of rubbish everywhere.'
- (5) Katie: 'Well [click] # not university but like a college.'
- (6) Amy: '[click] # Yeah they're just kinda like if you talk to them, they kind of be like # kind of dismissive.'

These paralinguistic sounds thus seem to have similar functions as linguistic discourse-pragmatic markers in Dublin English. From a sociolinguistic perspective they are also interesting because their distribution seems to correlate with the use of sociolinguistically much better-researched linguistic elements in this speech community, especially the realizations of /t/. Schulte (2020b) suggests that speakers who take stances of authority and knowledge and thus frequently produce fricated realizations of /t/ also frequently produce clicks for the same reason. The larger speaker sample does not support this simple correlation, however. The use of clicks generally signals that the speaker has important and possibly very specific information to convey, wants to take the conversational floor, evaluates a topic negatively, or disagrees with a previous speaker. All of these functions are conducive to expressing stances of authority, expert status, and knowledge. It was shown in O'Dwyer (2020) and Schulte (2023) that the use of fricative /t/ can index such stances as well, and many speakers who produce fricated /t/ frequently in Schulte (2023) also produce a high number of clicks, while some speakers who produce hardly any fricated /t/s produce few or no clicks. This is not true for all speakers, however. Daniel and Katie, for example, produce clicks extremely frequently, but do not use fricated /t/ particularly often. Amy, Laura, and Mark, on the other hand, use fricated /t/ comparatively often but do not produce a very high number of clicks. This suggests that the sociolinguistic meanings of clicks and fricated realizations of /t/ are not identical and their functions overlap only partly. While both can index stances of knowledge and authority, clicks are often associated with distancing, something that is not true for fricated /t/. Such differences in pragmatic meaning could account for the different distribution of these elements. This would call for more fine-grained investigations of sociolinguistic and pragmatic meaning and the connection to particular linguistic and paralinguistic variants in the speech community (see Barron and Pandarova 2016 for a discussion of research on Irish English that combines pragmatics and sociolinguistics). It is also possible that the social connotations connected with these elements are different, and that the indexing of authoritative stances via clicks is available to speakers who do not want to use fricated /t/ realizations—with their associations with proper and posh language use in Dublin (cf. O'Dwyer 2020 ; Schulte 2023)—for this purpose. More research is certainly necessary to explore such issues further. This brief study has already shown

that the consideration of paralinguistic elements in sociolinguistic studies can offer new insights into social meaning-making in Dublin.

16.9 CONCLUSION

Sociolinguistic research on Dublin English is a vibrant field that has led to a large number of interesting studies and important insights in various areas. We know quite a lot about how Dubliners realize vowels and consonants, and which lexical and grammatical choices they make. In terms of language perception, studies find firm evidence for a north/south divide in Dublin, which may only be partially present in the language actually produced by speakers from these different areas, and connect these different dialects or accents with attitudes. We have comparatively little fine-grained information on the perception of different sociolinguistic variants within Dublin, however. In terms of sociophonetics, we have a good understanding of the realizations of particular vowel and consonant segments as well as of how they vary, at least in correlation with macro-social factors. This gives us a good baseline for analyses of language use in different communities and the contextual variation of linguistic features, but few studies have discussed these issues so far. We also do not yet know much about suprasegmental and paralinguistic aspects and their connection with sociolinguistic variation in Dublin. Work has also been done on the interactions between different varieties of Dublin English and supraregional Irish English, and between exonormative and endonormative (quasi) standards of English more generally. These studies consider a synchronic perspective but also deal with language change. Interesting studies have appeared and recent insights have been gained regarding multilingualism in Dublin, concerning both the use and status of the two official languages of Ireland, Irish and English, and the use of other languages. Although a number of studies have already looked at mediatized language in Dublin, the field is still expanding. Future investigations could consider data beyond the traditional mass media radio and television, for example, as Walshe (2009; 2016; 2017) has done for films. Other data sources like YouTube videos have been used successfully in studies on other varieties of English (Schneider 2016; Zähres 2021), and could be exploited for Irish English as well.

Investigations of Irish English also sometimes include data from Dublin without focusing on issues relating to language use in Dublin in particular—speakers from Dublin are, for example, included in the ICE-Ireland corpus (Kallen and Kirk 2008). Many of the results of these studies thus contain information on the sociolinguistics of Dublin English as well. Taken together with the studies that focus on Dublin English exclusively, we have a large body of research that addresses various sociolinguistic issues; but in spite of the resulting advances that have been made in the field, there are still a number of questions concerning Dublin English that could be explored in the future, especially from the perspective of ‘third-wave’ sociolinguistics, as it is hoped this study has shown.

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CHAPTER 17

IRISH ENGLISH IN GALWAY CITY

ARNE PETERS

17.1 INTRODUCTION

URBAN speech varieties of English in the Republic of Ireland have gained rather little attention in sociolinguistic research in the past, with the prominent exception of Dublin English. In contrast to the rich array of studies of urban Irish English in Northern Ireland (see Hickey, Chapter 11 this volume), there are very few systematic sociolinguistically oriented and/or corpus-based studies of urban Irish English in Cork city (see Bessell, Chapter 18 this volume) or, in fact, in any other larger town in the Republic of Ireland. Irish English in Galway City only began featuring in sociolinguistic research more recently, with a general focus on the phonology of the variety. (Two exceptions worth mentioning are Kallen's 2009 and Kallen and Ní Dhonnacha's (2010) analysis of linguistic landscaping in Galway City; see section 17.5.) While Collins (1997) and Peters (2009; 2012; 2013) examined a number of phonological features of the inner-city varieties of Claddagh/*An Cladach* and Bohermore/*An Bóthar Mór* respectively, cross-city variability was in focus for Sell (2009; 2012) and Peters (2016) for parts of the vowel and consonant systems. While especially the latter three studies have produced detailed variationist sociolinguistic insights into linguistic and social factors underlying feature variability in Galway City, a comprehensive account of the phonological properties of the variety has yet to be provided. At the same time, existing descriptions of western Irish English phonology are largely based upon (hence also framed by) accounts that exist for the one more prominent variety of urban Southern Irish English, i.e. Dublin English (e.g. Hickey 2005), as well as by many dialectologically oriented accounts providing incomplete or piecemeal evidence of pronunciation features of rural and urban southern and/or western varieties of Irish English (Henry 1957; 1958; Delahunty 1977; Wells 1982; Ó Baoill 1997; Ó hÚrdail 1997a; 1997b; Hickey 2007a; 2007b; 2008; Moylan 2008; Hughes et al. 2012; Kallen 2013).

In light of both the achievements and desiderata outlined above, the present chapter is structured as follows in order to respond to three major aims: firstly, it provides a concise account of the historical roots of Irish English in Galway City as well as the persisting and intensive contact between Irish and English in a complex urban bilingual setting over eight centuries (see section 17.3). Secondly, the chapter provides a comprehensive overview of vowel and consonant features of Irish English in Galway City that are characteristic of the city's soundscape, and that have been found to exhibit patterns of variation and/or change with a view to social categories such as age, sex/gender, and social status group (see section 17.4). Finally, the chapter addresses the question 'What makes Irish English in Galway City typically Galwegian?', opening up a discussion of possible directions that third-wave sociolinguistic research may take in combining the cognitive and variationist sociolinguistic frameworks with corpus linguistic methods (see section 17.5).

17.2 GALWAY CITY

The city of Galway (Ir. *Cathair na Gaillimhe*) is a commercial, industrial, administrative, and educational centre located on the banks of the river Corrib at the mid-western Atlantic coast of the Republic of Ireland (see Map 17.1). With an urban population of 83,456 in 2022 (Central Statistics Office 2022) and an estimated population of 98,700 by the year 2022 (Galway City Council 2017), the city is a fast-growing urban agglomeration, and is preceded only by Dublin City (Ir. *Cathair Bhaile Átha Cliath*), Cork City (Ir. *Cathair Chorcaí*), and Limerick City (Ir. *Cathair Luimnigh*). Galway City has experienced considerable growth of population and, as a consequence, an extensive urban sprawl, both historically but especially in more recent times. Historically, periods of economic growth and prosperity as well as periods of stagnation and recession repeatedly gave way to one another and left their marks upon the city in what can be roughly divided into three major formative periods: Old Galway (1100–1600), Early Modern Galway (1600–1900), and Modern Galway (1900–today). Old Galway was characterized by the conquest of the native Irish settlement called *Baile an tSrutháin* ('the town of the stream') and its castle, *Dún Bhun na Gaillimhe* ('fortress at the mouth of the river Galway') by the Anglo-Normans in 1232 and the subsequent growth of the now Anglo-Norman settlement. This development was accompanied by increasing trade relations with other port cities in Europe and the Americas and growing prosperity until about 1600. Early Modern Galway then was marked by receding trade relations and decreasing prosperity brought about by the Irish rebellion against England and the religious conflicts of the seventeenth century. It experienced economic stagnation and accelerating in-migration from surrounding rural areas due to poverty until about 1820 as well as the Famine years (1845–8) and subsequent economic recession, which resulted in widespread pauperism and catastrophic losses among the population due to starvation and mass emigration until

about 1900. Modern Galway in turn was characterized by slow economic recovery between the 1930s and the 1970s and by accelerated economic growth in the 1970s and 1980s. It experienced the economic boom of the 1990s and early 2000s, with widespread social prosperity, and again considerable population growth caused by in-migration from the surrounding areas and immigration from all over the world. In contrast, however, it also experienced the economic downturn of the late 2000s and early 2010s. Eventually, this recession gave way to steady economic recovery and continuing population growth due to in-migration and immigration well into the 2020s (for more detailed accounts, see Hardiman 1820; O'Sullivan 1942; O'Dowd 1985; Murray 1993; Mannion 2012; Peters 2016).



MAP 17.1 Map of the city of Galway and its main divisions in 2023

17.3 A SOCIAL HISTORY OF IRISH ENGLISH IN GALWAY CITY

The development of English in Galway spans a time of roughly eight centuries, and is a story of language contact, variation, and change. In fact, at no point in the city's history was English the sole language of the population, even though it has been associated with high social prestige for more than 600 years. The language of both high (H) and low (L) domains spoken in *Baile an tSrutháin*, i.e. pre-Anglo-Norman Galway, and in its hinterland were varieties of late Middle (900–1200) or early Modern Irish (1200–today). For the settlement proper, this changed with the Anglo-Norman conquest of *Dún Bhun*

na Gaillimhe in 1232, with Norman French now becoming ‘the language of law, literature, polite society, commerce, and civic government’ (O’Sullivan 1942: 451) until about the end of the thirteenth century. However, it is unknown for precisely how long Norman French was spoken in Galway City, as it is not until 1484 that municipal records appear, and these are written almost entirely in English (O’Sullivan 1942: 450). The absence of evidence from the time between 1232 and 1484 renders it impossible to assess in which domains and with which degree of bi- or multilingualism Norman French remained in use in Galway, and to which extent English already played a role. Nonetheless, it is safe to assume that bilingualism/multilingualism were widespread for two reasons: firstly, the Anglo-Norman settlers were a group of people marked by great linguistic heterogeneity. Hickey (2007a: 50) observes that this group did not only comprise military leaders, i.e. ‘the ruling landlords’, of Anglo-Norman descent but also English speakers, Welsh speakers, and Flemish speakers occupying lower ranks. However, ‘the English had a greater status vis-à-vis the Welsh and Flemish’ and ‘[t]he latter groups may have continued to use their native language for a time but without any influence on the remaining languages’ (Hickey 2007a: 48). Secondly, Galway emerged as an Anglo-Irish enclave in the middle of an existing Irish-speaking tradition (Mannion 2012: 139–40). While Irish was not used in H domains and was not a home language within Galway’s city walls, it remained ‘the speech of the colony’s immediate neighbours’ (O’Sullivan 1942: 452) both in H(igh) and L(ow) domains, with some of the native settlements such as Claddagh village (Ir. *An Cladach*) to the west and Menlo village (Ir. *Mionlach*) to the north-east, thriving in direct proximity to the city. In fact, it seems that Irish exerted quite some influence on the Anglo-Norman rulers in Galway, to the extent that they started to adopt their own language and customs to the surrounding Irish from the early fourteenth century onwards (Hardiman 1820: 56). This change from Norman French to Irish among the ruling classes all over Ireland is known as ‘Gaelicization’, and resulted in a somewhat alienated position for the remaining group of wealthy English-speaking merchant families such as the Blake family¹ in Galway. Although their lifestyles were firmly oriented towards the old English homeland (O’Dowd 1985: 2), their economic survival depended almost entirely on the Irish hinterland. They thus found themselves in a dichotomy that was to become a key factor in the cultural and social linguistic development of Galway over many centuries.

Even though Irish superseded Norman French as the language of H domains in both rural and urban places all over Ireland, English had finally established itself as the language of prestige in the city of Galway by the early fifteenth century. Four Blake family papers written between 1430 and 1449 can be regarded as the first specimen of Irish English in Galway City. They are written in what O’Sullivan (1942: 452) calls some ‘quaint but very clear’ form of Middle English, ‘if anything, more flexible than that of

¹ The Blakes were one of the so-called ‘tribes’ of Galway, i.e. one of the 14 merchant families that dominated the political, economic, and societal landscape of the city between the 14th and the 19th centuries (see e.g. Hardiman 1820; O’Sullivan 1942; O’Dowd 1985).

many similar written documents of contemporary England.⁷ The following extract from the first Blake family paper from 1430 (taken from O'Flaherty 1864: 203) gives an impression of English in Galway in the first half of the fifteenth century:

- (1) Knowynge be thus to alle men yn time to comyng that y henry Blake and Walter Blake customers of þ^e Kyng & John Reede countroller of þ^e porte of þ^e Galvy & of Slego haye ymade delyveraunce to Saunder lynche et Davy Botyller vi. marc x^s. [. . .] In þe wyttenes Soverayne and of þe Galvy & many mo. And her to þe for sayde Saunder and Davy have put to har seals. Iwrote at þe Galvy þe xx^{ti}. Day of August. The zere regnyng of Kyng henry þe VI. after þe conquest þe viii. 3er.

[Thus may it be known to all men in times to come that I, Henry Blake, and Walter Blake, tradesmen of the King and John Reede, customs accountant of the ports of Galway and Sligo, have made deliverance of six marks and ten shillings to Saunder Lynche and Davy Botyller. [. . .] Witnessed by the Sovereign and by Galway and many more. And hereto the foresaid Saunder and Davy have put their seals. Written at Galway the twentieth day of August. In the eighth year of the reign of King Henry VI after the conquest. (translation AP)]

While the Blake family papers deliver proof for English being the language of one influential Galwegian merchant family, the records of the Corporation of Galway of 1484 confirm the establishment of English as the language of the whole city. These records were mainly written in English and contained only marginal instances of Latin, while providing ample evidence for the relative modernization that English in Galway had undergone (Examples 2 and 3) since its first orthographic appearance in the Blake family manuscripts.

- (2) That no man of this corporation be served with any writ or process until the matter be first tried by the mayor and council of this town, *sub poena* 20l. (1486, Galway Corporation, Liber A, Hardiman 1820: 198)
- (3) If any man should bring any Irishman to brage or boste upon the towne, to forfeit 12d. That no man of this town shall oste or receive into ther housses at Christemas, Easter nor no feaste elles, any of the Burks, M^cWilliams, the Kellies, nor no cepte elles, withoute license of the mayor and counsell, on payn to forfeit 5l. that neither O' ne Mac shall strutte ne swaggere thro' the streets of Gallway. that no freeman quit the town without license from the mayor, *sub paena* 20s. (1518, Galway Corporation, Liber A, Hardiman 1820: 201)

With Norman French demonstrably gone from the city by 1484, what remained was a diglossic situation involving English and Irish, as the location of English-speaking Galway in an Irish-speaking country made it an economic necessity for Galwegians to have at

least a working knowledge of Irish (O'Sullivan 1942: 453; Peters 2016: 37; for the broader Irish perspective, see Kallen 2013: 13–18).

The relationship between English-speakers from Galway and Irish-speakers from the surrounding areas remained a complicated issue until well into the eighteenth century. Numerous by-laws enacted by the Corporation of Galway between 1486 and 1779 give evidence of the struggle of the 'Old English' Galwegians to draw a line between themselves and the 'native' Irish by keeping them outside the confines of the city (see Example 3). However, by the mid-eighteenth century numerous so-called 'Irish' quarters started to grow in direct adjacency to the city walls. Today's areas of Bohermore (Ir. *An Bóthar Mór*), Eyre Square (Ir. *An Fhaiche Mhór*), Woodquay (Ir. *Barr an Caladh*), Newtownsmith (Ir. *Baile Nua Mhic Gabhann*), Dominick Street (Ir. *Sráid Dhoiminic*), and Merchants Road (Ir. *Bóthar na gCeannaithe*) all began as Irish quarters. They were housing both speakers of English who had moved from the overcrowded city and speakers of Irish who had moved from the hinterland. With this, these quarters provided a much more hospitable ground for Irish–English language contact (for a detailed description see Peters 2016: 48–68). In fact, there is evidence for Irish exerting a considerable and long-lasting influence on the development of English in Galway. Ó Dochartaigh (1984: 70–71) observes that 'the 1651 map shows that the Irish language had greatly influenced the place names within the town',² with many landmarks in Galway bearing anglicized versions of Irish names. For about 200 years, English and Irish existed alongside each other in Galway City, creating a social space with widespread bilingualism and intensive language contact. The English that developed here, just as in the rural areas, was that of the early modern period, and was shaped to some degree by uncontrolled second language acquisition and intensive transfer between Irish and English on all levels of the linguistic system (see e.g. Hickey 2007a; 2008; Kallen 2013). Despite the loss of native Irish speakers due to starvation and emigration during the Great Famine of 1845–8 (cf. Hindley 1990: 13–20), Irish seems to have remained an integral part of the city's linguistic ecology. Commenting on the time around 1890, Ó Dochartaigh (1984: 71) states:

- (4) San am úd bhí leathbhróg Ghealach agus leathbhróg Ghallda á gcaitheamh ag muintir na Gaillimhe, agus ba chuma leo cé acu teanga a labhróidís, Béarla nó Gaeilge; agus bhí an Ghaeilge ar fheabhas an domhain ag go leor acu, ag siopadóirí, ag lucht dlí, ag dochtúirí agus ag an lucht oibre ar fad.
[At that time the people of Galway were wearing one Irish and one foreign shoe, and they did not care which language was spoken, English or Irish; and many of them spoke the world's best Irish, shopkeepers, lawyers, doctors and the whole working-class. (translation AP)]

² 'Léiríonn léarscáil 1651 [...] go raibh an Ghaeilge tar éis dul i bhfeidhm go mór ar áitainmneacha an bhaile.' (Ó Dochartaigh 1984: 70; translation AP)

However, by the time of the 1911 Census, it transpires that only population groups aged 40+ and only in some parts of the city still claimed to be speakers of English and Irish, while younger age groups appear to have been English-speaking only (National Archives of Ireland 2021). With the destruction of the old Claddagh/*An Cladach* in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the Irish language lost one of its remaining strongholds in the city, largely giving way to the situation as it stands today (see e.g. O'Dowd 1993: 16–19; Peters 2016: 52–3). According to the 2016 Census, only 4.3% of Galway's population claimed to be daily speakers of Irish, while more than two-fifths of Galwegians claimed to have 'some knowledge of the language' (Central Statistics Office 2016). With this, Irish English has been the strongest home language in Galway City for most of the twentieth century, and continues to be the dominant language in the city. In addition, the 2016 Census also records that almost one-fifth of Galwegians are non-Irish nationals, with large linguistic communities from western, central, and eastern Europe as well as from Africa, South America, and Asia, contributing a broad variety of home languages to the soundscape of twenty-first-century Galway.

17.4 CONTEMPORARY IRISH ENGLISH IN GALWAY CITY

Irish English in Galway City has been classified as an urban variety of western Southern Irish English (Peters 2016), which makes it somewhat different from rural varieties of Southern Irish English on the one hand and from varieties of Southern Irish English in the east, south-east, south-west, and in the Midlands on the other hand. These geographical distinctions are motivated both historically and structurally and receive comprehensive treatment in, for example, Hickey (2007a), Corrigan (2010), and Kallen (2013). However, in many previous linguistic accounts, the west and the south-west of Ireland are treated as one large dialectal area (e.g., Filppula 1999: 34; Hickey 2007b: 143), which may be mistaken as evidence for a lack of distinctive features between the varieties spoken in these regions. Nevertheless, it needs to be pointed out that, despite Henry's (1958) attempt at initiating a comprehensive study of dialect features of Southern Irish English and Hickey's (2004a) compilation of *A Sound Atlas of Irish English*, a large-scale and contemporary assessment of dialect boundaries in the Republic remains a desideratum. Hence, the absence of distinctions between the west and the south-west as well as between urban and rural spaces within these regions does not imply an absence of (potential) linguistic differences.

17.4.1 Phonetic features of Irish English in Galway City

As illustrated in section 17.2, English in Galway City looks back at a history of development and contact that spans some 800 years. Linguistic interest in features of

the variety, however, has been a much more recent phenomenon. In fact, English in the west of Ireland, in Connacht or in Galway City specifically, has featured much less prominently in linguistic research than, for instance, English in Dublin, south-eastern Irish English, English in Belfast, and Northern Irish English. The following short and anecdotal side-note remark by Joyce (1991 [1910]: 95) can be counted as one of the first references to English in Galway (city) in a publication with a linguistic focus:

Many years ago I knew a fine old gentleman from Galway. He wished to make people believe that in the old fighting times, when he was a young man, he was a desperate *gladiaathor*; but he really was a gentle creature who never in all his born days hurt man or mortal.

While this short passage allows a glimpse into both the vowel and the consonant space of (one speaker of) English in Galway in the early twentieth century, it is primarily diagnostic of the approach that usually was taken towards varieties and variation during the time. In this approach, an anecdote of a passage of speech once overheard usually was deemed sufficient evidence for the existence of a feature—and the speech reported tended to come from so-called NORMs, i.e. non-mobile, older, rural males (cf. Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 29). More comprehensive dialectological accounts of English in Ireland's west region/Connacht only start appearing from the late 1950s onwards. Most of these, however, only address scattered phonological and morpho-syntactic properties, and few actually mention Galway City, hence allowing speculative inferences about features of English in Galway City only (see Henry 1957; 1958; Wells 1982; Ó Baoill 1997; Ó hÚrdail 1997a; 1997b; Hickey 2007b; 2008; Moylan 2008; Hughes et al. 2012; Kallen 2013). However, with the advent of the more recent approaches of sociolinguistics, such as 'third-wave' sociolinguistics (Eckert 2012), to Ireland in recent years, more systematic and empirically grounded analyses of Irish English start appearing, also for Galway City. While Collins (1997) and Peters (2009; 2012; 2013) conduct studies of social networks and communities of practice in the inner-city areas of Claddagh/*An Cladach* and Bohermore/*An Bóthar Mór* respectively, Sell (2009; 2012) and Peters (2016) focus on large-scale sampling and cross-city variability with a view to analysing parts of the vowel and consonant systems of Irish English in Galway City. Especially the latter three studies have produced detailed variationist insights into linguistic and social factors underlying feature variability in Galway City. Overall, it is noteworthy that most data-based attestations of features of contemporary Irish English in Galway City come from the 2000s and 2010s, showing how interest in the variety has accelerated over the past ten to fifteen years. Tables 17.1 and 17.2 summarize the status quo of original research on vowel and consonant features of Irish English in Galway City.

Table 17.1 Attested vowel features of Irish English in Galway City

Lexical set	Realized as	Originally attested in
PEN/NEXT/ELSE	[ɪ], [ɛ]	Peters 2012; Kallen 2013
HAPPY	[ə], [əi]	Henry 1958; Peters 2012
GOAT/HOME	[o:], [ɔ], [ou]	Collins 1997; Peters 2009; 2012
FACE/NAME	[e:], [ɛ]	Peters 2012
START	[æ]	Hickey 2007a/b; Peters 2009
CHOICE	[aɪ], [vɪ], [ɔɪ]	Sell 2009
LOT	[ɑ], [ɒ]	Sell 2009
THOUGHT	[ɑ:], [ɒ:], [ɔ:]	Sell 2009
STRUT	[ʊ], [ʊ]	Peters 2012
FILM/FARM	[ə]-epenthesis	Sell 2012

Table 17.2 Attested consonant features of Irish English in Galway City

Lexical set	Realized as	Originally attested in
SKIN/SLOW/SMALL/ SNOW/STOP	[ʃ]	Peters 2009
THIN/FAITH	[t], [t̪], [t̪ ^h], [θ]	Ó hÚrdail 1997b; Peters 2012; 2013; 2016
THEN/BREATHE	[d], [d̪], [d̪ ^h], [ð]	Ó hÚrdail 1997b; Peters 2012; 2013; 2016

While both tables mostly confirm the existence of well-known diachronic or synchronic features of Southern Irish English for Galway City, they also attest quite some variability in the vowel and consonant space of the variety. This is an effect mainly due to the variationist sociolinguistic approach chosen by the studies by Sell (2009; 2012) and Peters (2009; 2012; 2013; 2016) and, to some extent, the study by Collins (1997). For these researchers, the main focus was not only on whether certain features were present or absent in Galway City vis-à-vis other varieties of Irish English, but also on the degree of variability these features had in correlation with social factors such as social network, community of practice, neighbourhood, age group, sex/gender, and socio-economic status. With this, they were able to confirm the coexistence of different realizations of variables in lexical sets such as GOAT/HOME, CHOICE, THOUGHT, THIN/FAITH, and THEN/BREATHE, while being able to assign social meaning to different variants and deliver proof for or against language change in progress.

17.4.2 Mapping variation and change in Irish English in Galway City

This section illustrates patterns of variation and change that have emerged among vowel and consonant features of Irish English in Galway City (as summarized in Tables 17.1 and 17.2).

17.4.2.1 *PEN/NEXT/ELSE*

The earliest evidence for the existence of /ε/-raising (*PEN/PIN* merger) in Galway City comes from a metalinguistic commentary in one of the Blake family manuscripts from 1430, i.e., ‘kettle vocatur cittel’, remarking on a local tendency for the raising of /ε/ to /ɪ/ in the word (or words having phonetic environments for /ε/ similar to that in) *kettle* (O’Sullivan 1942: 543). Possible origins for this widely attested feature in historical Irish English have been located in Irish-language admixture, retention of a pre-Great Vowel Shift raised vowel, or language universals (O’Sullivan 1942; Wells 1982; Ó Baoill 1997; Hickey 2007a; 2007b; 2008; Kallen 2013). While in Irish English the raising has changed its context of realization from unconditioned to conditioned (Hickey 2007a; 2007b), i.e. from a range of phonological environments as in *fresh*, *next*, *devil*, and *kettle* to only those that have /ε/ preceding a nasal consonant as in *them*, *friend(ship)*, and *remember*, Kallen (2013: 66–7) finds that in Galway (city) /ε/-raising in post-nasal and non-nasal environments such as ‘in [nɪkst] next and [ɪls] else is also not uncommon’. A study of English as spoken in the Bohermore/*Bóthar Mór* district of Galway City conducted by Peters (2012) finds that raising of /ε/ to /ɪ/ preceding a nasal consonant seems to be more prominent among speakers aged 50+. For this age group, the sample shows raising to occur in some 36% of all tokens as opposed to about 15% of all tokens among speakers aged 25–49. These results underpin the fact that /ε/-raising in Galway City, just as in the west and south-west of Ireland in general, seems to be on the retreat.

17.4.2.2 *HAPPY*

Henry (1958: 141) reports that a vowel off-glide [əɪ] in final position was a ‘characteristic value of final unstressed -y in N. Connacht’, and [ə] was typical in North Galway. Based on findings from a number of smaller towns and villages in Co. Galway, he infers that the realization of an item like *journey* in Galway (City) could very likely be [ˈdʒəːnə] or [ˈdʒəːnəɪ]. This is confirmed by Peters (2012: 36), whose analysis of the vowel space of Galway’s Bohermore/*Bóthar Mór* district returns a number of tokens for final vowel diphthongization in the *HAPPY* lexical set, including [ˈhæpeɪ] ‘happy’, [ˈɹiːleɪ] ‘really’, [ˈlʌvleɪ] ‘lovely’, and [ˈkʌntɹeɪ] ‘country’. As the off-glide occurs in only between 10% and 18% of all tokens and seems to be slightly more prominent among speakers aged 40+, the variant could arguably be interpreted either as having low-frequency stability or as being subject to change vis-à-vis the realization [i] in those varieties of English which show *HAPPY*-tensing (Wells 1982: 257–8).

17.4.2.3 GOAT/HOME and FACE/NAME

The monophthongal realization of the diphthongs in GOAT/LOT as [o:] and [ɔ] and in FACE/DRESS as [e:] and [ɛ] in most dialects of Southern Irish English has been discussed extensively (see e.g. Lass 1990; Kallen 2013). As an exception to the general rule, however, diphthongal values such as [ou] and [əʊ] are reported for Dublin English (Wells 1982; Hickey 2005; Lonergan 2013).

First evidence for the monophthongal value of the nucleus in Irish English in Galway City comes from the 'Statute Book of the Town of Galway', which records one instance of the lexical item *gottes* (=goats) as early as 1509.³ Surprisingly, Collins' (1997) study of the Claddagh/*An Cladach* district of Galway City finds that the use of diphthongal [ou] 'is common in both casual and formal speech styles' among three different generations of speakers aged 12–90 (1997: 153). Collins finds that speakers aged 20–40 (generation B) are leading a possible sound change in progress, with an average of 35% of all tokens in casual style being diphthongized (vis-à-vis some 28% in generation A and some 20% in generation C). She regards this development as being linked to the dense and multiplex Claddagh/*An Cladach* social network. Interestingly, instances of (o)-diphthongization are also described for Galway's Bohermore/*Bóthar Mór* district by Peters (2009; 2012), returning very low usage rates (between 12% and 0%) for [ou] in the formal and casual styles of all speakers. In Bohermore/*Bóthar Mór*, [o:] and [ɔ] are predominantly used in the GOAT and HOME lexical sets and, on the basis of a very limited sample, seem to point to little variation.

17.4.2.4 START

Hickey (2007a: 328; 2007b: 145) states that the monophthong [ɑ] in START is realized as tense, raised [æ] in vernacular varieties in an area along a line between south and west from Cork through Limerick up to Galway and Sligo—just as much as in eastern varieties of Irish English. In fact, raising of [ɑ] in items such as [stæ:ɪt] 'start', [hæ:ɪt] 'heart', and [kæ:ɪ] 'car' is also attested in Peters' (2009) data from Bohermore/*Bóthar Mór*. With speakers aged 20–40 and speakers aged 40–60 both realizing the variant, age does not seem to be the main or sole factor determining the variants' use. Instead, the three more local speakers seem to have higher frequencies than the one speaker who recently moved into a neighbouring district of Bohermore/*Bóthar Mór*, which could support Hickey's argument of vernacularity but which could also speak for a network-based interpretation or both.

17.4.2.5 THOUGHT, LOT, and CHOICE

In a cross-city study of variability in Galway, Sell (2009) discusses changes affecting the vowels in the THOUGHT, LOT, and CHOICE lexical sets. She analyses a number of vowel variants for each phonetic environment in order to establish the extent to which these

³ Whether the double <tt> in the word indicates a long monophthong [o:] or a short monophthong [ɔ], however, remains disputed (see Henry 1958: 65 vs Hickey 2007a: 64).

variants correlate with social variables such as age and gender, as well as the extent to which they deliver evidence for incoming variants. For *THOUGHT*, she finds that [ɑ:], [ɒ:], and [ɔ:] appear in Galway City speech, while the closer realization [o:] as found in advanced non-local Dublin English (Hickey 2004a: 44) does not occur. With unrounded [ɑ:] being realized infrequently (about 3%) in Galway English, the majority (about 87%) of tokens are realized as [ɒ:]. However, Sell records the occurrence of nine tokens (about 10%) of raised, rounded [ɔ:] that appear to be instances of the first stage of the new pronunciation coming in from Dublin English. As the probability of this incoming variant is much higher among young women aged between 18 and 20 (54%) than among young men (10%), this change in progress seems to be a classic example of young women as leaders of language change.

For *LOT*, Sell finds both [ɑ] and [ɒ], while [ɔ], as found in non-local Dublin English, does not occur in Galway City. The majority of speakers, both old and young, seem to prefer the traditional Galway variant [ɑ], while younger people show a tendency to also use the [ɒ] realization as an approximation to fashionable Dublin English and Standard Southern British English (Sell 2009: 196). At the same time, younger male speakers seem to show a higher probability of realizing [ɒ] (61%) than female speakers (46%); however, the difference is not significant. Since Sell finds that the factor age alone does not seem to account for the patterns in this alleged change in progress, she deems it likely that other independent variables such as social class also play a role.

For *CHOICE*, Sell finds that [ɑɪ], [ɒɪ], and [ɔɪ] are all used in Galway City speech, while shifted [oɪ], as in non-local Dublin English, does not occur. Younger generations seem to use both [ɒɪ] and [ɔɪ] frequently (about 52% and 37% respectively), whereas the traditional variant [ɑɪ] is much less frequent (about 11%) and appears to be limited to the speech of male and female speakers aged 40+. Again, young women aged 21–34 show a higher probability of using the incoming/innovative variant [ɔɪ] than male speakers in the same age group. Unlike the factor age, however, gender does not prove to be significant, indicating that further independent variables must influence variation.

17.4.2.6 *STRUT*

Peters (2012: 38–40) describes a tendency of local speakers from Galway's Bohermore/*Bóthar Mór* district to realize [ʌ] in *STRUT* either as centralized [ä] or as partially raised [ɔ], yielding values for [ʌ] such as in [bʌt̪]/[bɔt̪] 'but', [dʒʌst]/[dʒɔst] 'just', [mʌt̪]/[mɔt̪] 'much', and [ʌp]/[ɔp] 'up'. While the phonetic environment of the lowered/raised vowel does not seem to be a determining factor, the actual frequency of lexical items that have lowering/raising points to the possibility of the phenomenon being a case of lexicalization. In total, centralized [ä], partially raised [ɔ], and standard [ʌ] show a distribution of about 70%, 20%, and 10% respectively, making lowering by far the most prominent realization. Since this distribution does not appear to correlate with speaker age, one possibility of interpretation is stable variation.

17.4.2.7 *Schwa epenthesis*

The resolution of complex consonant clusters in codas such as /lm/, /ln/, /rm/, /rn/, /rl/, or in medial positions such as /tr/ or /bl/, by insertion of central unstressed vowel [ə] has been discussed widely for both rural and urban varieties of Irish English (see e.g. Wells 1982; Ó hÚrdail 1997a; Hickey 2007a). Sell's (2012) study of the phenomenon in Galway City shows that only about 12% of all tokens in her data featured schwa epenthesis, with one lemma, *FILM* ['fɪləm], showing extraordinarily high percentages of schwa inclusion (about 77%) as opposed to all other lexical items (about 3%). Sell (2012: 47) establishes a number of factors that determine the likelihood of epenthetic schwa, namely age, formality of speech, and coda position. As the likelihood of the feature is significantly lower among younger people, Sell interprets epenthesis to be subject to change in Galway City. Sell (2012: 63) explains the high frequency of schwa epenthesis in the lemma *FILM* with the item being a general marker of Irish English identity that many speakers in her study are well aware of and that many of them employ consciously to express their distinct linguistic identity.

17.4.2.8 */s/-palatalization*

/s/-palatalization in items such as [ʃtəp] 'stop', [ʃlo:] 'slow', [ʃno:] 'snow', [beʃt] 'best', [liʃn] 'listen', and [reʃl] 'wrestle' has been discussed as an archaic and stigmatized feature of vernacular speech in Gaeltacht and recent Gaeltacht areas, retaining consonant qualities of Irish in English (Ó Baoill 1997: 81; Ó hÚrdail 1997a: 185). Peters' (2009) data from the Bohermore/*Bóthar Mór* district of Galway City features only nine instances of /s/-palatalization in words such as [ʃkræp] 'scrap', [ʃte:] 'stay', and [ʃmɒl] 'small' out of a total of 665 items with a phonetic environment eligible for /s/-palatalization. These nine tokens, however, exclusively occur in 'situations of ridicule and intentional inclusion of pronunciation features of low social prestige' (Peters 2009: 54), i.e. in situations in which the speakers intentionally imitate older members of the rural population for the effect of humour and entertainment. Hence, /s/-palatalization may have the status of a linguistic stereotype, and it may function as a marker of an (archaic) rural Irish and/or Galwegian linguistic identity.

17.4.2.9 *THIN, FAITH and THEN, BREATHE*

The realization of the variables (th) and (dh) in *THIN*, *FAITH* and *THEN*, *BREATHE* (as well as in *THREE* and *THROUGH*) has been subject to broad discussion in linguistic analyses of Northern and Southern Irish English to date. Broadly speaking, alternative variants of the fricatives [θ] and [ð] in the Irish context include the alveolar plosives [t] and [d], the dental plosives [t̪] and [d̪], and the affricates [t̪θ] and [d̪ð]. Previous research has identified both language-internal and contact-induced motivations for *TH*-fortition both in Irish English and in other World Englishes (see e.g. Dubois and Horvath 1998; Hickey 2007a; Clarke 2010; Bekker and Van Rooy 2015). A number of linguistic and social constraints on (th, dh) variability have been found to be in operation, yielding patterns that may be quite diverse across Ireland. The baseline of the

discussion on realizations of (th) and (dh), however, can be summarized in simple terms as follows: firstly, Southern Irish English, as opposed to Northern Irish English, never has dental fricative realizations of (th) and (dh) with the exception of formal speech styles involving high degrees of self-monitoring and/or conscious efforts at producing variants that carry high social prestige. Secondly, oppositions such as [t^hɪn] *tin* and [t^hɪn] *thin*, [fe:t] *fate* and [fe:t̪] *faith*, [den] *den* and [d̪en] *then*, [bri:d] *breed* and [bri:d̪] *breathe* are maintained by distinctions of place of articulation (alveolar vs dental) rather than manner of articulation (fricative vs plosive). Thirdly, affricate realizations of (th, dh) as [t̪θ] and [d̪ð] seem plausible but generally lack substantiation on the basis of empirical data. (For detailed discussions see Henry 1958; Wells 1982; Harris 1997; Ó Baoill 1997; Ó hÚrdail 1997a; 1997b; Hickey 2004a; 2004b; 2005; 2007; 2008; Kallen 2013; Peters 2016).

For the context of Galway, Ó hÚrdail (1997b: 142) finds that ‘Galway City has the alveolar plosives for dentals in *thousand*, *thin*, *that*, *then*, *this*, *there’s* (homophonous with *dares*); the articulation is dental, however in *draw*, *drive*, *after*, *fodder*, and *matter*, i.e. in the environment of /r/ (Hickey 2004a; 2007b; 2007a). He argues that the generalization of alveolar [t] and [d] is a widespread and continuously growing feature, ‘particularly in the case of young speakers’ (Ó hÚrdail 1997b: 142). This view, however, is opposed by Hickey (2007b: 78), who states that the use of the dental stops [t̪] and [d̪] in THIN and BREATHE is a ‘distinctive feature of the west’. Both these views as well as the baseline assumptions on (th, dh) variability in Irish English (in Galway City) are examined by Peters (2012), who studies generationally stratified female working-class speakers from the district of Bohermore/*Bóthar Mór*. On the one hand, his analysis confirms Hickey’s (2007b: 78) view in that there is a general preference for dental [t̪, d̪] over alveolar [t, d]. On the other, his study finds a tendency of speakers to actually realize phonetic [θ, ð] in informal/casual speech styles. In the analysis, only about 60% out of a total of 3,256 tokens are subject to fortition, meaning that about 4 out of 10 lexical items containing (th, dh) are realized with phonetic [θ, ð], a fact strongly contradicting baseline assumptions about (th, dh) variability in Southern Irish English. These findings are substantiated in Peters (2016: 163–87), whose analysis of 4,053 tokens from across the city shows that: (1) speakers aged 30–49 and speakers aged 50–69 from the upper class show high frequencies of standard [θ, ð], namely 63% and 49% respectively; (2) speakers aged 30–49, 50–69, and 70+ both from the middle class and from the working class have solid to high frequencies of non-standard [t̪, d̪] (WC: 30–75%, MC: 32–40%); (3) alveolar [t, d] are more associated with working-class and middle-class speakers aged 50+ than with any other group, peaking at a relatively low 21% for both groups; (4) members of the middle class of all ages fluctuate considerably between fricative and dental plosive realizations, which may be interpreted both as conscious approximation to the extra-national norm of England and as dialectal stability; (5) female speakers aged 10–29 from the working class seem to be leading in a change towards higher frequencies of the prestige forms, i.e. the standard fricative realizations [θ, ð]; (6) male speakers aged 20–29 from the middle class appear to be the leaders in a change towards higher frequencies of the affricate variants [t̪θ, d̪ð], which hence may be interpreted as possible candidates

for markers of middle-class identity in Irish English in Galway City. In addition, the study shows that (7) speakers from dense and multiplex working-class neighbourhoods such as Bohermore/*Bóthar Mór*, Claddagh/*An Cladach*, Shantalla/*Seantalamh*, and Newcastle/*An Caisleán Nua* have higher frequencies of dental (37% vs 24%) and alveolar realizations (11% vs 8%) than speakers from middle-class and upper-class neighbourhoods in the rest of the city, who in turn have higher frequencies of fricative (50% vs 39%) and affricate realizations (15% vs 11%). However, only fricative and dental realizations show significant differences across the city's neighbourhoods, pointing to the possibility of these two variants being intra-urban linguistic markers.

17.5 LANDSCAPES, IDENTITIES, AND COGNITION: THE FUTURE OF IRISH ENGLISH RESEARCH IN GALWAY CITY

From the discussion so far it is clear that the main linguistic focus on Irish English in Galway City to date has been on phonological commonalities or differences vis-à-vis other varieties of (Southern) Irish English as well as on intra-urban variability in connection with processes of language variation and change. To this day, few attempts have been made at researching morphosyntactic, lexical, or discourse-pragmatic particularities of the variety on an empirical basis. At the same time, phonological interest has begun moving in the direction of the third wave of sociolinguistics (Eckert 2012), with ethnographic observations enabling an analysis of systematic correlations between microsociological local categories and configurations on the one hand and linguistic variability on the other (see Collins 1997; Sell 2009; 2012; Peters 2012; 2016).

In a similar vein, yet moving away from dialectological and variationist approaches, Kallen (2009) and Kallen and Ní Dhonnacha (2010) aptly demonstrate that applying other sociolinguistic perspectives to local configurations in Galway City can contribute to understanding the complex linguistic ecology that multilingual urban spaces contain. In a study of mono- and bilingual signage in Galway City, Kallen (2009)⁴ illustrates how tourism, language policy, and linguistic vitality interact in creating a linguistic landscape that accommodates a multitude of communicative acts and that indexes diverse aspects of cultural and linguistic local identity. He finds that a large percentage of sign units in Galway are bilingual Irish-English in both private (41%) and public spheres (44%), bearing witness to the relative significance ascribed to both languages as markers of local linguistic identity. At the same time, his in-depth analysis of both complementary and congruent bilingual signage shows that

⁴ Four further examples are discussed in Kallen and Ní Dhonnacha (2010: 24–9), albeit within a line of argumentation different from that in Kallen (2009).

the linguistic landscape of Galway City is a setting where Irish is visible but ‘not essential to an understanding of the message, but where the overall image is indexical of the language and, in turn, of the cultural elements which Irish itself indexes’ (Kallen 2009: 281). This is a direct reflection of the dichotomy between Irish and English identities in Galway that has been a key issue in the city’s linguistic and cultural realities for centuries (as described in section 17.3). Just as knowledge of Irish was an economic necessity in Old Galway, display of Irish in shops and businesses in Modern Galway can be interpreted as ‘a self-presentation strategy to influence consumer behaviour’ (Kallen and Ní Dhonnacha 2010: 25). This self-presentation may be regarded as being directed at two audiences: members of the cultural in-group (i.e. Galwegians past and present, but also Irish people more generally), who ascribe positive, negative, or neutral values to the visibility and the ample roles/functions of Irish in the city,⁵ and members of the cultural out-group (i.e. tourists and visitors), who often hold stereotypical expectations and positive evaluations regarding the presence of Irish in the Irish context more generally. Despite the predominant role that Irish plays in this complex negotiation of cultural semiotic values, one of the future questions posed to sociolinguistic endeavours in Galway City will be to what extent not only Irish but also Irish English encode values of local identities. This question could be approached by way of continuing the types of variationist, second-wave approaches to feature variability as initiated by Collins, Sell, and Peters and/or by way of launching third-wave sociolinguistic investigations into stylistic practices and the underlying social semiotic system they are embedded in (see Eckert 2012: 24).

A third future direction in Irish English research, however, is proposed by Peters (2017), who calls for a cognitive lens in sociolinguistic and corpus-based approaches to variability. Within the purview of cognitive sociolinguistics, large and/or specialized corpora are made the basis of research into patterns of speech at all levels of the linguistic system that express the collective memories, world-views, and values of a particular sociocultural group. Utilizing an analytic toolbox that comprises notions such as (*cultural*) *keywords*, *collocations*, *categories*, *schemas*, as well as *conceptual metaphors* and *metonymies*, the cognitive sociolinguistic approach to language corpora seeks to retrieve significant cultural-cognitive information. Such information can involve differences between, for example, the lexicons of varieties of English that express differing conceptualizations regarding sociocultural realities in which a particular group of speakers find themselves (see e.g. Kallen 1997; Wierzbicka 1997; Kirk 2009; Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009; Kirk and Kallen 2011; Sharifian 2017; Wolf, Polzenhagen, and Peters 2017). Peters (2017) demonstrates the applicability of this approach to the context of Irish English. While mainly basing his analysis on data from ICE-Ireland (collected between 1999 and 2005), he also draws on the *Corpus of Galway City Spoken English* (CGCSE; collected between 2008 and 2010) in order to substantiate uses of English in Ireland that

⁵ For a more comprehensive outline of (historical) attitudes towards Irish and Irish English, see Hickey (2007a: 19–24).

express notions of Irish sociocultural identity.⁶ While the CGCSE is a relatively small corpus of about 125,000 words, it is a specialized collection of ethnographic interviews that may serve as a starting point for researching patterns of language use that express a type of local Galwegian cultural cognition. In other words, this approach focuses on the question ‘What makes Irish English in Galway City typically Galwegian?’ or ‘Which linguistic elements reflect cognitive patterns shared by members of the cultural in-group on the local level?’ While the discussion of the phonology of contemporary Irish English in Galway City in section 17.4 has yielded a number of features and processes that are more or less characteristic of some neighbourhoods of the city or some social strata of its population, with the data at hand it is impossible to state from the perspective of language perception to what extent these features carry social and/or cultural meaning among members of the cultural in-group. In other words, phonological features may or may not be typically Galwegian, but the social and cultural categories they index on the local level (in the sense of Kristiansen 2003) remain to be uncovered.

Lexical features, on the other hand, may be much more straightforward in referencing local identity and meaning, simply because they may be unique to a place and their sociocultural meaning may be decipherable only from an in-group (or an informed out-group) perspective. For example, the CGCSE contains a wide range of toponyms and geonyms that are endowed with local knowledge and meaning, social and cultural importance, and, from an anthropological perspective, with ‘certain conventional ways of imagining and interpreting [...] the past’ (Basso 1996: xv). Hence, typically Galwegian placenames such as Bohermore/*An Bóthar Mór*, Claddagh/*An Cladach*, Knocknacarra/*Cnoc na Cathrach*, Newcastle/*Caisleán Nua*, and Doughiska/*Dabhach Uisce* are constructed within a contextualized naming system (cf. Peters and van Hattum 2021) and carry inherent word-meanings that reference perceptions and descriptions that were deemed relevant in the historical development of these places: *An Bóthar Mór* remains ‘the big road’ that enters Galway’s city centre from the east, and *Cnoc na Cathrach* remains the western ‘hill of the city’. *An Cladach*, however, is not quite ‘the seashore’ on the western banks of the river Corrib it used to be, but has become a fully regulated and embanked riparian strip. Similarly, *Caisleán Nua* and *Dabhach Uisce* have lost the features that once defined them, i.e. a ‘new castle’ and a ‘water pond’ respectively. These inherent word meanings and references are accessible for anyone speaking Irish, and may well be known to any person from Galway even if they do not have a command of the language. From a cognitive sociolinguistic perspective, however, the above place names carry a further type of meaning because they index categorical and schematic knowledge shared by the local community about events, actors, social and linguistic behaviours, etc. relating to these places. Hence, the place names carry not only inherent but also sociocultural-evaluative meaning in the form of perceptions of the

⁶ His examples from Galway include uses of the lemmas FAIRY, NUN, and CHURCH from generationally stratified speakers of Irish English, and they substantiate both the persevering and the renegotiating character of cultural conceptualizations in Irish English across generations (Peters 2017: 138–43).

areas themselves and attitudes towards people who live in these parts of Galway. These evaluations are extractable from local language corpora such as the CGCSE, and surface in descriptions as in Examples (5) and (6).

- (5) Doughiska–people'd call it Polishka because there's a lot of Polish people in there. [female informant, aged 31, Bohermore; CGCSE: GAL-BM-DC001]
- (6) Gaelcarraig Park in Newcastle was grand. It was quiet at first and then it became a bit of a ... Westside was kinda renowned for its eh joy ridin' an' criminality basically, so it got a bit kinda rough on the road, I'd say, from when I was about eight to about eighteen. It felt really, it was a really rough, an' kinda a lotta joy ridin', a lotta cars bein' burnt, lotta burglaries and things like that. An' it was known as the shithole of Galway for a while so but it's quiet now, it's really quiet an' so, well, as far as I know or nearly so. [male informant, aged 29, Newcastle/Westside; CGCSE: GAL-NC-ST016]

As can be seen from (5) and (6), the extraction of attitudes and perceptions can be based on readily available or purpose-built corpus data, where frequent collocations within a certain search horizon of a particular place name help to uncover conventional cognitive-conceptual evaluations associated with certain areas, places, and spaces within a city. Alternatively, intra-urban perceptions and attitudes such as in (5) and (6) can be extracted from target-oriented and more quantitatively laid out perception studies conducted among samples of speakers from various parts of Galway in a fashion similar to that applied in studies of Irish English in Dublin (e.g. Lonergan 2016; Schulte 2019; Lucek and Garnett 2020). Ideally, however, these two types of perception studies should complement each other in order to produce an accurate cognitive-conceptual picture of in-group (and out-group) perceptions of linguistic and sociocultural urban identity in Galway City.

17.6 CONCLUSION

From the previous discussion it is clear that the future(s) of Irish English research in Galway City will lie in the continuation of second-wave and third-wave sociolinguistic approaches to feature variability and identity construction on the one hand and on an expanded corpus of spoken and written Galway City English with further research on in-group cognitive-conceptual patterns on the other. What makes Irish English in Galway City a rewarding object of investigation is the persisting contact between the linguistic and semiotic systems of Irish and English that will continue to shape an increasingly multilingual group of speakers of western urban Irish English.

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CHAPTER 18

IRISH ENGLISH IN CORK CITY

NICOLA J. BESSELL

18.1 INTRODUCTION

CORK City is situated on the south-western coast of the island of Ireland, within the historical flood plain of the River Lee. The Irish name for the city is ‘Corcaigh’, from *corcach*, meaning ‘marsh’. Several kilometres before entering Lough Mahon and the upper reaches of Cork harbour, the river Lee divides into two channels, one to the north and one to the south of a series of what were once low islands within extensive marshes. The two channels reunite further downstream before entering the lough. The topography of the river estuary made it suitable for early settlement, since the marshes and islands between the two channels provided access to the land on either bank. At the same time the site was protected yet accessible from the harbour and the sea. The earliest settlements in the estuary were built on the south bank of the south channel of the river. These were monastic settlements, dating from the sixth or seventh century CE. Early in the ninth century the Vikings made their first raids on the monastic settlements, but over time they too settled on the south bank of the river. By the late eleventh century settlement had expanded to the southernmost of the two larger islands in the marsh. Given the commerce associated with Viking sea trade, Cork became a focus for the local Gaelic overlords. The land above the north branch of the Lee directly across from the original south bank settlement is thought to be the site of the *seandún* or ‘old fortification’, which housed the Irish MacCarthy kings of Desmond (Nicholls 2005). This area is now known as Shandon, and like the south bank settlement, it is a very old part of Cork. The Gaelic overlords and the Danes struggled for control of the developing town, with the Irish in control by the end of the eleventh century (Hurley 2005). The Vikings continued to play a part in Cork life for at least another century. They participated in the sea defence of Cork against the Normans in 1173, but after the Anglo-Norman conquest they were expelled from the area (Hurley 2005). Under the Normans, Cork was granted a charter, the city walls were fortified, and the medieval city developed along a direct route between the bridges that spanned the northern and southern channels of the river.

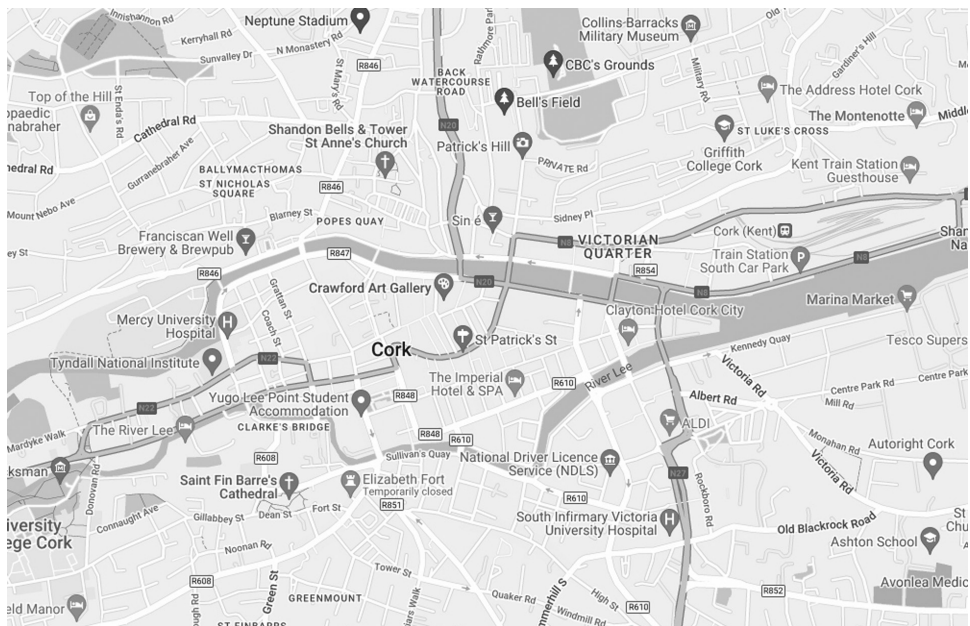
This route remains today as North Main Street and South Main Street.¹ Modern-day Cork City is the administrative centre of the largest county in the Republic of Ireland. Cork is the second largest city in the Republic. The current city boundaries are the latest in a series of expansions from the early southside settlements, the island spine of the medieval city, and the northern projection of Shandon. Prior to 2019 the administrative boundaries of Cork City contained a population of 125,000 (Central Statistics Office 2020). In 2019 the city boundaries expanded to outlying areas, increasing the population to 210,000. The history of expansion, settlement, and urban resettlement in Cork plays a role in the distribution of varieties of Irish English spoken in the city to this day. For this reason a brief summary is useful.

18.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF CORK CITY

From the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth, Cork participated very successfully in the Atlantic provisions trade, mostly in butter and beef (McCarthy 2000). As a result, Cork's merchant class prospered and eventually began to build premises outside the old city. A 'new city' developed on the edges of the old as adjacent marshes were drained. Other parts of Cork developed infrastructure along with residential and seasonal working populations in response to commercial activity and the provisions trade. The north-side locale of Shandon housed the administrative centre of the lucrative international trade in butter. The cattle market, abattoirs, and tanneries were likewise situated on the north side of the city around Shandon, Blarney Lane, and Fair Lane (Dickson 2005). The south side of the city, near the founding settlement and the Elizabethan star fort (built by 1600), expanded with housing and, later, market gardens. During the seventeenth century the population of the city and suburbs went from 3,000 to 25,000 (McCarthy 2000). By the end of the eighteenth century the population was close to 60,000 (O'Flanagan 2005). During this period of growth, Cork's wealthiest families built villas well outside the old and new city, in Glanmire, Montenotte, Lota, and Douglas (Crowley 2005). Middle-class suburbs developed later in the nineteenth century in Blackrock and Ballintemple (both south of the river) and Sunday's Well, Wellington Road, and St Luke's (north of the river). Economic decline in the nineteenth century resulted in terrible crowding in the oldest parts of the city near Barrack Street on the south bank of the Lee, the old city centre, and the original northside settlements of Shandon and Blarney Lane. By the mid-nineteenth century even the fine buildings in the city had been vacated by the mercantile classes (Cronin 2005). Housing and health were so poor for such a large portion of the population that the City Corporation began housing developments to ease the situation. The first of these developments were built in

¹ Maps of the city from the 16th century to present time are available at <http://www.corkpastandpresent.ie/mapsimages/corkinoldmaps/>. Maps of administrative boundaries pre-1840 to 2019 can be found at: <https://www.corkcity.ie/en/council-services/public-info/boundary-extension/maps-of-the-new-city/>.

the most crowded areas in the old city, as well as south and north of the river. But because of high demand for housing among all residents, this early rehousing was taken up by craftspeople and retailers who could afford the rents (Cronin 2005). The housing needs of the poor remained unmet. Larger council-funded housing schemes in the twentieth century were more successful in addressing overcrowding, largely by expanding into the available green space north and south of the river. On the south side, row housing was developed in Capwell and Turner's Cross (1930s) then Ballyphehane (1950s), Togher (1960s), and Mahon (1970s). Greater access to land on the north side of the city allowed more extensive development: MacSwiney's and French's Villas (1920s), Gurranabraher, Spangle Hill, and Farranferries (1930s), Fairfield and Churchfield (1950s), Mayfield and the Glen (1960s), and in the 1970s, Knocknaheeny. Entire communities were relocated to the new developments, some near their old neighbourhoods, most from old south-side settlements or city centre communities to the north side. Healy (2013) suggests that 20,000 city residents were relocated to these new developments. Private developments, usually semi-detached houses, provided for middle-class housing needs in south-side locales such as Douglas and Ballintemple, Bishopstown and Wilton to the west (see Map 18.1).



MAP 18.1 Map of Cork city

Reference to 'the city centre', 'the north side', and 'the south side' remains common in Cork daily life. The names of all the suburban communities noted are well known to city residents. Residence in, or origin from, any one of them is widely used as a proxy for

socio-economic status, although the correlation is stronger in some areas than others.² The current demographics of city neighbourhoods reflect many of the economic and social patterns laid down in the historical development of the city, dating back to its founding in some cases. Over time the south side has become increasingly middle class and professional, with associated amenities, but it retains significant historical and relocated working-class communities. The communities on the north-east bank of the river include Wellington Road, St Luke's, and Montenotte, all historically wealthy areas. To their north are the newer council developments of Fairfield and Churchfield. On the sloping north-west shore, the old, crowded sites of Shandon and Blarney Lane benefited from developments and relocation to the north and west.

Traditionally, the north–south divide in Cork refers to position in relation to the river Lee. One was on ‘the north side’ the minute one stepped onto the north shore of the river from any of the city bridges. Both sides of the river have communities of working-class and professional people. Nonetheless, economic development has not been equitable. The starkest indices of unemployment and early school-leaving remain concentrated in the north-side communities that live in the housing developments of the last century (Keohane and O’Connell 2005). These facts are reflected in attitudes to locale and any speech patterns that are identified with it.³

18.3 CORK’S LINGUISTIC PAST AND PRESENT

Cork’s first, monastic settlement harboured Old Irish and Church Latin. The Normans, who invaded Ireland a century after their invasion of England, came as Norman French speakers probably with Welsh- and English-speaking soldiers and servants, along with some Flemish. Despite Norman control of town administration from the 1170s, the day-to-day inhabitants of Cork were a mix of native Irish speakers and increasingly English-speaking Norman colonists and administrators. Doyle (2015) argues that by 1350 most incoming Normans were Anglophones. As a result, bilingualism must have been a necessity for many and certainly an asset for most city inhabitants. In the sixteenth century the Tudor monarchs began sending settlers (planters) to Ireland as part of a coordinated policy to consolidate control over the island. At this point in history Ireland was increasingly affected by the politics of the Reformation. Throughout Ireland, power was wrested from the old Norman and native Irish communities of largely Catholic practice and conferred on imported Protestant settlers and administrators. In 1644, on the heels of the failed 1641 Irish Rebellion, the Catholic population of Cork was expelled and the city taken over by English-speaking Protestants (McCarthy 2000). From 1649 to 1653

² See Linehan (2005) for an extensive discussion of the demographics of electoral wards in Cork City based on recent census data.

³ Electoral maps of the city with demographic information from the most recent census (2016) are available at <https://www.cso.ie/en/census/>.

Oliver Cromwell waged an intensive military campaign in Ireland that consolidated English dominance. The increasing numbers of English settlers, administrators, and landlords coming into Ireland during this turbulent period spoke dialects of Early Modern English, primarily west Midlands, features of which remain in southern and south-west varieties of Irish English, not just Cork City English (Doyle 2015; Hickey 2004; Ó hÚrdail 1997b).

The expulsion of Huguenots from France in the late seventeenth century brought a small French-speaking Protestant community to Cork. Their memory remains in some surnames and street names such as Lavit's Quay. In the nineteenth century a small Yiddish-speaking Orthodox Jewish community from what is now Lithuania settled in Cork, making many contributions to city life and culture. This community has now largely departed, and the synagogue on South Terrace has been deconsecrated. Famine, poverty, political and social disadvantage, and high unemployment resulted in more or less continuous emigration of native Irish people from Ireland during the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. It is not until the economic boom of the Celtic Tiger (early 1990s–2007) that immigration outstrips emigration. The most recent census of the Republic of Ireland registered resident non-nationals from 200 nations (Census 2016). In 2016 County Cork had over 42,000 resident non-nationals, with the majority from the United Kingdom, Poland, and then Lithuania. These immigrants have of course brought with them their native languages.

18.4 CORK'S PLACE AMONG THE DIALECTS OF IRISH ENGLISH

There is a developed literature on the history of regional dialect distribution of English as spoken throughout Ireland, including the south-west and west dialect group of which County Cork is part (Doyle 2015; Kallen 2013; Hickey 2007; 2004; 2002; Ó hÚrdail 1997b). Throughout Ireland several factors affect the Irish English that emerges, such as the dialect of Irish that the majority Irish-speaking population used and when it ceased to be dominant, the dialect(s) of English introduced, along with the timing and historical circumstances of Irish and English interactions. For instance, Hickey (2004) notes that the south-west and west dialect group of Irish English is defined in part by a shift from Irish to English later than that occurring in the eastern dialect groups which fell within the historical Pale. Hickey argues that the western dialects show the influence of adult second-language acquisition based on hearing mostly west Midlands varieties of early modern English. The literature also identifies regional characteristics of the south and south-west that apply to most, but not all, varieties of County Cork English. In common with other southern Irish English dialect areas, these features include positionally conditioned lenition of alveolar stops, use of clear /l/ in all word positions, a phonemic contrast between /m/ and /w/, short vowel contrasts before /r/, and retention

of syllable-final /r/ (Hickey 2002; 2005; see also Kallen 2013). Many of these features are characteristic of other Englishes, particularly those with a Celtic language input (Ó hÚrdail 1997b; Kallen 2013). Specific to the south and south-west, Hickey (2002) identifies raising of /ε/ to [ɪ] before nasals so that 'again' is [ə'ɡɪn]; dental stop variants of words from the THIN and THIS lexical sets in the west, but alveolar variants also occur in southern and eastern parts of the country. The English spoken in the eastern part of County Cork, which borders on County Waterford, is closer to the eastern dialect forms. Many East Cork speakers have alveolars for THIN and THIS lexical sets, as do some in North Cork (e.g. Mitchelstown), whereas conservative West Cork English certainly belongs to the western dialect group and has dental stops. Cork City sits on the border of this divide. Cork City has been and still is a centre of local immigration from outlying areas.

Many of the striking changes in Irish English in the last thirty years are extensively documented in Raymond Hickey's work (2003; 2004; 2005). Hickey discusses the origin, motivation, and mechanisms of the shift towards supraregional norms that is taking place in southern Irish English. In brief, Hickey identifies the population shift to Dublin during the Celtic Tiger years as the context for modifying features of mainstream Dublin speech and differentiating from local Dublin speech (Hickey 2013; 2005; 2004). New variants include consonantal and vocalic changes. Among the consonantal changes are velarized [ɫ] in coda position, retroflex [ɻ], neutralization of /w, ɱ/ to [w]. Lenition of intervocalic and final /t/ to a 'slit fricative', usually symbolized [t̪], has been a very widespread feature of the supraregional norm (Ó hÚrdail 1997a; Hickey 2004). Vowel changes originating in Dublin English are likewise widely distributed. These include fronting of the vowel in MOUTH from [aʊ] to [ɛʊ]; raising the vowel in CHOICE from [ɒɪ] to [ɔɪ]; and raising the vowels in COT/CAUGHT from [ɒ, ɔ:] to [ɔ, ɔ:] (Hickey 1998; 2003).

The obvious advantage of present-day supraregional Southern Irish English is that it eliminates markers of regional and class affiliation. It is ubiquitous among younger speakers, some of whom are barely identifiable as local Irish English speakers. This supraregional variety approaches something one might call a standard, given its broad distribution and neutrality with respect to regional or class affiliation. An obvious focus of the study of Cork City English is to consider how much it has been affected by the supraregionalization of the last four decades, and what it has changed from. This review of Cork City English focuses on phonetic and phonological features. This is partly practical because there is no record of unique morphological or syntactic constructions that are not found in other regions. On the other hand, phonetic and phonological features of Cork English show considerable variation and are associated with what is referred to as 'the Cork accent'. Likewise there is no consideration of locale specific vocabulary, particularly slang, which is often a topic of local and national conversation on the Internet and in local papers. The local dimension of slang generally requires a locally based and accepted researcher, so formal work on this ephemeral type of lexis is rare.

18.4.1 Cork City English to date

There is very little sustained work devoted to Cork City English and published formal research is minimal. The two features of Cork English most commonly noted in existing work are prosodic patterns and the use of alveolar stops instead of dental stops. For instance, Ó hÚrdail (1997) notes the ‘remarkable’ intonation of Cork English, and relates it to the stress and intonation of Munster Irish. Hickey (2004: 33) notes a distinctive and large intonational range predominant in Cork City, describing it as ‘a noticeable drop in pitch on stressed syllables preceded by a rise on the preceding syllable’, probably originating in Munster Irish. The result of this pattern within a sentence produces what Hickey (2007: 309) describes as an ‘undulating intonational pattern.’⁴ Ó hÚrdail (1990) contrasts features of Cork City English with West Cork (Beara) English, referencing the city use of alveolar stops for words with *th* spellings where dental stops are used in West Cork. Hickey (2004) notes Cork specific phonological features such as an open realization of the LOT and THOUGHT lexical sets and the stereotypical pronunciation of the city’s name as [kaɪk]. Sporadic reference is made to aspects of Cork English throughout Ó hÚrdail (1997a; 1997b). Bessel and Mulhall (2014) present acoustic measures of conservative and supraregional variants in two varieties of Cork city speech, and a third, more rural variety. The most detailed considerations of Cork City English come from a series of unpublished MA theses submitted to University College Cork, dating from 1915 to 2012. Research is summarized here in order of publication or submission date. Unpublished works are discussed in more detail, given the difficulty of access.

The earliest and most substantive work on Cork City English is Daniel Leahy’s MA thesis (Leahy 1915). Apart from the sheer amount of phonetic detail in this work, Leahy’s thesis is surely a first for Irish sociolinguistics, as Hurwitz (2012) notes. Leahy associates the considerable variation in the Cork English of his time with three classes of residents, defined by the timing of their presence in the developing city, what parts of the city they inhabited, and their access to education. Leahy’s Class I are descended from the Irish who lived in communities outside the city walls or immigrated from the surrounding countryside to these communities. Leahy considers Class I speakers in the early 1900s to be descended from poorer Catholic families for whom access to education came later than for the two other classes of speakers. As a result, he maintains that Class I speakers retain the most conservative linguistic features. Leahy’s Class II are descendants of the original inhabitants of the city since Norman times, largely Old (Norman) English, and immigrants to the walled city up to the close of the seventeenth century. Class III is defined as educated speakers, descended from either newly arrived English Protestants or those Old English Catholics who were able to achieve wealth, status, and access to education in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For many linguistic features, Class I and II speakers together preserve Irish-based and more conservative features

⁴ Audio examples of Cork English can be accessed from the recordings that accompany Hickey (2004) and the Cork Folklore Project (<https://corkfolklore.org/>).

than Class III speakers who were educated based on English norms. How seamlessly one can identify the early twentieth-century descendants of these three historical groups, assume that their social and economic trajectory remained stable, and then associate these groups with the speech patterns of later centuries is not clear for all the details that Leahy presents.

Leahy identifies four specific features of what he terms 'the Cork accent'. They are the use of both the 'fan dental' stops [t̪, d̪] and alveolar [t, d] for words in the THIN and THIS lexical sets, specific prosodic features of stress and intonation, and liaison. The first two features acknowledge areal variation in the production of THIN and THIS words in the city: dental stops on the one hand and alveolar stops on the other. Leahy relates the use of dental stops [t̪, d̪] produced with a broad tongue contact (hence the term 'fan') to the influence of L1 Irish predominant in Class I, who use this variant. Leahy writes of 'the characteristic Cork defect' of substituting what he calls 'point dentals', meaning apico-alveolar [t, d] for 'fan dentals' [t̪, d̪], and links this pattern with Class II whose Irish and English were influenced by their greater exposure to English within the city (Leahy 1915: section B, part III, ch. XII, pp. 1–2). Leahy identifies the North Parish around Shandon, Blarney Street, and Blackpool as the core location of this variant, with a curious explanation related to Huguenot influences via industrial employment. We cannot know if this explanation is accurate, but the use of alveolar stops for THIN and THIS in the historical working-class north-side communities of the early 1900s is clear. Leahy claims that the Middle Parish communities (between the river banks) use dental stops, as does the educated class (Class III).

In terms of intonation, Leahy differentiates between a toneless delivery, considered typical of the educated classes in Cork at his time, and 'the Cork accent' whose characteristic prosody is associated with Class I and II speakers. He describes this particular 'sing-song' prosody as a pitch rise on penultimate tonic syllables and a further rise on completion of the unit. He argues that this intonation is more characteristic of working-class women than working-class men. Leahy also identifies fine distinctions in the distribution of nasality in Cork speech, mostly associated with Class I and II women and children. The features of liaison that Leahy notes are characteristic of informal speech styles in general, and are related to speech rate, timing, and stress features which are difficult to evaluate without recordings. However, he notes stress patterns that are common in southern Irish English, such as final stress on forms like Blackrock and Blackpool, and relates these patterns back to the original Irish. Theories of historical origin aside, Leahy associates the prosodic features of 'the Cork accent' with class, degree of education, and gender. Only alveolar [t, d] for words in the THIN/THIS sets are analysed as locale specific, being associated with the old north-side settlements, regardless of gender. Historically, and at the time of Leahy's research, these were working-class communities. Leahy also notes variants of /r/ that are no longer common in Cork city. He identifies a tap [ɾ] with Class III, a trill [r] with Class I and II. He transcribes only clear /l/ for all classes. He notes a great deal of interesting vowel allophony. Of relevance to our concerns, he records [e, e:, ɛ] for /e/, and notes that /o/ is [o:] except when followed by a consonant as in *boat* [bo:ät].

Gunn (1982) presents the only systematic research available on Cork City intonation, so it is a unique reference. Using data samples from the *Tape Recorded Survey of Hiberno English Speech* (Barry 1981) and some additional field recordings, Gunn analysed the prosody of speech (informal interviews) from nine speakers, five from Mayfield and Blarney Street/Shandon, and four from Blarney village (approximately 10 km north-west of Shandon). Both Mayfield and Blarney Street/Shandon are home to working-class communities north of the river, and Gunn considers Blarney village to be the geographical limit of urban Cork English as spoken on the north side of the city. Gunn generated an impressionistic transcription (segmental and suprasegmental), using O'Connor and Arnold's (1973) model of four pitch levels with specific markings for stressed and unstressed syllables with or without pitch contours. Gunn notes several distinguishing features of Cork city prosody including (i) frequent use of high rises and a high proportion of tones in the upper pitch levels, (ii) an unusual use (relative to standard British English) of final pitch falls in interrogatives, (iii) common use of final rising tones on statements (again unusual in comparison to standard British English where this type of contour is largely a question intonation), and (iv) an 'undulating' pattern on statements where the pre-head (the unstressed syllables before the first primary stress in the intonation group) and tail (the pitch excursion on syllables after the main, nuclear stress) often echo one another in what Gunn calls 'reduplication' of tone. This last pattern is considered a classic type of city intonation that doesn't extend to Blarney village. Gunn's analysis of Cork City intonation expands considerably on Leahy's brief mention (Leahy 1915), as well as Ó hÚrdail's (1997) and Hickey's (2007) comments. All authors identify a unique prosody with a prominent undulating pattern on some utterances.

Seventy-five years after Leahy (1915), Ó hÚrdail returns to the use of alveolar [t, d] variants for THIN/THIS words in Cork, and remarks that this variant is considered 'the marker par excellence of the Cork (city) accent' (Ó hÚrdail 1990: 155). But he clarifies that this under-differentiation is not exclusive to Cork city, and is not the only pronunciation given that most city speakers have dental variants also. Ó hÚrdail (1997a) notes that the dental stops [t̪, d̪] are not always fully dental: they can be post-dental, pre-alveolar, or gingival but still maintain a contrast with alveolar /t, d/. This is worth noting because Ó hÚrdail refutes a statement by O'Connor (1973) that Cork English has only [t, d] for THIN/THIS. This inadequate generalization is repeated by Wells (1982), though apparently based on a different source. It is likely that these early published statements about Cork English are based on insufficient data. Ó hÚrdail (1990) notes that the merger of /w/ and /m/ is well advanced in city speech, but not in West Cork dialects. He also notes a characteristic difference between *tie* [təi] and *toy* [tɔi] in Cork speech, present in the frequent use of *boy*, pronounced [bɔ:ˈɪ], as a tag. The same distinction in vowel quality is present in many rural dialects. In Cork, *boy* as [bɔi] remains nowadays in unselfconscious vernacular use but is also used as a conscious reference to colloquial speech, a downward style shift such as is common in the process of supraregionalization (Hickey 2010).

Murphy (1994) recorded thirteen speakers (aged 20–58, four females, nine males) from a range of locations in the city including southside Douglas, Blackrock and Togher; north-side Blackpool and Montenotte. This is the first study to systematically include a range of suburban Cork speech. Participants were asked about Ireland's prospects in the football World Cup, with interviews lasting about ten minutes. Based on impressionistic transcription of this data, Murphy notes dental [t̪] used extensively but not exclusively for THIN/THIS words, regardless of level of education but with no mention of locale; final /t/ as a slit fricative [t̪]; clear /l/ in all positions; both [w] and [ɹ] variants present but not for all speakers; /r/-variants include a tap [ɾ], trill [r] intervocally but a retroflex in final position; /o/ is a monophthong, [o]. At the time of Murphy's study, the city is generally referred to as [kɑrk] in her transcription, but she records a variant with a raised back vowel, [kɔrk], identified as a 'South Mall' accent (Murphy 1994: 23). Cork's South Mall was developed in the late 1700s with large houses and offices for merchants and professionals escaping the crowded city (O'Flanagan 2005). Today the impressive Georgian South Mall buildings house legal offices, large national estate agents, and an established four-star hotel. The deliberate use of [kɔrk] instead of [kɑrk] probably reflects identification with the professional classes. Similarly, Murphy notes the pronunciation of *boy* as both [bɔɪ] (associated with working class speech norms) and [bɔɪ] (associated with supraregional norms). Murphy notes pitch variation in the Cork accent, with the use of a rising tone on statements and for emphasis; the use of *like* as a tag and the use of the *after*-perfective, which is not unique to Cork.

Frost (2000) collected data from 108 informants (57 females, 51 males) classified as city working class (n = 35), city middle class (n = 43), and rural (n = 30). This study is notable for its large number of participants and attention to socio-economic status. Frost's data show development of phonetic variants associated with the class structures he identifies and sensitive to location as well. New variants include [əʊ] for /o/, which is more conservatively [o:] and sometimes [oə]. The emerging distribution of these allophones is roughly middle-class [o:, əʊ] versus working class [o:, oə], with age (younger) and gender (female) a factor in adoption of the new [əʊ] variant. Frost (2000: 30) records one rural female participant who worked in a large city firm (location not specified) and used [əʊ] instead of [o:]. This participant comments on being 'proud of the fact that none of her colleagues could guess her county of origin'. This speaker has opted for the prestige variant that most distances her from a rural environment, consistent with the motivation for supraregionalization developed in Hickey's work. Frost also notes increased use of a diphthong variant [eɪ] for /e/ which he identifies as a prestige variant. He transcribes the conservative monophthong variant as a more open [ɛ:]. Again, this variant is correlated with age, gender, class division, and location. Rural and working-class speakers, regardless of age or gender, used the monophthong [e:, ɛ:] almost exclusively; young middle-class women used [e:, eɪ] or only the new variant [eɪ]; while urban middle-class men predominantly used the conservative monophthong. These data suggest that use of [e:] rather than

[ɛː] may be a precursor of [er]. Frost records a dark /l/ after a back vowel in some rural speakers, and a degree of velarization in the final /l/ of young middle-class speakers. In Frost's data, /r/ was more commonly an approximant rather than [r], with the tap associated particularly with older working-class men.⁵ His data shows voiceless [ɱ] giving way to [w], particularly in young urban speakers.

The most recent UCC MA thesis is Hurwitz (2012), who tests the use of four advanced supraregional variants (as per Hickey 2004) in Cork by examining data from four males and four females aged 19–38. Five speakers were native to the city or its suburbs, with one each from the outlying towns of Bandon and Cobh. Hurwitz recorded participants reading a word list and a prose passage, and in an informal interview. The data were transcribed to test the hypothesis that, controlling for geographical background and age, female speakers will be ahead of male speakers in changes towards the new advanced variants of velarized [ɫ]; [aɪ] rather than [əɪ] in the PRICE lexical set; voiced [w], and dental fricatives [θ, ð] for THIN/THIS words.⁶ Hurwitz finds that all speakers have both conservative and advanced variants for final /l/, the PRICE set and THIN/THIS sets, but in different proportions. Labiovelar /w/ was pronounced [w] without exception for one male and one female speaker; in other speakers there was some variation. Overall, the women in this study showed greater use of advanced variants of all variables examined, but the effect was not monolithic and there is evidence of free variation for many speakers for all but one variable.

Bessell and Mulhall (2014) examined samples of Cork English from speakers born and schooled in each of three locations: Douglas (Cork south side), Knocknaheeny (Cork north side), and Macroom, a market town to the north-west of the city. Speakers are siblings or else schoolmates (age 18–24), one female and one male from each location. The aim was to determine the distribution of conservative and advanced features of southern Irish English in the data, and elicit listener perceptions of location and occupation of speakers using the same data (a recording of a short passage). Recordings were analysed using acoustic measures of vowel quality and consonantal features. This study found that female participants from all locations produced more advanced variants such as dental stop (and fricative) variants of words in the THIN/THIS lexical sets, syllable-final [ɫ], MOUTH-fronting, CHOICE-raising and THOUGHT-raising. This study also documented diphthong variants of /e, o/ in speakers with high use of other advanced features. In general, north-side Cork city speakers preserved more conservative forms, south-side Cork City speakers produced the most advanced forms, and Macroom speakers a mix of the two. An intriguing finding of this study is that female speakers from all locales received higher occupational and class ranking than their male counterparts.

⁵ Frost had one participant from the city centre who shifted from tap [ɾ] to uvular [ʁ] as the interview progressed.

⁶ The origin of dental fricatives in the THIN/THIS lexical sets is not straightforward. Fricative variants were often drilled during 'elocution lessons', no doubt based on awareness of British English norms. Spelling clearly influences some pronunciations, such as [θaɪland] for *Thailand*.

Despite a limited research base, we can conclude that advanced supraregional norms have found their way into Cork City English, without (as yet) overwhelming the more conservative vernacular speech patterns that still persist. The body of work clearly shows that both supraregional and conservative variants are sensitive to geographical origin, gender, and probably education and occupation of the speaker. A common theme in more recent work is that individual speakers can vary considerably in the extent to which they use a particular variant, echoing findings expected in 'third-wave' sociolinguistics (Schulte, Chapter 16 this volume).

There is some evidence that the north side/south side divide applied to Cork City English functions as a rough shorthand for a distinction between so-called working-class (conservative, vernacular) ways of speaking and so-called middle-class (increasingly supraregional) ways of speaking, as noted by Frost (2000). The history of settlement and development in Cork supports this to some extent, but the generalization ignores the historical fact of middle-class and upper-class settlement on the north side of the river, and working-class settlement on the south side of the river. It is incorrect to say that conservative speech is exclusive to the north side of the city. Neither are advanced variants heard only on the south side. In this respect the north/south divide in Cork is not so clear a linguistic division as it is in Dublin. As the next section demonstrates, recently collected data records stable advanced features in the northside community of Tivoli, some conservative features in the southside community of Togher, and considerable crossover.

18.5 NEW DATA FOR CORK ENGLISH

This section considers data contributed by two generations of two families living in different locations in Cork city, Togher on the south side and Tivoli on the north side.⁷ Togher was developed on the southernmost edge of the city in the 1960s with the support of the City Corporation. Tivoli is below Montenotte on the northeastern shore of the Lee, and is an affluent area with period villas and private development. The location of contributors is designed to redress some of the imbalance of community demographics and locale in research to date. The audio-recorded database includes tokens of the sentences that Hickey (2004) devised for his survey, and it is these that are analysed here. Data were transcribed with supporting acoustic analysis. Table 18.1 collates the main variants that relate to the literature surveyed to date.

⁷ I am grateful to Clodagh Murphy and Jennifer Harte for recording the data analysed in this section.

Table 18.1 Phonetic variants from two generations of two Cork families. Gen A = parents of Gen B; Gen B = children of Gen A; F = female; M = male; Ti = Tivoli; To = Togher; TH indicates words with *th* spellings regardless of position in the word. Slashes separate variants attested, parentheses are used for pronunciations that are intermediate between the two symbols.

	Gen A			Gen B		
	F1-Ti	F2-Ti	M1-Ti	F3-Ti	F4-Ti	M2-Ti
T-final	t̪	t̪	t̪	t̪/ʔ	t̪	t̪
T-medial	t̪	t̪	t̪	t̪	t̪	t̪
TH	t̪	t̪	t̪	t̪	t̪	t̪
L-final	l	l	l	ɫ	ɫ	ɫ
WHICH	ɹ	ɹ	w	ɹ	w	ɹ
GOOSE	u	u	u	ʊ	ʊ	ʊ
MOUTH	aʊ	aʊ	aʊ	æʊ	æʊ	æʊ
CHOICE	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ
FACE	eɪ	eɪ	eɪ	eɪ	e/eɪ	eɪ
GOAT	oʊ	oʊ	oʊ	oʊ	o/oʊ	o/oʊ
<i>Cork</i>	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ
<i>tour</i>	ʊɪ	ʊɪ	ʊɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ
epenthesis	'fɪləm	'fɪləm	'fɪləm	'fɪləm	'fɪləm	'fɪləm
metathesis						

	Gen A		Gen B	
	F1-To	M1-To	F2-To	M2-To
T-final	t̪	t̪	t̪	t̪/d/ʔ
T-medial	t̪	d(r)	d	d(r)
TH	t̪/t̪	t̪/t/ʔ/h	t̪/t	ʔ/t̪/tʰ/t̪ʰ
L-final	l	l	ɫ	l
WHICH	w	w	w	w
GOOSE	u	u	ʊ	u
MOUTH	aʊ	aʊ	æʊ	aʊ
CHOICE	ɔɪ	ɛɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ
FACE	e	e	eɪ	e
GOAT	o	oə	o	oə
<i>Cork</i>	ɛɪ	ɛɪ	ɛɪ	ɛɪ
<i>tour</i>	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ
epenthesis	'fɪləm	'fɛɹəmə	'fɪləm	'fɪləm
metathesis	'mɑɹən			'mɑɹən

There are several ways to approach the variation present in these data. With respect to what is common in both locations, we can observe that all speakers use epenthesis in ['fɪləm] (but only M1-To has ['fæləm], consistent with lexical restrictions on what was once a common process). In addition, all speakers in both locales have voiced [w] only, consistent with Ó hÚrdail (1990) who says the merger is virtually complete in the city. Three other conservative variants are found in both Tivoli and Togher, albeit confined to Gen A (the parent generation). These are clear-/l/, unfronted [u] in GOOSE and unfronted [au] in MOUTH. Advanced forms of [ɔɪ] in CHOICE and diphthong [eɪ] for FACE also occur in both locations, but the generational and gender distribution of these two variables is more nuanced. A diphthong in FACE occurs in all speakers except both Gen A speakers from Togher, and only Gen A M1-To has the conservative [ɛɪ] in CHOICE. Variants exclusive to Togher speakers are metathesis (lexically restricted now), the traditional pronunciation [kɛ.ɪk] for *Cork*, and additional variants of /t/ and words with *th* spellings. F1-To produces words with final *th* as alveolar [t̪] but she also uses the supraregional dental [t̪]; M1-To likewise produces both supraregional and conservative variants [t̪, t̪] but also lenites further to [h] or deletes. M2-To produces [baʔ] for *bath* and [tʰɑt̪] for *thought*. Some of these variants suggest underlying /t/ for *th*, but nonetheless both dental and alveolar variants appear in the surface forms. All speakers from Togher except F1-To lenite medial /t/ to a short [d] or a flap [ɾ]. Neither of these appear in the Tivoli data. There is one interesting variant shared by two Gen B speakers (children of Gen A), one from Tivoli and one from Togher. While final /t/ as [t̪] is common to all speakers, F3-Ti and M2-To also have a [ʔ] variant, and in the case of M2-To, a [d] variant as well. In all cases the word is followed by a vowel or approximant, which is a prime environment for lenition. Finally, all three Gen A speakers from Tivoli pronounce *tour* as [tuɪ] with a clear high back vowel. This may be an older mainstream pronunciation of the word, or the result of elocution lessons, but all the other speakers have a lower vowel.

As part of their interview, contributors were asked if they could tell where Irish people were from based on their accent. There was consensus that one could tell whether someone was from Dublin, Kerry, the North, or perhaps Waterford or Limerick. 'Country' accents were noted. But as for knowing where someone was from within the city, this was viewed as doubtful beyond the distinctiveness of the north-side accent, which was not universally acknowledged. This is intriguing given the trope of 'the Cork accent' and its association with the north side. Speakers identified television and the Internet as generators of change in the younger generation and the need to be perceived as 'polite' in the job world. Gen B speakers thought that they themselves did not speak that differently from their parents, except perhaps in vocabulary influenced by social media. This is also intriguing, given the clear shift to at least some supraregional norms in all Gen B speakers.

Overall, the data from Tivoli and Togher confirm the continued spread of supraregional features in Cork City English, regardless of location in the city. Each of the incoming supraregional features in Table 18.1 are documented in research post Leahy (1915). Leahy's description of Cork English at the turn of the last century thus provides a useful reference point for the observed changes. The research reviewed confirms

that age, gender, location, and some measure of socio-economic status are relevant to adoption of change towards, or resistance to, supraregional variants. At the moment, depending on which factors are foregrounded, there are still different planes of congruence in the data, although it is likely that a more homogeneous future is in store.

18.6 CONCLUSIONS

Given a relatively thin research base, our understanding of Cork City English remains shallow, and it is difficult to draw firm conclusions on all details. One problem is that much of the data on Cork English has been transcribed impressionistically, and very little of it has had the benefit of acoustic analysis. In many cases audio recordings do not exist for the data, and if they do they are not readily accessible or are not of sufficient quality for acoustic analysis. This means we are reliant on impressionistic data records, and must accept their inherent limitations on further research.

There are features of Cork English (and Irish English) that are completely unresearched but have much to contribute to our understanding of language change in general and in modern-day Ireland. For instance, as a rhotic dialect, Cork English (and other dialects of Irish English) preserves postvocalic /r/ and short vowel distinctions in the environment of following /r/ (Hickey 2002). None of the research on Cork English (or other Irish Englishes) has looked at these contrasts in terms of even the most basic phonetic measures of duration, formant distribution, coarticulation with vowels, and contrast with the same vowel in non-rhotic environments. Given the development of retroflex /r/ among younger speakers, it is important to do this research sooner rather than later. Likewise, the presence of both alveolar and dental stops in Cork English presents a significant research opportunity. A phonemic distinction between dental and alveolar stops is unusual cross-linguistically, yet within Cork English there is an astounding range of allophonic variation of these sounds. Unfortunately, we have only impressionistic accounts of their articulation and no knowledge at all of their relative acoustic properties. These sounds would benefit from measures of articulation (ultrasound for example) and spectrographic analysis of the duration of closure, frequency distribution of the burst, spectral moments, and transition to following vowels. A recent publication on stop variants of dental fricatives in American English does not mention the Irish English spectrum of alveolar and dental stops despite their obvious relevance (Zhao 2010). Cork English is ideally suited to examine this intriguing distribution.

Finally, while we know that an 'undulating' intonation is a historical and present-day feature of Cork English as spoken in some parts of the city, formal documentation of pitch contours and timing relative to segmental material is sparse and instrumental data is entirely lacking. This is an unfortunate gap given the cultural relevance of this feature of Cork speech. An additional factor that may contribute to Cork intonational features is speech rate. Speech rate, which interacts with prosody, is now known to be higher for Irish English than other varieties of English (Lee and Doherty 2017). The subjects of

Lee and Doherty's investigation were native Irish English speakers recruited while they were students at University College Cork. Their findings may not be exclusive to Cork English, but the contribution of speech rate to the city accent is an obvious avenue for exploration. Given these lacunae, every defining feature of what Leahy describes as 'the Cork accent' is not only under-researched but lacks formal primary documentation.

18.6.1 Further research

The history and development of Irish English is a phenomenon of great linguistic, cultural, and political interest. This is true from a national and a cross-linguistic perspective. The study of sound change in Irish English has benefited greatly from the publication of *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* (Hickey 2004). This publication is the only example we have of systematic collection and analysis of speech data across the island of Ireland, with audio recordings available to researchers (Hickey 2004).⁸ Not only do these recordings form the basis of our understanding of dramatic recent sound changes in Southern Irish English, but they are an important document of several decades of great social and linguistic change. While not all recordings are of sufficient quality for acoustic work (they were not collected for this purpose using the analogue technology of the time) and the collection is deliberately focussed on younger speakers, data is drawn from the entire island of Ireland. We know from Hickey's work that the range and subtlety of variation in present-day Irish English is dramatically changing under the advances of supraregionalization. Across the island the old vernaculars are much less in use. While some speakers are bidialectal, younger speakers are increasingly monodialectal, and gravitate to supraregional norms. Therefore it is mostly middle-aged and older speakers who preserve local norms that are otherwise fast disappearing. Time is of the essence in the collection of language data from more conservative speakers in Ireland, just as it is in many other places.

To draw an adequate map of Cork City English we need systematic data collection from all parts of the city, from speakers of different ages and all walks of life, and without gender bias. Data collection should include meta-information suitable for full interpretation of the data, and do justice to the many different communities who live and work in the city, including immigrant communities.

The changes documented here for Cork English, and throughout this volume for other Irish Englishes, reflect the pressures of global and national realities. As a result, there is an inevitable shift in the cultural life that daily speech reflects. Without systematic dialect mapping, we stand to lose unique ways of speaking and the social and cultural information that comes with them. There is need for further systematic data collection on a national level, with interactive web-based access to archival quality speech data that

⁸ ICE-Ireland data is only available in written transcript form (Kirk, Kallen, Lowry, Rooney, and Mannion 2011).

has a public as well as research interest. This means exploring innovative means of data collection and access. Speakers could contribute to a national database through apps that can be downloaded, and their views on language use and perception should become part of the cultural archives of the country.⁹

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⁹ Some examples of successful nation-wide initiatives that might be helpful in this endeavour are *AusTalk: An Audio Visual Corpus of Australian English* (<https://austalk.edu.au/>) and in the UK, *Voices of the UK* (<https://www.bl.uk/voicesoftheuk>) and *BBC Voices* (<https://sounds.bl.uk/Accents-and-dialects/BBC-Voices>).

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CHAPTER 19

IRISH ENGLISH AND VARIATIONAL PRAGMATICS

ANNE BARRON

19.1 INTRODUCTION

SINCE its recent beginnings in the early years of this millennium, pragmatic research on Irish English (IrEng) has flourished (see Barron and Schneider 2005 and Amador-Moreno et al. 2015; see also Vaughan and Clancy 2011; Schneider 2012a; Hickey 2015). From these early stages onwards, a substantial part of pragmatic research on IrEng has centred on pragmatic variation (see Vaughan and Clancy 2011: 50; Hickey 2015: 20; Barron and Pandarova 2016), a circumstance also influenced by the parallel emergence of variational pragmatics as a research area (Schneider and Barron 2008; Barron and Schneider 2009).

At the interface of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, variational pragmatics is concerned with investigating pragmatic variation within a single language according to macro-social factors, such as region, gender, age, socio-economic class, and ethnic identity. It also examines the interaction of these macro-social factors and the interaction of macro-social factors with micro-social factors, such as social distance and social dominance, as they influence language use and interaction. Variational pragmatic research is empirical, contrastive, and uses comparable data, enabling variety-specific and variety-preferential conventions to be identified (Schneider and Barron 2008; Barron and Schneider 2009; Schneider 2010; 2012b; 2020; Barron 2014; 2015; 2017a; 2021a; Schneider and Placencia 2017). Six levels of pragmatic analysis are identified: the formal level (e.g. discourse-pragmatic markers, pragmatic routines), the actional level (e.g. speech acts), the interactional level (e.g. sequential patterns), the topic level (e.g. content and topic management), the organizational level (e.g. turn-taking) (Schneider and Barron 2008), and the stylistic level (e.g. polite/plain styles, pronominal address forms), the latter level proposed by Félix-Brasdefer (2012). Empirical analyses may also combine these levels.

Variational pragmatic research on IrEng has three main foci. It focuses on describing the conventions of language use and interaction in IrEng as contrasted with other varieties of English (type 1). Such research focuses on region on a national level and concentrates on identifying variety-specific and variety-preferential patterns of usage within IrEng relative to other pluricentric varieties of English. Type 2 variational pragmatic research on IrEng focuses on pragmatic variation within IrEng as influenced by region, gender, age, socio-economic class, and ethnic identity. Type 2 variation views region on a more subordinate level, encompassing, for instance, sub-national, local, and sub-local regional variation. A final branch of scholarship on pragmatic variation in IrEng, type 3, investigates the development of localized IrEng pragmatic conventions by L2 speakers residing in Ireland.

The analysis of language use and interaction in IrEng relative to other pluricentric varieties of English (type 1) and also its analysis within IrEng (type 2) play a central role in investigating how identities—national, regional, gender-based, age-based, socio-economic-based, or ethnic-based—are constructed in IrEng (see Barron 2017b; Hickey and Amador-Moreno 2020: 15). Identity, broadly speaking, is the view that each of us constructs of ourselves as unique human beings. From a linguistic perspective, identity construction is seen in the dynamic linguistic choices—both conscious and unconscious—which speakers make from the selection of variable linguistic options available to them in society. Speakers express a unique individual identity through language, conveying a speaker's character or personality, but also a collective identity, the latter providing a sense of group membership by identifying a person as belonging to one or more social groups, whether based on regional, gender, age, socio-economic, or ethnic criteria (see Bucholtz and Hall 2010; Llamas and Watt 2010; Hickey and Amador-Moreno 2020; Terrazas-Calero 2020). Type 1 research is one step towards identifying indexes of Irish identity, but type 2 research is also required to shed light on distributions across IrEng, and to determine if a particular marker plays a role in identity construction not on a wholly national level, but rather in interaction with further macro-social factors (e.g. Irish women). In addition, type 2 research is complementary in shedding light on whether a particular pragmatic feature or convention is receding or whether it is a stable index of IrEng linguistic identity (see Schweinberger 2020).

Variational pragmatic research on IrEng to date has been descriptive, primarily observing how pragmatic conventions are linked to regional and social factors via corpus data and questionnaire data (first-level indexicality, Silverstein 2003). A small number of studies have also engaged in cross-varietal research on pragmatic representations in literature, and delivered some insights on indexes of national, regional, and social identities. Depending on the literature at hand and the author's intentions, such data may deliver information on those forms and patterns which group members see as linked to a particular socio-demographic context (second-order indexicality) and/or information on those forms and patterns which are widely perceived as being stereotypical for a particular socio-demographic context (third-order indexicality, Silverstein 2003).

The present chapter begins with an overview of research on pragmatic variation in IrEng structured around type 1 and type 2, focusing on pragmatic conventions in IrEng

in comparison with other varieties of English (section 19.2.1) and on pragmatic variation within IrEng (section 19.2.2).¹ Following this, an empirical study investigating type 1 and 2 pragmatic variation is described with the aim of illustrating some of the methods, trends, and issues arising in the analysis of pragmatic variation in IrEng (section 19.3). Specifically, the study, using data from the cross-varietal Lueneburg Direction-Giving (LuDiG) corpus, compares speech act realizations of request consents in IrEng and Canadian English (CanEng) (type 1) and across gender (type 2). It also functions at the interface of type 1 and type 2 variation and contrasts masculine/feminine language use in CanEng with that in IrEng (section 19.3). After a discussion of the findings, the chapter closes with some considerations of potential future research questions in the study of pragmatic variation in IrEng (section 19.4).

19.2 IRISH ENGLISH AND PRAGMATIC VARIATION

19.2.1 Pragmatic variation across national varieties: focus on Irish English

The study of IrEng from a variational pragmatic perspective originally started with a focus on type 1 variation (see Barron and Schneider 2005). It aimed at highlighting those pragmatic features and patterns of IrEng shared with other national varieties of English, and also at ascertaining which features of IrEng pragmatics are particular to IrEng (variety-specific) and which preferred or dispreferred in IrEng relative to other national varieties (variety-preferential). The study of type 1 variation in IrEng examines region on a national level. It has focused primarily on the formal and actional levels of analysis, and these are the levels focused on in the following (see Barron and Pandarova 2016 for an overview of research on other levels). We look first at pragmalinguistic forms specific or particularly salient to IrEng, then at discourse-pragmatic markers with distinctive functions in IrEng, and finally at variety-preferential language uses in IrEng which reflect basic societal values.

We turn first to the pragmalinguistic forms in IrEng which are variety-specific or particularly frequent in IrEng. Hickey (2017), for instance, identifies the use of the adjective *grand* with a second person pronoun (e.g. *you're grand*) to realize the intersubjective function of reassuring ('reassuring *grand*'), a form–function combination specific to IrEng. In addition, he finds subjective uses of *grand*, termed 'approving *grand*' (e.g. *It's a grand morning*), which are used to some extent in varieties, such as CanEng, to be used to a far greater extent in IrEng. In a study of responses to thanks in American

¹ The reader is referred to Barron (2019) for an overview of type 3 variation, focused on the acquisition of pragmatic features of IrEng by L2 speakers residing in Ireland.

English (AmEng), English English (EngEng), and IrEng, Schneider (2005) reports the same token, *you're grand*, and also the form *no bother*, both realizations of the NO PROBLEM type, to be exclusive to IrEng (see also Barron 2022). A further variety-specific pragmalinguistic form is reported in an analysis of offers in the Republic of Ireland and British components of the International Corpus of English (ICE) (ICE-Ireland (ROI), ICE-GB) (Barron 2017b: 232). The offer strategy 'question future act of speaker', although realized by the conventionalized pattern 'AUX I + actional verb?' in both varieties, was realized using the modal verb *will* in IrEng (*Will I pour out your water?*) but with *shall* in British English (BrEng). As a final example, Barron (2020), in a study of the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE), reports *thanks a million/mill/mil* to be an intensified formulaic pattern used to express gratitude which is used in IrEng but very infrequent in BrEng (see also Barron and Pandarova 2016 on *sure*-tags, also specific to IrEng).

Moving on to discourse-pragmatic markers, research in this area is vibrant in IrEng, and has highlighted a number of noteworthy interactional functions which are specific to or notably frequent in IrEng. The discourse-pragmatic marker *now*, for instance, is used in IrEng, but not in BrEng (a) as a deictic presentative ('presentative *now*', e.g. *There you go now*) and (b) to mitigate face-threatening behaviour ('hedging *now*', such as in challenges, e.g. *That's not very nice now*) (Clancy and Vaughan 2012; see also Hickey 2015). Similarly, the discourse-pragmatic marker *sure* has been shown to be more frequent in IrEng relative to BrEng or AmEng (Pandarova in progress). Its range of functions is also broader, including signalling that the information it modifies is shared or presupposed knowledge and that the speaker expects agreement, consent, or consensus (> *Sure Bertie Ahern can't speak neither Irish nor English* <&> laughter </&> (ICE-Ireland)) (see e.g. Amador-Moreno 2005; Kallen 2006). Finally, particular to the use of the discourse-pragmatic marker *like* in IrEng, relative to many other varieties of English, is its extensive use as a speech-final unit (e.g. *Oh it's sort of a kind of a sort of a a negative kind of a word in a way like* (ICE-Ireland)). A number of functions have been suggested for *like* in final position (see Schweinberger 2020: 91). Diskin (2017), for instance, suggests a mitigating function in uses with short potentially face-threatening statements of personal opinion (see also Kallen 2006; Amador-Moreno 2010: 121).

Much of the research on language use in IrEng, rather than identifying variety-specific forms or functions, has highlighted variety-preferential uses in IrEng. Some preferential uses have been suggested to underline particular socio-cultural values in Irish society. One such value is the importance in IrEng of avoiding forwardness in language use, whereby forwardness is defined as spanning directness and self-promotion (Farr and O'Keeffe 2002: 42). Below I show that the avoidance of forwardness appears to have a dual orientation: (a) the avoidance of speaker-oriented assertiveness and (b) a hearer-orientation designed to reduce any face threat to the hearer, both features which may downtone the weight or importance given to power relations in society. Farr and O'Keeffe (2002) first drew attention to this tendency to reject forwardness in IrEng in an analysis in which uses of the modal verb *would* as a hedging device were shown to be higher in IrEng relative to BrEng and AmEng. A subsequent qualitative

analysis, focusing on two particular institutional settings in IrEng, provided evidence that *would* is used frequently by power-holders to downtone facts where the propositional content is not in dispute (see also Amador-Moreno 2010: 119). Farr and O'Keeffe (2002) link the downtoning of assertiveness and directness with a disfavoured forwardness. A further study by Kallen (2005b) which contrasted the discourse pragmatic markers *you know*, *I'd say*, *I say*, and *I mean* in ICE-GB and ICE-Ireland, suggested a similar avoidance of directness and assertiveness and an accompanying attention to the hearer's negative face, given that *you know* and *I'd say*, both downgrading the force of a speaker's assertion, were more common in ICE-Ireland than in ICE-GB. In contrast, *I mean* and *I say*, both used to upgrade the force of a speaker's assertion, occurred to a larger extent in ICE-GB. Also, Schneider (1999), in an analysis of compliment responses, found IrEng speakers to prefer a 'rejecting' strategy encompassing a range of strategies, such as explaining, doubting, denigrating, and expressing embarrassment (e.g. *Do you really like it? I wasn't very happy with it*), all designed to decrease self-praise and thus to avoid forwardness. AmEng speakers in contrast preferred an overriding 'accepting' strategy (*Yeah, it's nice, isn't it? I'm glad you enjoyed it*) (see also Amador-Moreno 2010: 127). Finally, a tendency to avoid forwardness in IrEng is also seen in a recent study on responses to thanks in language use in IrEng, CanEng, and EngEng (Barron 2021d; 2022). The IrEng and EngEng data showed a lower number of verbal responses relative to CanEng as well as a tendency to realize thanks verbally using a 'minimize the favour' strategy (e.g. *OKAY, NO PROBLEM*). There was also a lower use of an 'expressing appreciation' strategy (*SURE, WELCOME*) in IrEng relative to CanEng and EngEng.² The lower use of responses to thanks, as well as the preference for a 'minimize the favour' strategy, were suggested to downgrade the original beneficial act carried out by the responder to thanks for the thankee and so lessen self-praise and thus forwardness. At the same time, such language use also served to lessen any potential face-threat vis-à-vis the thankee, the one for whom the hearer-oriented act was executed. Overall, these studies, showing an attempt to avoid forwardness, point to a strong hearer-orientation in IrEng which, via silence, indirectness, or minimizing strategies, is focused on the one hand on decreasing any face-threat to the hearer and on the other on decreasing self-praise. This emphasis on decreasing directness and self-praise is also reflected in the variety-specific discourse functions discussed above. Thus 'hedging *now*', and speech-unit final mitigating *like*, are both concerned with decreasing assertiveness and self-praise and thus also on downtoning a potential threat to the hearer's face.

A further feature of IrEng pragmatics are efforts made by speakers of IrEng to employ positive politeness in language use to enhance a sense of harmony and solidarity

² These findings contradict those by Schneider (2005), who finds IrEng speakers, like AmEng speakers, to express appreciation more frequently than EngEng speakers. Further research is required on this question. The differences may relate to the act for which the thanks was issued. Alternatively, the data type may play a role; Schneider's (2005) analysis employed production questionnaires which elicit prototypical realizations rather than actual utterances. Barron's (2021d; 2022) research used a spoken rapid anonymous format to capture spontaneous, naturally occurring realizations.

vis-à-vis their interlocutors. Uses of such positive politeness appear to be higher at least vis-à-vis BrE or EngE. In contrast to directness in speech acts which threaten a hearer's face (see above), directness in speech acts of positive politeness enhance the hearer's face. This orientation towards enhancing solidarity has been recorded in studies of expressions of gratitude and apologies in IrEng. In a previous study on expressions of gratitude, for instance, I found *thanks* in IrEng to be intensified to a larger extent relative to BrEng (Barron 2020). Similarly, a higher use of vocatives, combined with higher levels of situation-specific upgrading, characterized IrEng apologies relative to EngEng apologies in a recent production questionnaire study I carried out (Barron 2021b). It should, however, be noted that levels of positive politeness appear to be higher in other varieties of English, such as CanEng, than in IrEng. This was seen in higher uses of an overriding 'expressing appreciation' strategy (SURE, WELCOME) in responses to thanks in CanEng relative to IrEng (Barron 2021d; 2022).

Finally, and related to the employment of positive politeness to create a sense of harmony and solidarity in IrEng, a number of studies point to the particular status of hospitality in IrEng, even among relative strangers, as a pole of Irish politeness (see Kallen 2005a). Barron (2017b), for instance, shows a higher use of hospitable offers in the Republic of Ireland component of ICE-Ireland (ROI) relative to ICE-GB. In addition, talk, Kallen (2005a: 132) posits, brings pleasure to others and is therefore valued for its role in creating a sense of hospitality. In a cross-varietal analysis, Barron (2021d) found that continuations and confirmation checks are more common in IrEng direction-giving exchanges in IrEng relative to CanEng and EngEng. It is suggested that this may be explained by a heightened hearer-orientation in IrEng, and thus a heightened sense of responsibility to offer help and support in direction-giving in a hospitable manner.

In sum, then, cross-varietal analyses portray IrEng as a variety which has a high hearer-orientation which expresses itself in a number of language-use conventions. Research shows IrEng to avoid forwardness (which threatens hearers) via silence, indirectness, minimizing strategies, and the avoidance of self-praise. Thus, IrEng speakers attempt to decrease any face-threat to the hearer, attempting to avoid conflict and thus enhance relationships. At the same time, there is an unwritten rule that self-praise is to be avoided. IrEng speakers also lay importance on enhancing the hearer's positive face via directness (in hearer-oriented acts) and intensification, and place particular value on acting hospitably towards others. The weight given to a hearer-orientation in IrEng in its various facets has been suggested to relate to higher levels of collectivism (see e.g. Barron 2021b). The interdisciplinary Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) project, designed to examine culture and leadership in 61 nations on the basis of nine dimensions of culture using multiple datasets, shows Irish society to have considerably higher levels of family collectivism and higher institutional collectivism relative to England (Ashkanasy et al. 2002). Related to language use, collectivist cultures are more close-knit, and it may be suggested that relationship management enjoys a particular status in such cultures. Also related to this explanation of collectivism is the history of Ireland (and thus also IrEng) as a modern society with its origins in a rural background (Hickey 2015: 19). Communication in such rural

communities was characterized by small-group communication among members who knew one another, shared common values, and relied on each other for support.

19.2.2 Pragmatic variation within Irish English

Recent years have seen an increasing growth in research aimed at identifying pragmatic variation within IrEng (see also Barron and Pandarova 2016 for an overview). Such research sheds light on the robustness of a particular pragmatic convention as an index of IrEng identity, and brings regional and social indexes at a more subordinate level to light (see section 19.1). On the level of region at a subordinate level, pragmatic variation within the island of Ireland may, for instance, potentially exist across political boundaries (Northern Ireland vs Republic of Ireland), across rural/urban boundaries, or across province, county, or city boundaries. As well as region, variation within IrEng may pattern with social factors, such as gender, age, socio-economic class, or ethnic identity, although most research has focused on gender and age. Research on ethnic variation would potentially focus on immigrant groups throughout the island of Ireland, on Catholic and Protestant speakers in Northern Ireland (see Hickey and Amador-Moreno 2020: 9) and in addition on the Traveller community, a group which has recently been given the status of an ethnic minority (O'Halloran and O'Regan 2017). While some studies on pragmatic variation within IrEng focus on a particular macro-social factor in isolation, many discuss pragmatic variation as it relates to the interaction of a number of factors. Consequently, the following overview is structured by linguistic feature rather than by macro-social factors. We start with hedges, then turn to speech unit-final *like*, swearing, tag questions, and quotative use.

Analyses of hedges have focused on cross-border pragmatic variation as well as on variation across gender, age, socio-economic class, and ethnic identity. Kallen's (2005b) analysis of the discourse markers, *I mean* and *you know* and *I say* and *I'd say* (see also section 19.2.1), was one of the first studies to include a contrast across political borders within IrEng. He finds *you know*, realizing a hedging function, to occur more often in the Northern Irish (NI) component of ICE Ireland, a fact which shows more similarities with the ROI data than with the GB data. By contrast, however, the use of upgrading *I say* in NI shows a pattern more similar to the GB data. Murphy (2010) is a further study which finds age, and to a lesser extent, gender, to influence hedging conventions in IrEng. Murphy (2010) finds women in their 20s and 40s to use more hedges than 70–80-year-olds. In addition, women in their 40s preferred *you know* and *I think* compared to women in their 20s, who preferred the forms *like* and *actually*. Findings are explained as a product of the different conversation types which speakers engage in at different ages, younger women engaging in more face-threatening discussions relative to older speakers. Men were reported to hedge less with increasing age, a feature explained with reference to length of acquaintance. Clancy (2011) showed that hedges, such as *like*, *I think*, *just*, *you know*, and *actually*, were more frequent in settled family interaction than in Traveller family interactions. Clancy explained these differences with reference to the

fact that in mainstream culture, such hedging is essential for polite interaction. In the Traveller community, in contrast, such hedges are superfluous.

Also related to hedging, there has been a significant amount of research on uses of clause-final or speech unit-final *like* as it correlates with macro-social factors. Schweinberger (2020), in a multivariate analysis of ICE-Ireland, finds no correlation between speech unit-final *like* and any of the macro-social factors age, gender, or religious affiliation. He points out that this finding stands in contrast to his previous research, which found that men older than 50 employ this marker more than women of the same age group (Schweinberger 2012). Given that speech unit-final *like* is employed by all IrEng speakers irrespective of residence, age, gender, religion, or occupation, Schweinberger (2020) suggests it has the status of an identity marker among speakers of IrEng. On the other hand, Amador-Moreno (2015: 376), in an analysis of Paul Howard's literary depictions of modern Dublin speech, finds that globalized clause-medial *like* is frequent in Dublin English and the more localized clause-final *like* infrequent. However, given the focus of Howard's work on speakers from the moneyed class, there is evidence to suggest that socio-economic class may interact with region in this case, with globalized *like* used by upwardly mobile, globally oriented, moneyed middle-class Dublin southside speakers who wish to distance themselves from the more local Dublin speakers by using clause-medial *like* rather than clause-final *like* (see also Nestor et al. 2012).

Turning to swearing, Terrazas-Calero (2020) analyses how character depiction via pragmatic features in Irish literature may correlate with regional and social factors. She finds that the use of taboo language indexes rural identity, suggesting that *fecking* indexes rural usage among 50–60-year olds. In contrast, *fucking* marks a younger, generally male, urban speaker in their 20s–30s. Terrazas-Calero (2020: 270) also suggests that while both women and men express negative emotions using *fucking*, the range of emotions is larger among males. While Terrazas-Calero (2020) uses literary data, Schweinberger (2018) analyses swearing in ICE-Ireland. He reports cross-border regional differences, with speakers of Northern IrEng or Ulster Scots using swear-words to a significantly larger extent than speakers in the ROI. In addition, on a rural/urban level, Schweinberger (2018) finds rural speakers between 26 and 33 years of age to be significantly more likely to swear compared with urban speakers or younger or older rural speakers. He suggests that these cross-regional findings may point to a higher covert prestige for swearing in tight-knit multiplex networks. Further analysis across macro-social factors finds that men swear more than women (a finding in line with previous research, but in the case of IrEng use, the gender gap is larger). With regard to age, Schweinberger finds that in line with research on swearing, speakers over 30 use swear-words to a lower extent, possibly due to an increased language awareness (see also Murphy 2009 on uses of *fuck* across age and gender). No socio-economic differences were noted. However, it is suggested that this may also relate to a skew in the IrEng corpus towards speakers with higher educational levels.

Research on tag questions across region on a subordinate level and gender finds both NI and ROI speakers in ICE-Ireland to employ tags to realize a question function to a

similar extent. Such question tag questions communicate uncertainty about the truth of some information and frame it as something known to the addressee (e.g. *your jeans were they?*; S1A-080, ICE-Ireland; Kallen and Kirk 2008). Both the NI and ROI groups were found to use more question functions—the original use of tag questions—than speakers in ICE-GB (Barron and Pandarova 2016). Finally, quotative research on literary representation suggests that quotative *go* indexes young upper-class male speakers in IrEng (see also Amador-Moreno 2015), whereas quotative *be* indexes young women in their 20–30s (Terrazas-Calero 2020).

19.3 EMPIRICAL STUDY: REQUEST CONSENTS ACROSS REGION AND GENDER

The following study exemplifies an actional study of type 1 and type 2 pragmatic variation. It reports on a study of realizations of the speech act of request consents issued in response to a request for permission across IrEng and CanEng (type 1) and within and across these varieties across gender (type 2). We begin with a description of request consents and an overview of the research in the area (section 19.3.1). We then describe the data underlying the study and the coding scheme developed (section 19.3.2). Section 19.3.3 presents the findings, and discusses the data in light of previous research in particular within the context of IrEng.

19.3.1 Request consents

Responses to requests may be compliant (request consents) or non-compliant (request refusals). Consents, also termed compliant responses (Leech 2014: 176), are preferred over refusals (see Goldschmidt 1998: 145; Rauniomaa and Keisanen 2012: 830; Flöck 2016: 157). Requests impose on the freedom of action of the requestee, and thus threaten the negative face-wants of the requestee. Request consents, in their turn, attempt to minimize any perceived imposition which the request may cause (Goldschmidt 1998: 151). In addition, they are positive politeness acts, which observe the generosity maxim (Leech 1983) and thereby minimize benefit and maximize cost to the speaker (Leech 2014: 176). To date, request consents in IrEng have not been analysed; neither are there cross-gender studies of request consents.

Request consents may be verbal or non-verbal (Rauniomaa and Keisanen 2012; Flöck 2016). Verbal request consents have been shown to express consent explicitly or implicitly (Flöck 2016: 157). Implicit request consents are opaque, and have been defined as communicating compliance by requesting specification of the request, as, for instance, where a request *Cut me a slice there* is followed by the utterance *This big?* (see also Flöck 2016: 160). Explicit request consents have been shown to be used

most frequently in AmEng and BrEng than implicit request consents, reflecting the preferred status of the compliant request (Flöck 2016: 159). Common explicit verbal routine responses in both varieties include *okay* (Aijmer 1996: 142; Goldschmidt 1998: 146; Leech 2014: 176; Flöck 2016: 159), *mhm/unhunh* (Aijmer 1996: 142; Flöck 2016: 159), *sure* (Aijmer 2009: 328; Goldschmidt 1998: 146; Leech 2014: 93; Flöck 2016: 159), *certainly* (Aijmer 1996: 142; Leech 2014: 93), and *of course* (Aijmer 1996: 142; Leech 2014: 93). In addition, the routines *no problem*, *that's fine*, and *I'd be glad to* have been recorded in studies of AmEng (Goldschmidt 1998). Looking specifically to studies of cross-varietal differences, *sure* is described as a response token which occurs primarily in AmEng (see Flöck 2016: 159, see also Goldschmidt 1998: 146; Aijmer 2009: 328), while *right* is only found in studies on BrEng data (Flöck 2016: 159; see also Aijmer 1996 on *all right*).

Additional agreement forms in both AmEng and BrEng include the first person used together with a modal auxiliary (e.g. *I can*) (Aijmer 1996: 142; Leech 2014: 176). The hypothetical form (*I could*) is reported to be used only in responses when the initiative request itself takes this form or when the eagerness to oblige is otherwise made clear, for instance via upgrading (e.g. *I could indeed*) (Leech 2014: 176). The polarity particles *yes/yeah* also realize request consents in AmEng and BrEng (see Aijmer 1996: 142; Leech 2014: 176; Flöck 2016: 159). However, Goldschmidt (1998: 146) finds that *yes* is rarely used in favour-granting. She suggests that it communicates a lack of conviction which may cause a loss of face to the requestee. As seen in example (1) from the present LuDiG corpus (section 19.3.2), however, conviction may be communicated when *yes* is used in combination with other routine responses, such as the token *no problem* (see also Leech 2014: 93).

(1) IGM39:³ *Yes, no problem.*

Variational pragmatic research on request consents is limited. Flöck (2016), mentioned above, contrasts request consents in AmEng and BrEng using corpus data. El-Dakhs (2018) is a further variational pragmatic study examining request consents in Arabic across region and gender. El-Dakhs (2018) employed production questionnaire data which enabled elicitation of responses to similar situations across varieties. She reports that her Egyptian informants used more direct and more elaborate consents than those of her Saudi Arabian respondents. Gender differences were also recorded, with Saudi women preferring more direct consent realizations than Saudi men. The same study found that both Saudi and Egyptian women produced more emphatic request consents than the men from the respective varieties (El-Dakhs 2018).

El-Dakhs' (2018) study looked at the role of gender in the realization of request consents. However, in general, research on request consents across gender represents a research desideratum. However, research on related speech acts, such as apologies, which also build up positive face suggests that gender may influence language

³ IGM39 is Irish (I), from Galway (G), masculine (M), and with informant number 39; IGF41, on the other hand, is Irish (I), from Galway (G), feminine (F), with informant number 41.

conventions, with women generally paying more attention to social relationships linguistically. Ogiermann (2008), for instance, in a production questionnaire study, finds that BrEng women engage in apologetic and polite behaviour via a high number of routine strategies, intensifying devices and exclamations. Similarly, Holmes (1995), in a study of apologies across genders in New Zealand English using ethnographic data, finds women to use apologies to express concern and solidarity, while men regard them as confessions of failure.

19.3.2 Data description and coding considerations

The data for the present study is taken from a subsection of the Lueneburg Direction-Giving (LuDiG) corpus (see Barron 2021c; 2021d; 2022 for further details). The LuDiG corpus is a cross-varietal collection of audio exchanges recorded using a rapid and anonymous Labovian-style methodology (Labov 1972). They involved a researcher asking strangers, both men and women, for directions (see also Myers Scotton and Bernstein 1988). The direction-seekers are also the permission-seekers. The permission requested concerned the inclusion of the direction-giving interaction in the LuDiG corpus. Despite some pragmatolinguistic variation in the request type (e.g. *Would I be allowed keep the recording?*, *Would you mind if I kept the recording?*, *I would like to ask your permission to use the recording*, *Would it be alright if I kept the recording?*), levels of control are—relative to corpus analyses of reactive acts—nonetheless high, given that all consents are in response to the same request for permission. Recordings of poor quality were deleted, as were recordings in which the response was oriented to an additional offer. There was one permission seeker per sub-corpus. Both were women and a native speaker of the respective variety. The CanEng data was gathered in Halifax (n = 83); the IrEng data in Galway (n = 60), both urban centres. All request consents were issued by informants subjectively judged to be between the ages of 30 and 50. Informants were both men and women, as categorized subjectively by the researcher on the basis of the social category of informant appearance (IrEng: women: n = 28; men: n = 32; CanEng: women: n = 40; men: n = 43).

A previous request consent categorization system put forward by El-Dakhs (2018) focused on responses to requests for non-verbal objects and to requests for action. It did not, however, include responses to requests for permission. Hence, a system of categorization was put forward in the present analysis which focused solely on consents to a request for permission. The present scheme employs the concept of the head move, defined as the minimal unit in an utterance which realizes a particular act (Barron 2022). All request consents were realized explicitly. Hence, the categorization scheme focuses on explicit request consents and distinguishes between routine and non-routine head move types (see Table 19.1). There were two non-routine head move types identified. These included belittling the impact of the request on the requestee (e.g. *I don't see any harm*, *I don't care*, *why not?*) and downgrading the value of the requested item (e.g. *I probably come across all squeaky*). Turning to routine head move types, there were many

more of these. They are given in upper case in the following. Each routine head move type was realized via a range of tokens similar on a formal and semantic level. Tokens are given in italics in the present. The most frequent token of a particular type is mirrored in the type name. The routine types included YEAH (*yeah, yes*), NO (*no*), YOU CAN (*you can, you could*), SURE (*sure, sure thing*), COURSE ((*of*) *course*,⁴ *certainly, absolutely*), GO FOR IT (*go ahead, go for it, you have that, you got it*), FINE (*fine, grand, cool, perfect*), OKAY (*okay, alright*), and NO PROBLEM (*no problem, no worries, no bother*). Neither YOU CAN (see example (2)) nor GO FOR IT had been recorded in request consent descriptions previously. To a limited extent, the choice of YEAH or NO also depended on the exact form of the request strategy chosen. NO, for instance, was the only possible polarity particle possible in response to a request in the form of *would you mind if I ... ?*. Combinations of head move types (routine or non-routine) were also recorded. Example (2), for instance, shows a combination of two routine head move types, the type YEAH and the type YOU CAN. Each of these is analysed separately in the following, if they involve different head move types. Finally, two categories of upgrading were identified, namely repetition of a single head move type (see example (2), repetition of YEAH, realized via *yes* and *yeah*), and intensification via adverbial modifiers (see example (2) (*indeed*), example (3) (*absolutely*)).

(2) IGM34: *Yes, you can indeed yeah*

(3) IGM46: *That's absolutely fine*

The routine and non-routine explicit head move types were also grouped into three major overriding strategies depending on their politeness orientation with regard to Brown and Levinson's (1978; 1987) politeness theory. Specifically, we differentiate between (a) bald on record strategies (YEAH, NO, YOU CAN), (b) strategies which increase the requester's positive face (SURE, COURSE, GO FOR IT), and (c) strategies which minimize the request and so address the negative face threat which asking the request puts on the requester (FINE, OK, NO PROBLEM, belittle impact, downgrade value of requested item) (see also section 19.3.3).

19.3.3 Request consents across region and gender in Irish English and Canadian English

In the following, we contrast request consents across region and gender across (a) single or multiple head move use, (b) use of routine vs non-routine head move types, (c) preferred head move types, (d) upgrading, (e) routine tokens, and (f) overriding strategies. We begin with the number of head moves employed.

⁴ (*Of*) *course* might also have been coded as upgrading in the data. Given ambiguities, it was decided to treat the form as a routine type.

Focusing first on regional variation across IrEng and CanEng, an independent t-test shows that a higher number of head moves are used per informant in the IrEng data compared to in the CanEng data ($t(141) = -3.341$, $p = 0.001$), with only 40% of IrEng informants using one head move compared to as many as 71.1% of CanEng informants (see Figure 19.1).⁵ Indeed, on average, the CanEng informants employed only 1.4 head moves per response compared to 1.8 head moves employed by IrEng informants (see Figure 19.2). Adding gender to the analysis of region does not reveal any statistically significant gender differences within either variety, with men and women within each variety employing similar numbers of head moves. A comparison of average head move use also makes this clear: IrEng women: 1.9, IrEng men: 1.6; CanEng women: 1.3, CanEng men: 1.4 (see Figure 19.2). Viewing both gender and region together shows that the IrEng women employ a significantly larger number of head moves than CanEng women (IrEng women vs CanEng women: ($t(66) = -3.3$, $p = 0.02$) or CanEng men ($t(69) = -2.736$, $p = 0.08$). In addition, IrEng men use a higher number of head moves than CanEng women ($t(70) = -2.097$, $p = 0.04$). There are no significant differences, however, between the IrEng and CanEng masculine data. Thus, we may conclude that with regard to the number of head moves used, IrEng women are more like IrEng men than CanEng men or CanEng women. IrEng men are more like IrEng women and CanEng men and most unlike CanEng women.

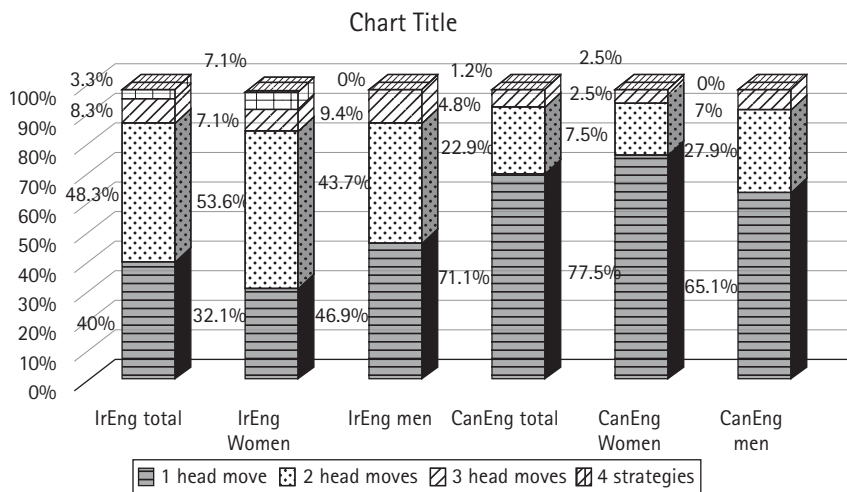


FIGURE 19.1 Single and multiple head move used in request consents across gender in IrEng and CanEng

⁵ Independent t-tests are employed to test for significance in the number of consent head moves used. Chi-square analyses tests significance for all remaining analyses.

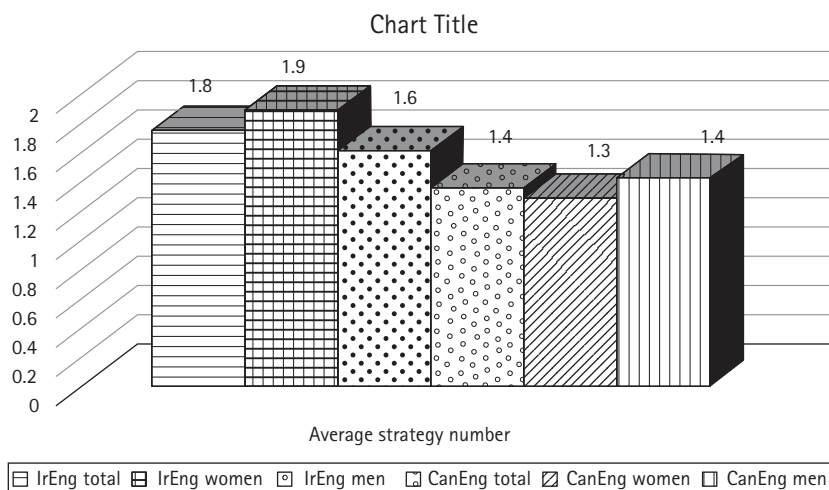


FIGURE 19.2 Average number of head moves employed in request consents per informant across IrEng and CanEng

Looking further at the distribution of routine and non-routine head moves, Table 19.1 shows the explicit routine and non-routine head move totals given as a percentage of the total head moves per variety and gender. Here, it is clear that routine realizations were preferred across varieties and genders, with non-routine realizations employed very rarely (IrEng: 2.9%; CanEng: 4.4%). Moving on to head move types, Table 19.1 shows the variety of types. The response type *SURE* is the type most used in the CanEng data. Indeed, this type is employed in the CanEng data to a significantly larger extent than in the IrEng data, with 49.6% of the total CanEng head moves taking this response type compared to only 9.5% in the IrEng data ($\chi^2(1) = 41.323$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.435$). Use across genders is not significant within either the IrEng or the CanEng data. Thus, an analysis of gender with region shows *SURE* to be significantly more common among the types used by CanEng women than by IrEng women ($\chi^2(1) = 26.555$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.503$) or IrEng men ($\chi^2(1) = 21.150$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.451$). The data also show *SURE* to be significantly more common among CanEng men than among IrEng women ($\chi^2(1) = 20.662$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.426$) or IrEng men ($\chi^2(1) = 15.758$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.373$). Viewed per informant, *SURE* is used by 67.5% of informants in CanEng and only by 16.7% of informants in IrEng (see Figure 19.3).

In contrast to the CanEng overall preference for *SURE*, *YEAH* is the type preferred in the IrEng data, with 38.1% of all head moves taking this form. Adding gender does not change this pattern, with no significant differences across the feminine IrEng and masculine IrEng data (see Table 19.1). A cross-varietal analysis, however, reveals significant differences, with only 12.4% of the total CanEng head moves taking the *YEAH* form ($\chi^2(1) = 19.300$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.298$). This pattern remains stable across genders, with no significant differences across the CanEng feminine and CanEng masculine data (see Table 19.1). Leading on from this, we see that significantly more IrEng men employ a *YEAH* head move type than CanEng men ($\chi^2(1) = 5.971$, $p = .015$, $\phi = 0.230$).

Table 19.1 Routine and non-routine head move types of request consents across gender in IrEng and CanEng calculated as a percentage of the total number of head moves employed per informant group

	IrEng (n=105)	women (n=53)	men (n=52)	CanEng (n=113)	women (n=52)	men (n=61)
<i>Explicit routine types</i>	97.1% (102)	96.2% (51)	98.1% (51)	95.6% (108)	96.1% (50)	95.1% (58)
YEAH	38.1% (40)	39.6% (21)	36.6% (19)	12.4% (14)	7.7% (4)	16.4% (10)
NO	3.8% (4)	3.8% (2)	3.8% (2)	–	–	–
YOU CAN	5.7% (6)	1.9% (1)	9.6% (5)	–	–	–
SURE	9.5% (10)	7.6% (4)	11.5% (6)	49.6% (56)	53.8% (28)	45.9% (28)
COURSE	6.7% (7)	7.6% (4)	5.8% (3)	5.3% (6)	3.8% (2)	6.6% (4)
GO FOR IT	1.9% (2)	–	3.8% (2)	9.7% (11)	11.5% (6)	8.2% (5)
FINE	10.5% (11)	11.3% (6)	9.6% (5)	9.7% (11)	9.6% (5)	9.8% (6)
OKAY	8.6% (9)	9.4% (5)	7.7% (4)	5.3% (6)	5.8% (3)	4.9% (3)
NO PROBLEM	12.4% (13)	15.1% (8)	9.6% (5)	3.5% (4)	3.8% (2)	3.3% (2)
<i>Explicit non-routine types</i>	2.9% (3)	3.8% (2)	1.9% (1)	4.4% (5)	3.8% (2)	4.9% (3)
Belittle the impact on the requestee	1.9% (2)	1.9% (1)	1.9% (1)	2.6% (3)	3.8% (2)	1.6% (1)
Downgrade the value of the requested item	1% (1)	1.9% (1)	–	1.8% (2)	–	3.3% (2)

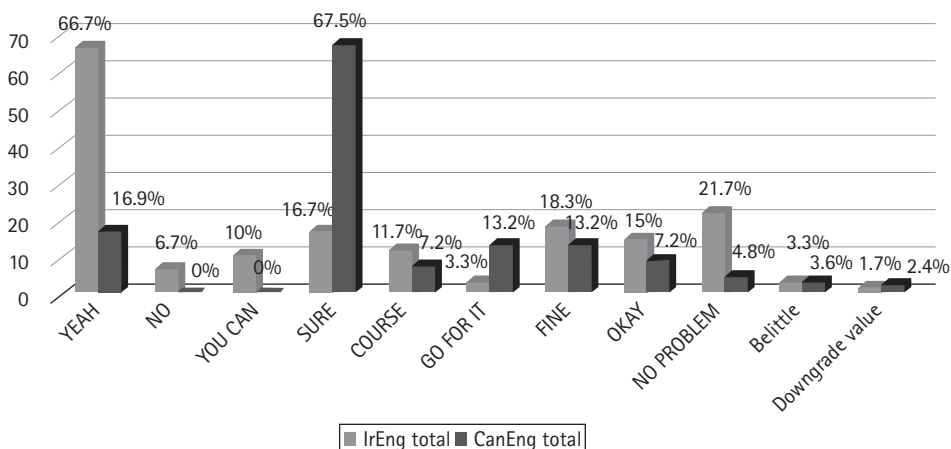


FIGURE 19.3 Head move types in request consents in IrEng (total) and CanEng (total) calculated as a percentage of the total informants (IrEng: n = 60; CanEng: n = 83)

and significantly more IrEng women a YEAH head move type than CanEng women ($\chi^2(1) = 13.044$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.375$). The data also show YEAH to be significantly more common among the IrEng masculine head move types than among the CanEng feminine head move types ($\chi^2(1) = 12.560$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.348$), and use of YEAH by IrEng women more common than in the CanEng masculine data ($\chi^2(1) = 7.729$, $p = .006$, $\phi = 0.260$). Indeed, viewed per informant, Figure 19.3 shows that 66.7% of all IrEng informants used a YEAH type compared to 16.9% of CanEng informants. Adding the direct bald on record realizations NO, YEAH, and YOU CAN together, we see that over 83.3% of IrEng speakers used a bald on record strategy compared to 16.9% of the Canadian speakers (see also Figure 19.4).

The type YEAH has been suggested to be potentially weak in affirmative strength (see Goldschmidt 1998; section 19.3.1). Hence, it is interesting to examine co-occurrences with YEAH in the database. Table 19.2 shows that all uses of YEAH in the CanEng data are in combination with other head moves. Also, at 77.5%, the majority of all YEAH uses in IrEng are in combination, with no gender-related differences recorded. Of the YEAH types used alone, near half (44.4% (4)) were followed by a request seeking confirmation that permission had been granted, a fact which in itself points to YEAH responses having a weaker affirmative force.⁶

Table 19.2 YEAH alone or in combination with other head move types across gender in IrEng and CanEng as a percentage of the total YEAH per sub-corpus

	IrEng total (40)	IrEng women (21)	IrEng men (19)	CanEng total (14)	CanEng women (4)	CanEng men (10)
YEAH in combination	77.5% (31)	76.2% (16)	78.9% (15)	100% (14)	100% (4)	100% (10)
YEAH alone	22.5% (9)	19.% (4) & 4.8% (1) in repetition	21.1% (4)	–	–	–
	n=9	n=5	n=4			
YEAH alone + request seeking confirmation	44.4% (4)	60.0% (3)	25.0% (1)	–	–	–

The head move types YEAH and SURE showed most cross-varietal regional variation. In addition, NO PROBLEM showed some differences across the CanEng and IrEng

⁶ In total, only 11.67% (7) of all request consents in IrEng were followed by a request seeking confirmation of consent. In CanEng only 3.6% (3) of informants' request consents were followed by such a request for confirmation.

data. Whereas NO PROBLEM only represented 3.5% of the total head move usage in the CanEng data, it made up 12.4% of the total use in the IrEng data ($\chi^2(1) = 5.917$, $p = .015$, $\phi = 0.165$) (see Table 19.1). The effect size was, however, much smaller than in the other contrasts.⁷ Per informant, NO PROBLEM was used by 21.7% of IrEng informants and by only 4.8% of CanEng informants. There are no significant differences between the use of NO PROBLEM across gender within either variety. In addition, a small effect size was also found for the type GO FOR IT. Uses of this consent type were higher in the CanEng data, with 9.7% of head move types compared to 1.9% in the IrEng data ($\chi^2(1) = 5.950$, $p = .02$, $\phi = 0.165$) (see Table 19.1). Similar to NO PROBLEM, however, the effect size is low. Per informant, 13.2% of CanEng speakers used it compared to 3.3% IrEng speakers. (Figure 19.3). Finally, it was noticeable that the type YOU CAN was not used in the CanEng data. In the IrEng data, this type was used by 10% of informants (see Figure 19.3).

Upgrading, designed to increase the force of a speaker's utterance, is a further aspect of request consent realizations. As detailed in section 19.3.2, it can take two primary forms in request consents, namely repetition of a single request consent type and intensification via adverbial modifiers. Upgrading was much more prominent in the IrEng data than in the CanEng data. There, nearly one in four informants (23.3%) employed some form of upgrading compared to only 3.6% of CanEng informants ($\chi^2(1) = 12.927$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.301$) (see Table 19.3). Variety-specific levels of upgrading do not vary across gender, with IrEng women employing more upgrading than CanEng women ($\chi^2(1) = 6.39$, $p = .011$, $\phi = 0.307$) and CanEng men ($\chi^2(1) = 4.7741$, $p = .029$, $\phi = 0.259$), and IrEng men employing more upgrading than CanEng men ($\chi^2(1) = 4.931$, $p = .010$, $\phi = 0.296$) and CanEng women ($\chi^2(1) = 8.229$, $p = .004$, $\phi = 0.338$).

Table 19.3 Use of upgrading by informant across variety and gender as a percentage of informant numbers

	IrEng total (n=60)	IrEng women (n=28)	IrEng men (n=32)	CanEng total (n=83)	CanEng women (n=40)	CanEng men (n=43)
Repetition	18.3% (11)	17.9% (5)	18.8% (6)	2.4% (2)	2.5% (1)	2.3% (1)
Intensification	5.0% (3)	3.6% (1)	6.3% (2)	1.2% (1)	–	2.3% (1)
Total upgrading	23.3% (14)	21.4% (6)	25.0% (8)	3.6% (3)	2.5% (1)	4.6% (2)

The next level of analysis concerned the tokens realizing the routine head move types. There were broad similarities on this level. However, a number of tokens were present in one variety, but not in the other. Further research is nevertheless needed on these

⁷ The effect size in the cross-tabulations carried out here uses Cramér's V. Findings with $\phi = 0.1$ point to a small effect size, 0.3, a medium effect size, and 0.5, a large effect size (Cohen 1988).

general preferences given overall low levels of use. The type COURSE, for instance, was realized in the data overall by *(of) course*, *certainly*, and *absolutely*. The CanEng speakers preferred *absolutely* followed by *certainly*. *Of course* was not employed. In IrEng, in contrast, *certainly* was not used. Rather, *of course* was prototypically used, followed by *absolutely*. Similarly, realizations of the type GO FOR IT took the forms *go ahead*, *go for it*, *you have that*, and *you got it* in the CanEng data whereas *Go for it* was the only token used in IrEng. NO PROBLEM was realized via *no problem* in both varieties and, in addition, on one occasion via *no worries* in the CanEng data. Both of these forms have also been recorded to be used in responses to thanks in IrEng and CanEng (Barron 2022). In addition, the token *no bother* realized the NO PROBLEM type in the IrEng request consent data. Although frequencies of usage are low, the exclusivity of the token *no bother* to IrEng in the present study also reflects Barron's (2022) analysis of responses to thanks in IrEng, EngEng, and CanEng, and Schneider's (2005) analysis of responses to thanks in EngEng, IrEng, and AmEng, both of which found *no bother* to be exclusive to IrEng (see section 19.2.1). Finally, the type FINE was realized via *fine*, *grand*, and *perfect* in the IrEng data; in CanEng only *fine* and *cool* were recorded. In all cases, the adjective is either used with *That's*, *It's* or used elliptically. The use of *grand* in the IrEng context supports previous research on particularly high uses of 'approving *grand*' which expresses a speaker's subjective approval of a state of affairs in IrEng (Hickey 2017) (see section 19.2.1).

The final analysis grouped the explicit routine and non-routine types into three major strategy types depending on their politeness orientation with regard to Brown and Levinson's (1978; 1987) politeness theory: (a) bald on record strategies, (b) strategies which increase the requester's positive face, and (c) strategies which minimize the request and so address the negative face threat which asking the request puts on the requester (see section 19.3.2). In order to examine the overall picture of responses per person, the findings are viewed by informant use (see also Figure 19.3).

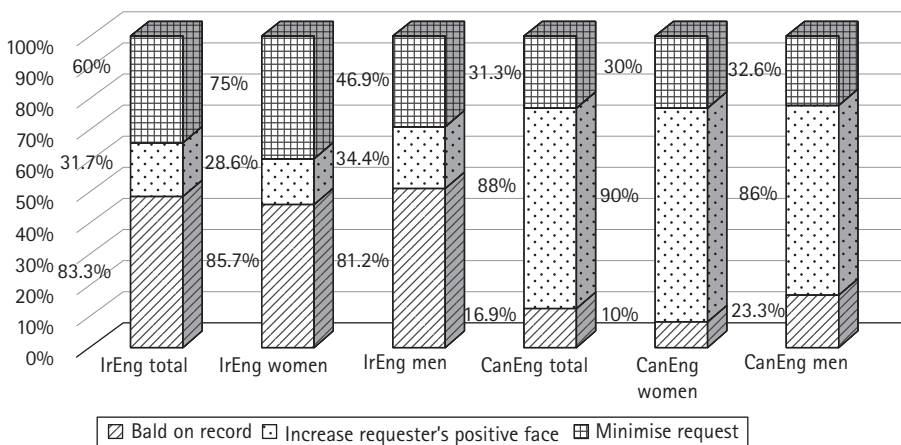


FIGURE 19.4 Request consent strategy types across gender in IrEng and CanEng as a percentage of total informant numbers (IrEng: total: $n = 60$; women: $n = 28$; men: $n = 32$; CanEng: total: $n = 83$; women: $n = 40$; men: $n = 43$). Note that occurrences of multiple head moves mean that the figures per group exceed 100%.

Contrasting the data, cross-varietal differences become clear (see Figure 19.4). IrEng speakers employed a higher number of bald on record strategies relative to CanEng speakers, irrespective of gender (IrEng: 83.3% vs CanEng: 16.9%, $\chi^2(1) = 62.224$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.660$; CanEng vs IrEng women: $\chi^2(1) = 38.982$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.757$; CanEng vs IrEng men: $\chi^2(1) = 24.722$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.574$). These strategies were used in combination with strategies to increase the interlocutor's positive face (IrEng: 31.7%) and minimize any threat to negative face (IrEng: 60%). Informants engaged in minimizing any negative face threat to the hearer to a significantly larger degree than the CanEng speakers (IrEng: 60% vs CanEng: 31.3%; $\chi^2(1) = 10.662$, $p = .001$, $\phi = 0.273$). This difference is also significant for women across CanEng and IrEng ($\chi^2(1) = 11.900$, $p = .001$, $\phi = 0.418$) but not for men. The data also shows a somewhat higher level of negative face minimization in the IrEng feminine data ($\chi^2(1) = 4.922$, $p = .027$, $\phi = 0.286$) relative to the masculine data. On the other hand, CanEng speakers prefer to increase the positive face of their interlocutors. They employ such a strategy significantly more often than IrEng speakers, irrespective of gender (CanEng: 88% vs IrEng: 31.7%; $\chi^2(1) = 48.083$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.580$; CanEng/IrEng women: $\chi^2(1) = 27.215$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.633$; CanEng/IrEng men: $\chi^2(1) = 21.261$, $p = .000$, $\phi = 0.532$).

19.3.4 Discussing the findings: request consents across region and gender

The study examined the influence of gender and region (national level) on request consents. We turn first to region, given that many significant differences were recorded in preferences for how consent is granted across IrEng and CanEng. With regard to head move type, despite broad similarities in the range of response types across both varieties, variety-preferential differences were evident in frequencies of use. SURE was significantly more common in CanEng than in IrEng. High levels of SURE suggest that from the point of view of language conventions, CanEng is close to AmEng, SURE having been reported to occur in request consents in AmEng rather than in BrEng (see section 19.3.1). In IrEng, on the other hand, the YEAH type was preferred. Similarly, uses of NO PROBLEM were higher in IrEng relative to CanEng, whereas GO FOR IT was used more in CanEng. The effect sizes for both of the latter types were, however, small. Finally, the use of YOU CAN in the IrEng data and not in the CanEng data was interesting given that the form had not been recorded before in descriptions of request consents (although the related form I CAN had been noted in research on BrEng (see section 19.3.2)). Interestingly, modal verb responses have been reported to be a feature which, due to sub-stratum influence from Irish, are employed to a comparatively large extent in IrEng instead of clear-cut polarity particles (*yes, no*) (see Filppula 1999; Diamant 2012). Uses here may reflect this pattern. However, in contrast to previous research on this feature, the type YOU CAN in the present context was not limited to reflections of a modal verb in the initiative request. Thus, GF41's response in example (4) follows a question of the form *Would it be alright if...?*

- (4) IGF41: *Of course you can. No problem at all.*

It is thus suggested that *YOU CAN* may represent a conventionalized routine in the context of responses to requests for permission in IrEng.

More multiple head moves were used in request consents in IrEng relative to CanEng, a finding which can be explained by high levels of *YEAH* in IrEng. This head move type, the favoured type in IrEng, appears to have weak affirmative power when used alone (see section 19.3.1). It is prototypically combined with further consent types or upgrading, as also in the present data. Notably in this context, upgrading, used to enhance the requester's positive face, was also significantly higher in the IrEng data. Accompanying types in the data either decreased any negative face threat which the request for permission posed (e.g. via *NO PROBLEM*, *FINE*) and/or enhanced the requester's positive face (e.g. *COURSE*, *SURE*).

Finally, the analysis of the overriding strategies revealed IrEng speakers to convey consent in a more direct manner via use of *YEAH*, *NO*, and *YOU CAN* than CanEng speakers, a fact which enhances positive politeness, given that the speech act observes the generosity maxim (see section 19.3.1). IrEng speakers supplement this directness with positive-politeness strategies, upgrading and/or minimizing strategies. While directness, upgrading, and positive-politeness strategies reflect previous research on IrEng pointing to the importance of hospitality and building solidarity in IrEng society (see section 19.2.1), the comparatively high use of minimizing strategies also shows an effort to minimize the value of the act of permission, thus reducing self-praise and avoiding forwardness. In addition, it also shows an attempt to show concern for any face threat the hearer may be experiencing (see section 19.2.1). In contrast, CanEng speakers primarily engage in building the positive face of their interlocutors, revealing attention to relationships and communicating hospitality. Such findings also support previous findings on the pragmatics of CanEng which point to a strong orientation towards positive face (see Barron 2021c on responding to thanks).

Finally, from a gender perspective, the study shows high levels of homogeneity in the realization of request consents across men and women in both cultures. Men, however, engaged in minimizing behaviour in the IrEng data to a significantly lower extent than women. In other words, men decreased self-praise to a lesser extent than IrEng women and paid less heed to potential threats to the hearer's negative face. Overall, they engaged then in a higher level of forward behaviour. These findings deviate from those of El-Dakhs (2018), who found women in both Egyptian Arabic and Saudi Arabic to produce more positive-politeness oriented, so-called 'emphatic' request consents (*sure*, *certainly*) than men from the same varieties. As such, the data point to differing gender conventions across varieties, with IrEng women rather engaging in a higher level of face minimization than IrEng men.⁸

⁸ Given that a previous study on masculine responses to thanks in IrEng and CanEng (see Barron 2022; see also section 19.2.1) reports higher levels of minimizing in IrEng relative to CanEng, the robustness of the avoidance of forwardness as a description of Irish identity is not in question. However, there is a need for further research on gender-related variation on the issue.

19.4 CONCLUSION

The study of pragmatic variation in IrEng has come into its own in recent years. Three research foci were differentiated: the first focus is on regional variation on the national level. Research on this level is concerned with isolating the nature of language use in IrEng relative to other varieties of English and thus addressing questions of what IrEng is and how it relates to identity construction. The second research focus is on pragmatic variation within IrEng according to region on a subordinate level, and according to gender, age, socio-economic class, and ethnic identity. Such research sheds light on distributions of pragmatic features and conventions within IrEng. The third focus, not dealt with explicitly in the present chapter, is on the development of localized features of IrEng (type 1, type 2 features) by non-nationals and learners of IrEng. The present paper focused on type 1 and type 2 variation, also reflecting the fact that type 1 research alone cannot identify indexes of Irish identity; rather type 2 research is also needed to determine if a particular feature or convention plays a role in identity construction on a wholly national level or rather in interaction with further macro-social factors (e.g. Irish men). In addition, type 2 research is also important in determining whether a particular pragmatic form or convention is receding or whether it is a stable index of IrEng linguistic identity.

The study on request consents in IrEng and CanEng showcased a contrastive empirical analysis of IrEng on the actional level which also took gender variation into account. It put forward a request consent coding scheme for affirmative responses to requests for permission and identified head move types not previously recorded (YOU CAN, GO FOR IT). From a type 1 perspective looking at region on the national level, the study showed IrEng consents to be more elaborate relative to CanEng usage, involving a more extensive use of multiple head moves. This fact was explained with reference to high uses of YEAH, a type with lower conviction which thus demands combination with further request consent types. Bald on record strategies of consent (YOU CAN, YEAH, NO) were common in IrEng. These were prototypically employed together with a strategy designed either to enhance the requester's positive face (e.g. COURSE, SURE and/or upgrading) and/or to minimize any negative face threat which the request for permission may have posed (e.g. via NO PROBLEM, FINE). The higher uses of minimizing strategies in IrEng reflect an avoidance of self-praise and also attention to potential face-threats to the hearer and thus, in line with descriptions of IrEng language use (see section 19.2.1), reflect an avoidance of forwardness. In addition, heightened upgrading and also the presence of positive-face strategies show a tendency towards a high level of generosity and hospitality vis-à-vis the hearer. In CanEng, in contrast, responses were prototypically realized using single head move type and orientated to enhancing the speaker's positive face (e.g. SURE), and pointing to a hospitality orientation.

Cross-gender findings pointed to a homogeneous realization of request consents in CanEng, which suggests stable conventions. In IrEng, despite high levels of homogeneity

in the use of multiple head move types, in the choice of head move type and upgrading, men were shown to engage in minimizing behaviour to a significantly lower extent than women (see section 19.3.4). They thus decreased self-praise to a lower degree than IrEng women and paid less heed to potential threats to the hearer's negative face, both aspects of forwardness. The findings thus point to a need for further research on gender-related variation vis-à-vis the status of forwardness avoidance in language use in IrEng.

The research design enabled high levels of control and thus limited situational variation. However, it was not without its limitations. The study focused only on language use in two cities and generalized to a national level. In addition, given the status of Galway, for instance, as a county capital, it is possible that informants were from both rural and urban areas. Further research is, thus, needed on request consents in different regions and also systematically across rural/urban boundaries in order to come to robust generalizations. In a similar vein, one can consider whether Canadian English speakers in Halifax, Nova Scotia are representative of Canadian usage across this vast country, especially usage in Ontario and British Columbia.

Furthermore, the gender analysis in the present setting was based on apparent gender as categorized on the basis of informants' appearance. Additional research is needed to offer a more nuanced account of gender identities, also using self-identification. In addition, there was some variation in the realization of the request for permission. Further investigation using production questionnaires would enable control over the realization of this initiative speech act. Finally, future studies might take non-verbal communication or prosodic means into account.

The majority of research on IrEng from a type 1 or type 2 perspective to date employs descriptive research. As such, research does not generally provide information on whether features of IrEng identified represent a conscious or unconscious part of IrEng identity. Such research might focus to a larger extent on second- and third-level indexicality, i.e. on investigating whether and, if so, how patterns of language use are linked to a particular socio-demographic context in the eyes of group members (second-level indexicality), and on investigating which forms are widely perceived as being stereotypical for a particular socio-demographic context (third-level indexicality; Silverstein 2003). Literary representations go some way in presenting such indexes. However, in-depth metapragmatic analyses, focusing on informants' beliefs and knowledge vis-à-vis their own and others' pragmatic conventions would allow us to establish conscious indexes of Irishness, of rurality/urbanity, of gender, of age, of socio-economic class, of ethnic identity and interactions of these vis-à-vis other groups and to compare these to descriptions of actual language use. Some recent work which focuses on perceived differences between language use in the cities of Belfast, Dublin, and Cork (Lucek and Garnett 2020) has produced findings which point to second- and third-level indexicality and also provides interesting questions for further descriptive analysis. On a regional level, for instance, the study reports the clause-final discourse marker *like* as being associated with language use in Cork, in the south of Ireland. The same study also mentions the use of *boy* (with the pronunciation [baɪ]) as an enregistered indicator for Cork dialect (see Bessel, Chapter 18 this volume). Future metapragmatic research may

throw more light on speakers' consciousness of the pragmatics of IrEng and how this relates to linguistic identity across macro-social factors.

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CHAPTER 20

DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC MARKERS IN IRISH ENGLISH

CAROLINA P. AMADOR-MORENO

20.1 INTRODUCTION

DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC variation has until relatively recently been a neglected area of study within the field of Irish English (IrEng), where studies of lexical, morphosyntactic, and phonological features have traditionally dominated. However, a recent focus on contextual factors has broadened the study of this variety, and a growing interest in the discourse-pragmatic component of IrEng has become evident, as interdisciplinary approaches to language and linguistics in general have developed and converged.

The need to focus on context in varietal research in general was highlighted by Barron and Schneider (2005), who offered an initial response to what they identified as a lack of focus on the interpretation of speaker meaning and on ‘language in (inter)action’ as part of a broader field within the area of pragmatics. Thus, they staked the claim to the area of *variational pragmatics*, which is ‘at the interface of pragmatics and modern dialectology’ (Barron and Schneider 2005: 12). Research focusing on this interface has gained a prominent place, and has addressed an important gap in the study of regional pragmatic variation which has had significant implications for the study of IrEng. To some extent, since Barron and Schneider (2005), there has been a considerable revision of the research agenda for IrEng in different discourse domains to include the pragmatic perspective (as pointed out by Vaughan and Clancy 2011).

The study of discourse-pragmatic markers (D-PMs)¹ in IrEng has become one of the most fertile areas within the scope of pragmatic research since the need to focus on variational pragmatics was identified. The potential for new lines of investigation presented

¹ The term ‘discourse-pragmatic marker’ is adopted here as a neutral, broad, and conceptually flexible label, both in relation to the distribution and scope of these features and in relation to their functionality (see Pichler 2016). For further discussion on terminology and its evolution see e.g. Schourup

by D-PMs in IrEng was flagged in one of the articles contained in Barron and Schneider (Amador-Moreno 2005, but see also Amador-Moreno 2002), and was later explored by Kallen (2006). Other studies then followed the moves towards further analyses of these features (see Siemund et al. 2009; Amador-Moreno 2010; 2012; Corrigan 2010: 98–102; Murphy 2010; Clancy 2011a; 2011b; Clancy and Vaughan 2012; Höhn 2012; Nestor, Ní Chasaide, and Regan 2012; Schweinberger 2012; and Kallen 2013). As a result of the increasing interest in the topic, the volume *Pragmatic Markers in Irish English* (Amador-Moreno, McCafferty, and Vaughan 2015) was undertaken, bringing together a significant amount of work focusing on D-PMs from different perspectives that included contrastive analyses with other varieties, and empirical studies of individual features in various contexts.

What we know to date is that some of the D-PMs that are specifically associated with IrEng have existed for some time (Amador-Moreno and McCafferty 2015a), others have been used for the characterization of fictional Irish individuals in films (Walshe 2009), novels and drama (Amador-Moreno 2012), as well as advertising (Kelly-Holmes 2005; O'Sullivan 2015) and media (Vaughan and Moriarty 2018).

Given that D-PMs are context-bound and have a variable nature which is dynamic, user-determined, and text-dependent, studies that take account of how D-PMs get their meaning in interaction with the context are of great value, as they contribute to our understanding of these linguistic features. D-PMs in IrEng have also been the subject of enquiry within public and private discourse. For example Binchy (2005) and Barron (2015) investigate service encounters, Millar (2015) analyses computer-mediated communication, Farr and Riordan (2015) focus on academic environments, while Clancy (2015) and Murphy (2015) study intimate discourse (family, friends, and acquaintances). A growing area of research is also the use of D-PMs in second-language acquisition contexts, which has mostly concentrated on specific migrant groups in Ireland (Nestor et al. 2012; Diskin 2013; 2017; Migge 2015; Corrigan and Diskin 2020).

Adding to the work focusing on regional variation in IrEng, existing research has also discussed how some D-PMs such as *like* and *right/roysh* behave in urban contexts (Amador-Moreno 2015: 377–80; O'Dwyer 2018: 85), or how final *but* is specifically employed in Dublin English (Schulte, 2022). Other D-PMs such as *ach/och* are associated with NIrE and deserve further analysis (Corrigan 2010: 99; 2015: 45–6).

An expanded view of what sort of items we can study within the category of D-PMs allows for the inclusion of non-traditional phenomena within this designation, which means that the study of vocatives (Murphy and Farr 2012; Murphy and Palma-Fahey 2018), turn-initiators (McCarthy 2015), and turn-final items (Vaughan et al. 2017), tag questions (Barron 2015; Barron and Pandarova 2016), response tokens (O'Keeffe and Adolphs 2008; Murphy 2012), new expressive markers (Ronan 2019), and vague

language (O’Keeffe 2004) must also be considered. Correlations between pragmatic function and phonetic realization and phonetic sociopragmatic aspects of D-PMs (O’Dwyer 2018; Schulte 2022) also add to our general knowledge of these items. Space constraints only allow for a general overview of such features here; but given how D-PMs can guide the process of interpretation (Watt 1988), a chapter on D-PMs in IrEng would be incomplete without specific mention of these phenomena.

In order to offer a general introduction to D-PMs in IrEng, this chapter draws on both written and spoken IrEng discourse, discussing contemporary and historical data from various sources. Following a discussion of how the study of contextual factors provides us with better knowledge of D-PMs in general, and how context² is a key issue in variational analyses, the chapter will present an overview of what has been covered in the last fifteen years on the topic of IrEng D-PMs. A discussion of the most representative D-PMs in IrEng, classified into three categories (old, new, and borrowed) will then follow. With the aim of illustrating specific usage, the D-PMs will be briefly examined and explained in the light of the pragmatic function they fulfil in IrEng discourse, and of how they contribute to defining IrEng as a variety in its own right.

20.2 CONTEXTUAL FACTORS AND THE ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE- PRAGMATIC MARKERS

Discourse-pragmatic variation is often strongly determined by social situations or by the identity of the speaker, which explains why D-PMs are also used variably depending on region. Much of the interest on D-PMs, not only in IrEng but in general, is the fact that they encode cultural aspects that reflect what is acceptable, assumed, or even taken for granted in certain contexts but which often translate differently into others. This may be the case even within the same geographical domain where societies are far from homogeneous. Within American English (AmE), for example, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006: 93) highlight that ‘some of the major areas of social dissonance and conflict among different social and ethnic groups [...] are directly tied to people’s failure to understand that different groups have different language-use conventions’. In that respect, a major inspiration for the study of pragmatic markers from a variationist angle is Aijmer (2013), who calls for the need to expand the study of D-PMs to look at their variation depending on contextual factors. Accounting for contextual factors ‘broadens the area of study and can also be expected to result in a better knowledge of pragmatic markers in general’ (Aijmer 2013: 2). In that sense, when considering methods

² As pointed out by Bloor and Bloor (2007: 27), ‘context is *dynamic*’, which means that acute awareness of the two types of context, ‘context of culture’ and ‘context of situation’, is needed. In sociopragmatic/discourse analysis, both types of context often converge and need to be differentiated.

of analysis it is important to keep in mind Aijmer's discussion of how contextualization cues and interpretative frames to describe knowledge required for interpretation need to be brought into the equation.

Corpus studies of D-PMs in different varieties of English have allowed access to large amounts of data and have helped decipher usage in terms of patterns (of form and function), frequency, and distribution (i.e. across region, social class, ethnicity, age, gender, genre). Vaughan and Clancy (2016) describe a number of IrEng corpora that might be used for the purposes of sociolinguistic research, including information about their size, whether they are written or spoken, the time periods they represent, the meta-data their databases contain, their availability to researchers, and where to find further information about them. Amador-Moreno and Terrazas-Calero (2017) also include a brief description of the types of corpora available.

The two most frequently used corpora, the Ireland component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-Ireland) and the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (LCIE), have given rise to contrastive studies comparing IrEng with other varieties of English, while others have focused on intra-varietal comparisons between Northern Ireland (NI) and the Republic of Ireland (ROI), as we will see below. When considering representativeness, a number of issues need to be taken into account for each dataset. ICE-Ireland contains speech from both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Given the importance of other features such as prosody, intonation, hesitation, pausing, overlap, rhythm, accent, or pace of delivery for contextualization, one advantage of the ICE corpus is that access to the spoken recordings is possible. SPICE-Ireland (Kallen and Kirk 2012) presents the ICE-Ireland data with pragmatic tagging, and is also prosodically tagged for intonation and word stress. One disadvantage of the ICE-Ireland and SPICE-Ireland material, though, is that it only contains 'Standard' IrEng (see Kallen and Kirk 2007: 132–7). LCIE is more vernacular, but it was collected exclusively in the Republic, so it is not representative of the whole island; furthermore, it has not been placed in the public domain (for copyright reasons) and so access to it is limited. A great advantage of LCIE, however, is that it is designed according to speaker relationships and context of use, which allows for pragmatic explorations that focus on the significance of these elements in specific situations.

As Aijmer and others have argued, 'pragmatic markers have a rich situational meaning which is exploited in the communication situation also for the speaker's manipulative purposes' (Aijmer 2013: 15). This is central to humour, for example, and to how D-PMs are used in fictional representations of IrEng discourse in order to signal Irishness. In novels, films, or comedy for example, D-PMs cluster with other elements to release laughter or to signal to the reader something about the speaker/character. The interactant's shared knowledge of the context is often key. For that reason, it is important to bear in mind that when applying corpus linguistic techniques (regardless of the type of corpus being used), one should never lose sight of context. Frequencies and word distribution may provide solid empirical evidence at a quantitative level, but without fine-grained qualitative analyses that study how such evidence is to be interpreted in specific sociocultural Irish contexts, much will be lost. A corpus-linguistic approach may give

us access to geographical or formal patterns that seem meaningful, but if we are not prepared to go deeper into an analysis of context, we might end up making claims about Northern Irish English (for example) that do not apply, or interpreting humour and stereotyping in the wrong light. This argument also holds for the interpretation of historical data, where knowledge of the sociohistorical contexts that surrounded linguistic production is crucial.

The functions and prosodic qualities of some D-PMs associated with IrEng have long been familiar to non-linguists. P. W. Joyce (1988 [1910]), whose observations on the English spoken in Ireland span from the 1890s, when he started collecting material for his book, makes the following comment in relation to the D-PM *mossa*: ‘a sort of assertive particle used at the opening of a sentence, like the English *well, indeed*: carrying little or no meaning. ‘Do you like your new house?’—‘*Mossa* I don’t like it much’. *Mossa* (also spelled *musha*, or *mosha*), and *wisha* (‘a softening down of *mossa*’, Joyce 1988 [1910]: 296) are both identified by Joyce as characteristic traits of Irish English speech. While *mossa*, *wisha* (and their variants), and *arrah* (Hickey 2007: 371; Amador-Moreno and O’Keeffe 2009; O’Sullivan 2022) may now be considered obsolete or seen as belonging to the realm of fiction, other D-PMs have entered this domain and constitute an interesting snapshot of the perception of IrEng discourse. Diachronic analyses of IrEng reveal some movement in the D-PM system of this variety. Some D-PMs have gone into decline, others have changed in meaning, while new features seem to have also emerged. The following section examines some of these scenarios.

20.3 SOMETHING OLD, SOMETHING NEW, SOMETHING BORROWED

D-PMs have predominantly been viewed as characteristic of spoken discourse (Brinton 2017: 13), while research on written discourse has complemented this view by analysing how they function in written communication (McCarthy 1993). Within the domain of written discourse, historical data may provide evidence of discourse-pragmatic use from the past and the ‘diachronic pathways’ (Brinton 2017: 284) that led to their survival, their current presence in contemporary discourse, and their appropriation as a mark of identity in some cases too. Some of the D-PMs discussed below are long-standing features of IrEng whose use can be traced back in written sources, others have been used as a tool to build stereotypical representations of the Irish, while others are frequently found in contemporary spoken discourse in different contexts and with a wide range of pragmatic functions. Although some of the D-PMs that can be found in IrEng are not unique to this variety, their use in the Irish context provides interesting insights into the pragmatic work that they perform *as part of it*.

20.3.1 Something old: traditional markers

20.3.1.1 *Sure*

Sure, sometimes spelled *shur(e)*, is one of the D-PMs whose use has been traced back in time. A signature D-PM of IrEng, *sure* seems to have been in use since the early eighteenth century at least (see Amador-Moreno and McCafferty 2015b; McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2019; Hickey 2020), and it is still a widely used feature in contemporary spoken interactions. Looking at Irish emigrant letters from the 1700s to the 1900s, Amador-Moreno and McCafferty (2015a; 2015b) observe the structural positions in which *sure* was found in the past, and examine the different pragmatic functions that it seems to fulfil. The use of D-PM *sure* in the letters suggests that sociopragmatic reasons may lie at the heart of its survival up to the present: it was a useful way of signalling identity and intimacy, and a pragmatic mechanism that allowed IrEng speakers to look for consensus (Amador-Moreno 2005: 87) by expressing knowledge, opinions, or attitudes shared by the writers and addressees of the letters. As in present-day occurrences of *sure*, a clear mitigating function seems to be at play when the speaker's purpose is to downtone a statement that otherwise might be interpreted as too direct, or too blunt: 'sure I often told you' is added at the end of a clause in a letter written in 1886. D-PM *sure* in this case is employed as a hedge to soften a face-threatening act that might otherwise have been read with a reprimanding tone.

Kallen (2005a: 142) points out that *sure* 'optimistically assumes agreement with the speaker, even if the facts have not been explicitly agreed'. In the following two examples, one from spoken and another from written discourse, there is an appeal to shared knowledge, which additionally tries to maintain interpersonal accord while reinforcing social bonds:

- (1) Try them anyway <#> They're they're worth trying **sure** (S1A-090, from Kallen 2013: 197–8)
- (2) I suppose I cant visit yous before next summer if then Noble says he is coming out here next spring **sure** he has been talking about coming for the last year or two but his father is not willing that he should come (from CORIECOR, letter by William Beatty, 9 August 1875)

When represented in writing (particularly in novels and plays) as *shure*, where a [ʃ] sound is indicated through eye-dialect, an element of mockery is often implied (while in other forms of written communication such as emails, for example, it may sometimes be used with the aim of signalling to the reader that the statement is not to be taken too seriously). The element of mockery (regardless of spelling) is present in different types of fiction as far back as the sixteenth century, where *sure* has been part of the tropic linguistic depiction of the Irish, as pointed out above. Its stability as part of the IrEng repertoire used in novels and drama can be observed in some of the works in the Corpus of Irish English (CIE) compiled and made available in Hickey (2003),

where *sure* as a D-PM appears frequently in plays and prose (see Amador-Moreno and McCafferty 2015b; Hickey 2020). Its attestation in both private letters and different forms of fiction shows that it was a well-established feature of IrEng discourse by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The presence of D-PM *sure* in the Corpus of Irish English Correspondence (CORIECOR) letters in some cases contributes to reaffirming identity on the part of the letter writer, while at the same time creating bonding with the (also Irish) recipient of the letter. The fictional examples, on the other hand, show that it was employed to signal Irishness in regional plays and novels, albeit to an extent which varied by author depending on how salient *sure* was for them, either consciously or unconsciously.

Indexicality of this type (both playing on stereotype and on the concept of identity marking) is also present in the resorting to D-PM *sure* in other, more modern types of fiction such as films (see Walshe 2009: 122–3) or publicity (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 123; O’Sullivan 2015: 331; 2022). In many of the examples from O’Sullivan’s corpus on advertising, *sure* creates pseudo-intimacy with the audience, which recognizes the distinctively IrEng D-PM as an identifier. By the same token, in the corpus of films analysed by Walshe, the script resorts to this particular D-PM (sometimes in combination with other features) in order to signal Irishness to the viewers.

Although it may occur both medially (as in example (3) below), and also clause-finally (see (4)), IrEng D-PM *sure* is most frequent in clause-initial position, either on its own (as in 5) or in a phrasal collocation with *and*, *ach/och*, *well*, *aye*, or *but* (as in 6), i.e. preceding the assertion it qualifies (Kallen 2006: 10). It can also appear in tags, as example (7) indicates.

- (3) I ran to the bed, an’ sure there I found her dying (Griffin 1919: 309)
- (4) They wouldn’t kill me in my own country, sure (Walshe 2009: 123)
- (5) ‘Don’t forget to lock up the fowls.’
‘Sure I did that an hour ago.’ (Joyce 1988 [1910]: 338)
- (6) She’s acting you see, it’s fine when you’d be young like that, but sure she’s seventy years. (Murphy 2015: 83)
- (7) Now <,> you you didn’t have that long with the Dubs really sure you didn’t.
(Kallen 2013: 197–8)

The types of IrEng *sure* illustrated here differ from other varieties of English in its prosodic and phonological treatment. In all the structural positions shown above, IrEng D-PM *sure* is typically produced with a centralized schwa-like vowel, which need not be rhoticized (Hickey 2020: 175). It is an unstressed element within a larger intonation unit that either opens or closes with *sure* (or has unstressed *sure* in medial position). This lack of prominence sets IrEng *sure* apart prosodically from usage in AmE and other Englishes. Moreover, when it comes to meaning, as discussed above, IrEng *sure* differs from American *sure* for example in that the IrEng D-PM indicates that the

speaker/writer assumes and expects agreement on the part of the hearer/reader, while AmE uses (which typically carry stress) simply make an assertion, stating the speaker's certainty. When comparing its use in BrE, Kallen (2013) shows that IrEng is also clearly distinguished from BrE: *sure* is overwhelmingly lexical in BrE, with a minor secondary use as a simple response (as in AmE); in IrEng, *sure* occurs more often than in BrE, but its use as a response is even more restricted than in Great Britain.

20.3.1.2 *Final like*

Another stock feature that is considered emblematic of IrEng is D-PM *like* when it appears in utterance/clause-final position (see e.g. Kallen 2013: 191; Corrigan 2015: 279; Diskin 2017: 144), as in example (8), produced by an Irish emigrant writing in 1854. The data gathered by Filppula (1999), which consists of informal interviews of elderly speakers conducted in the late 1970s–early 1980s, also shows this 'element-final' position identified by Hickey (2007: 376) in the Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech (10), and its occurrence in the ICE corpus (11) demonstrates that it was still widely used in the 1990s, which is the basic time period for ICE-Ireland (with small additions in the early 2000s, as discussed in Kallen and Kirk 2007: 128). A recent study based on ICE-Ireland by Schweinberger (2020) indicates that it was a widespread feature in educated IrEng discourse until recently, with interesting changes in terms of constraints on use through the decade covered in that corpus. The ICE-Ireland examples discussed by Schweinberger (see also Siemund et al. 2009; Kallen and Kirk 2012: 56, Kallen 2013: 192) can be complemented with other occurrences of the same feature in the LCIE (Clancy 2011a, 2011b) providing more vernacular productions from roughly the same period. An analysis of LCIE more broadly (Amador-Moreno and O'Keeffe 2009), revealed 81% of the examples of the D-PM *like* were in utterance/clause-final position, while only 19% appeared in mid-clause position. Hickey's rates of acceptability (43%) reported in his Survey of Irish English Usage features (Hickey 2004) also contribute to depicting a clearer overall picture of final *like*. Its presence in fictional discourse (12) as shown in Walshe's corpus of Irish films (Walshe 2009: 125–6) or Terrazas-Calero's corpus of Irish fiction (2022) is also telling when it comes to analysing how this feature is perceived and recreated in fiction. Further evidence that it is widely perceived as characteristic of IrEng discourse (north and south) is provided by an image discussed in Corrigan (2010: 79–80), from a recent campaign by Coca-Cola in NI which contains the motto shown in example (13):

- (8) I told Robert when I received Elizabeths letter that she said I was the best like but he did not agree with her on that (Wm McElderry, 16.10.1854)
- (9) But, eh, there was some island, like, where there was a man living. And he was marooned, like, and there was no one in it but himself, like. And this day the fire went out on him, like. (Clare: F.K.)
- (10) I'm just telling you what I heard, like. (TRS-D, M64–2)

- (11) But you know it's cruel where he's above in Mallow now like <#> And he's in that ward just there's three beds here <,> three facing him three behind him and this kind of thing like <#> Now he has plenty of money like but he wouldn't pay to go into a home (S1A-055)
- (12) That's been bled from an engine, like? (Howard, *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Nightdress*)
- (13) 'The Coke side of Belfast, like' (Corrigan 2010: 80)

The fact that contemporary Irish authors, such as Paul Howard (12) who recreates it in his fictional rendering of Dublin English, might be an indicator of how it is currently employed (or perceived) in such urban contexts where dissociation from more vernacular forms may be operative (Amador-Moreno 2012; Amador-Moreno and Terrazas-Calero 2017). Diskin's study (2017), using data collected in 2012–2013 shows that clause-final *like* was the minority variant both among Irish and migrant speakers in Dublin, whereas clause-medial *like* was the preferred position for *like*, typically representing over 50–60% of the four possible positions for *like* (see also Nestor et al. 2012, and Diskin and Regan 2015). This rise of the more innovative clause-medial *like* vis-à-vis the more traditional final *like* is also discussed in the literature, and it has been compared with other varieties of English, as discussed below. Overall, the comparison with other varieties confirms the robustness of final *like* in IrEng: Kallen (2006) for example, using the ICE suite of corpora, demonstrates that clause- or utterance-final *like* is more frequent in Ireland than in Britain, and Schweinberger (2012) also shows how speakers of IrEng prefer final position *like*, which tends to be used with a mitigating function, while BrE speakers predominantly use it in clause-medial position (see also Schweinberger 2015: 127–8). Siemund, Mayer, and Schweinberger (2009) also provide comparative evidence of higher frequency in the ICE-Ireland data in contrast with ICE-India, ICE-Philippines, and ICE-East Africa.

While robustly characteristic of IrEng, final *like* has traditionally been considered 'dialectal'. Attested in the OED as far back as 1778, different studies have argued that 'it is not confined to the Celtic Englishes and its associates' (Corrigan 2015: 49). Its use, almost wholly restricted to older speakers, is also present in the north of England and Scotland (Beal 2008; Miller 2008; Tagliamonte 2012), and, although it is recessive in AmE (see D'Arcy 2017: 13), attestations of this form are also found in the speech of old NAME speakers. IrEng usage, in contrast, shows a wider range of occurrence in terms of age (see Schweinberger 2015; 2020). And a closer analysis of historical data seems to suggest that final *like* was one of the D-PMs that may have been transported to North America during the eighteenth century (Amador-Moreno and McCafferty 2015a: 287; D'Arcy 2017: 159) by Irish emigrants.

Contrastive analysis of final *like* in IrEng and other varieties also suggests that IrEng usage is distinctive in how it is perceived or tolerated (Corrigan 2015: 50) in both formal

and informal contexts, as well as in a wider set of functions at a discourse-pragmatic level. Columbus (2009) finds 11 different functions, which include the mitigating element inherent to example (8) above, from a private letter, and which is also identified by Corrigan (2010: 100–1; 2015: 51) in her Northern Irish corpus, where it is also employed ‘as a focuser’ (Corrigan 2010: 100), often in combination with the narrative function that can be observed in (9). Some of the categories proposed in Columbus (2009) contain the label ‘emphasis’, where the speaker’s aim is to highlight something (or provide examples). Other labels proposed are related to humour, which vouches for the intersubjectivity of this particular feature. Apart from the speaker-centred functions mentioned here so far, the pragmatic focus of final *like* is often the interlocutor. This focus on the recipient means that, far from expressing lack of confidence (cf. Serrano-Losada 2015:21), final *like* is often used as an exemplifier, and looks for bonding with the interlocutor.

20.3.2 Something new

20.3.2.1 *Innovative like*

Empirical studies on other uses of *like* as a D-PM have proliferated, focusing mostly on the innovative use of this D-PM in mid-position or as an opener, as in examples (14) and (15), discussed by Amador-Moreno and O’Keeffe (2009):

- (14) maybe he just doesn’t want to be arsed correcting it I know if he were to give her homework it means **like** collect= correct the class homework (LCIE)
- (15) A: ... they’d have it saved from anytime they want to write on it or they’d have photocopies.
 B: Yeah I know it would automatically be there.
 A: **Like** I’m just going to say I’ll write my own address cause it’s too awkward for me. (LCIE)

Comparisons with other varieties of English (e.g. Siemund et al. 2009) contribute to our understanding of this type of linguistic innovation in IrEng discourse from a more global perspective. Studies like Schweinberger (2015), for example, shed light on if, how, and why innovating and traditional *like* use in IrEng differs from its use in standard BrE in terms of both frequency and functionality. Contrastive studies such as these are revealing, given the geographical proximity and long-time contact between BrE and IrEng.

Few of these non-traditional uses are genuinely innovative in the sense of being ‘new’ within the variety. They reflect long-standing pragmatic work in English in general (see D’Arcy 2017), and textual attestation of these uses of *like* seems to point to historical connections between IrEng and other varieties (see Amador-Moreno and McCafferty 2015a; Amador-Moreno 2019: 110–16). As is the case with the D-PMs discussed here so

far, the fact that these uses of *like* are being adopted by non-native English-speaking newcomers to Ireland (Nestor and Regan 2015; Corrigan and Diskin 2020) is telling, as it is a clear indicator of the degree of visibility these uses have in present-day spoken IrEng. Another barometer of how these uses are viewed in contemporary speech is fiction. The presence of these uses of *like* in fictional renderings of contemporary IrEng discourse (e.g. Walshe 2009: 125–6; Amador-Moreno 2012) indicate that they are noticeable to both writers and wider audiences.

Quotative *like* is a more recent innovation that has been captured in fiction even more prominently (Amador-Moreno 2015). Example (16), from the best-selling author Paul Howard, illustrates this use of innovative *like*:

- (16) ‘So what’s basically wrong with him?’ and she’s **like**, ‘Periodontal disease,’ and I’m **like**, ‘I take it that’s a bad thing?’

The spread of this construction of subject + *be* + *like* is a global phenomenon. IrEng follows a similar trend to other varieties in terms of patterns and functions, with some small differences observed in relation to how this construction with *like* competes with other forms available as part of the quotative system. Höhn (2012) shows that *be* + *like* was already used in IrEng in the early 1990s.

20.3.2.2 *Grand and now*

Unlike the innovative uses of *like*, which tend to be more restricted to younger speakers, ‘new’ uses of *grand* and *now* can be found in the D-PM repertoire of speakers of all ages. We will consider *grand* and *now* as ‘new’ D-PMs here, given that they have evolved from an adjective and an adverb respectively into pragmatic features that have a unique prominence in IrEng at present.

Grand as a general vernacular feature of IrEng has been around for some time. Hickey (2017: 81) has argued that the D-PM form ‘arose diachronically out of other uses of the adjective *grand* to reach its present distribution during the twentieth century, which now continues in the twenty-first century’. Because *grand* is often used as a response token (often occupying a full turn), as an adjective (related to ‘grandeur’), and even as a noun (meaning ‘money’), its functions as a D-PM are sometimes harder to identify. Examples (17) cited in Hickey (2017: 81) and (18), from LCIE, both illustrate the use of D-PM *grand*. The two examples show how the speaker both approves and furthers discourse as part of a dialogue (as in 17) or as part of the narrative (as in 18):

- (17) Grand, we can take our time with leaving. (Hickey 2017)
- (18) you’re all doing French you’re all doing an MA in French Grand So you’ll all be writing dissertations as well Great fun. (LCIE)

The occurrence of this type of *grand* in the work of Irish playwright Sean O’Casey (example 19) leads Hickey (2017: 89) to the conclusion that a development from what he

calls ‘impressive *grand*’ to ‘approving *grand*’ seems to have taken place around the early twentieth century.

- (19) MRS MADIGAN *Grand, grand*; you should folly that up, you should folly that up. (Sean O’Casey. 1924. *Juno and the Paycock*)

Looking further into the distribution of this type of ‘approving *grand*’ in the ICE-Ireland corpus, Hickey (2017: 90–92) finds that, when closely scrutinized, the spoken texts display ‘a clear preponderance of “approving *grand*”’ that is more significant in the data from the Republic of Ireland. The high occurrence of D-PM *grand* with that approving function leads to the conclusion that ‘approving *grand*’ is of a robust vernacular nature ‘in all forms of Irish English’, having moved from a non-subjective to an intersubjective (Hickey 2017: 91) use where the speaker often seeks to put the speaker at ease, as in example (20), from Synge:

- (20) MARY DOUL: You’ll be *grand* then, and it’s no lie. (John Millington Synge. 1905. *The Well of the Saints*)

This type of reassuring function discussed by Hickey is in line with some of the functions of other D-PMs discussed here so far, which explains why the development of *grand* towards more intersubjective uses tallies well with the tendency that IrEng shows towards consensuality and reassurance (Hickey 2007: 371). The maintenance of consensuality and expression of reassurance have to do with the avoidance of conflict and the aim of maintaining social ties in IrEng. The construction and maintenance of consensuality is often achieved through hedging, as we saw in the cases of *sure* and final *like*. This is also evident in the IrEng use of D-PM *now*, which we turn to next.

Now as a D-PM in contemporary IrEng has emerged from corpus-based studies (Clancy and Vaughan 2012) as a key item of this variety. Its hedging function has been found to downtone and mitigate disagreements, challenges, and evaluative stance (Migge 2015; O’Sullivan 2022). The following extract (21), from the LCIE, is used by Clancy and Vaughan (2012) to illustrate one of the uses of D-PM *now* in IrEng. In the extract, as they explain, the participants are discussing the expense involved in caring for a sick family member:

- (21) <Speaker 1> Did they put sheets and all on the bed then like yeah?
 <Speaker 2> Made it up as normal ten *grand* worth of a bed and my old lad had to take it down then.
 <Speaker 1> How many Euros would that be now?
 <Speaker 2> Euros Jesus Christ.
 <Speaker 1> Oh it not euros though is it it is euro and cent shure the ones your old lad had this morning.
 <Speaker 2> Yeah.
 <Speaker 1> Jesus Christ I don’t know how we are going to get used to them yokes.

Clancy and Vaughan (2012: 238) discuss the use of *now* in this context as a mitigating strategy, where '*now* functions as a softener against the threat to face of the hearer invoked by the speaker asking a direct question', and conclude that it is this pragmatic function that contributes to its high frequency in IrEng. Their comparison with other varieties shows that *now* is more frequent in the spoken IrEng represented in LCIE than in other spoken corpora such as the British National Corpus (BNC), the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), or the Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech (SCOTS). They identify one more pragmatic function which seems to be characteristic of informal spoken IrEng, and is frequently found in service encounters when speakers want to hand something over physically. This type of deictic pragmatic function is also found in the use of *there* as a D-PM, as in example (22), discussed in Amador-Moreno, Clancy, and Vaughan (2019):

(22) Tom Joyce my great former colleague died **there** last year unfortunately (LCIE).

In this example *there* does not have the spatial meaning we would assume, but a more deictic one (see also Amador-Moreno 2019: 149). As is the case with *now* in (21), the force of the D-PM is activated in order to do some pragmatic work.

While other functions of D-PM *now* in IrEng are shared by many varieties of English around the world, what is 'new' in present-day spoken IrEng is the pragmatic function that it has, depending on whether it occurs in utterance-final or initial position. The hedging function of *now* is also found in advertising (O'Sullivan 2022) and in the speech of newcomers to Ireland (Migge 2015), where 'it does not only operate on the interlocutor's face wants—mitigation of a threat to the interlocutor's face—but was also used to downtone a threat to the speaker's face' (Migge 2015: 404).

20.3.3 Something borrowed

Under 'borrowed' we can consider those English D-PMs whose use in IrEng is not necessarily distinctive nor characteristic of IrEng, but which have been studied within this variety in contrast with others. They are not 'borrowed' through language contact in the direction that one might assume borrowing to have taken place in Ireland (in fact, very little borrowing from Irish into English has occurred at this level),³ but they are 'adopted' from the English language that was brought to Ireland, with little modification in terms of the discourse-pragmatic functions they serve in other contemporary varieties of English around the world (including those which resulted from the transportation of English). Length restrictions here only permit focusing on *well*, which has

³ 'Language contact' here refers to the contact between Irish and English prior to the language shift that took place for a large number of speakers during the nineteenth century. For a discussion of D-PM transfer, see Hickey (2015).

received much attention in other varieties. However, other candidates in this section, for example, would be *kind of/sort of* (Kirk 2015), *just* (Kirk and Kallen 2009), *anyway* (Amador-Moreno 2019: 105–10; Aijmer 2019), or *so*⁴ (Amador-Moreno 2019: 91–105). Kallen (2005b) is a contrastive analysis of *you know* (for which see also Palma-Fahey 2015), *I mean*, and *I/Id say*, comparing data from ICE-GB and ICE-Ireland.

Well has served as the ‘testing ground for different theoretical approaches’ to the study of D-PMs (Aijmer 2013: 21), which makes it a rich site for comparative analysis. Kirk (2018) is a corpus analysis of D-PM *well* in IrEng, focusing on ‘broadcast discussions’ from ICE-Ireland, as compared to ICE-GB. He uses Aijmer’s model of meaning potential (2013) where *well* has three pragmatic functions: a discourse-connecting function, textual or coherence function (24); an interpersonal function signalling involvement (25); and a face-addressing function acting as a marker of politeness (26). The three functions show homogeneity in each corpus when compared (Kirk 2018: 163, 187–8). Examples (24)–(26) are from Kirk (2018):

- (24) Okay **well**, we’ll have to leave it there.
- (25) S1: Our panel, our panel repre- is not pro-war if that is your point.
S2: **Well** two of your speakers are pro-war.
- (26) ... and if you think we can walk away and leave that **well** I’m sorry you’ve got the wrong guy.

Differences in terms of politeness are based on few tokens (10), and the slight differences between the corpora lead Kirk to the conclusion that there is no point in speculating about possible explanations that might be simply related to the nature of the discourse/communicative situation. His findings in that sense, he claims, confirm that ‘registers share some general similarities across varieties’ (Kirk 2018: 166). This ties in with findings on *just* (Kirk and Kallen 2009) and *sort of* (Kirk 2015).

While there may be ‘nothing peculiarly Irish about discourse uses of *well*’ (Kirk 2018: 163), some conclusions may be drawn from Kirk’s comparison: first a higher proportion of coherence uses seem to be present in the British data than in the Irish, whereas involvement and politeness functions appear to feature more prominently in the ICE-Ireland corpus (Kirk 2018: 165). To this we can add McCarthy’s (2015: 168) findings that while *well* is more common in general in CANCODE (the Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English) than in LCIE, it is more frequent as a turn-opener followed by further talk than *well* as a single-word turn in LCIE. In her analysis of Irish advertising, O’Sullivan (2022) also notes that *well*, which is used to simulate everyday discourse in the dialogic scenarios of the ads, replicates similar politeness strategies to those discussed by Kirk (2018), and also shared by other D-PMs in IrEng, such as the ones discussed above.

⁴ For innovative *so*-prefacing, see Amador-Moreno (2019: 91–3).

This means that, while the ‘borrowed’ D-PMs may not be particularly characteristic of IrEng, they still deserve attention, as they contribute to the overall D-PM system in IrEng by doing similar pragmatic work to the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ D-PMs.

Variety-preferential uses of language are common at the level of D-PMs with particular strategies or linguistic patterns preferred in one speech community to a greater extent than in another (Barron 2005). The D-PMs discussed here are an important component of what Clancy and Vaughan (2012) term ‘the pragmatic profile of IrEng’. They fulfil functions that are part of the broader pragmatic rules acquired through socialization in the Irish context (Hickey 2007: 371; 2015: 32) and they contribute to the definition of IrEng from a new angle.

20.4 CONCLUSIONS

The study of D-PMs in IrEng reveals that a focus on the pragmatic mode has been fruitful. In the specific case of this variety, the analysis of D-PMs has moved the research agenda forward, and it has underlined more broadly the need to take a differentiated and more contextualized perspective on language use. Research on more varied contexts remains a desideratum: medical discourse, including healthcare worker–patient interactions, for example, would be worth exploring within the pandemic situation triggered by COVID-19. However, what is already available thanks to corpora compilation still provides much potential for future research, not only comparatively across different varieties but also within IrEng, taking account of micro- and macro-level issues that are context based (see Barron and Pandarova 2016: 112). Vaughan and Clancy (2016) draw attention to the fact that ‘the larger spoken corpora of Irish English were finished in and around 2005, therefore, the time is ripe for an ICE-Ireland 2.0 or an LCIE 2.0’, and even suggest the need for a larger-scale corpus ‘that is representative of both spoken IrE and Gaeilge’. Indeed thorough empirical investigations that focus on the Irish (Gaelic) discourse pragmatic system (both diachronically and synchronically) would help to measure the degree of pragmatic transfer due to language contact between Irish and English through time (see Hickey 2015).

This chapter has pointed out that the use of certain D-PMs is part of the broader pragmatic system of IrEng, where indirectness, consensuality, reassurance, and the emphasis on solidarity are key elements to the social, cultural, and linguistic Irish context. Pragmatically, this translates into an open attention to face which may well explain why some D-PMs occur in final position, reinforcing social bonds. Established vernacular use of D-PMs such as clause-final *like*, final *now* and *there* are clear illustrations of how interpersonal accord is sought through the use of D-PMs in IrEng. The use of *so*, *but*, *sure*, *anyway*, and *you know* in final position also qualify as examples of this. Many of the functions of the D-PMs of IrEng in other positions also contribute to constructing interpersonal accord and avoiding conflict, which are both identified as characteristic traits of IrEng discourse.

This chapter started by arguing that utterances are embedded in a social, cultural, and linguistic context (Aijmer 2013: 9). Some of the studies reported here have identified high frequencies of hedges, thus suggesting that hedging (and mitigating) may be a feature of Irish conversational style (Farr and O’Keeffe 2002), and one that has been in operation for some time as part of this variety. Contrastive research that tests hypotheses about the distinctiveness of IrEng in that respect are important, as they point more specifically to the different language-use conventions that operate across varieties.

The textual record shows that many of the D-PMs associated with IrEng have had a long-standing presence in Irish discourse. The analysis of D-PMs in writing shows different levels of indexicality that connect pragmatic theories with approaches to socio-linguistic variation. This connection centres upon the social meaning of style and the study of identity and language choice (Hickey and Amador-Moreno 2020), all of which brings us back to the opening call made at the start of this chapter: the need to expand the study of D-PMs to focus on variation depending on contextual factors, and the need to look at IrEng in context.

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CHAPTER 21

POLITENESS IN IRISH ENGLISH

ELAINE VAUGHAN

21.1 INTRODUCTION

ANY approach to characterizing something as complex as politeness in a national variety must be of necessity tentative and by nature somewhat partial. It should therefore be acknowledged that attempts to universalize and generalize around national socio-cultural norms, and the politeness strategies that appear to reflect and obliquely ratify their existence, come with the inevitable caveats and trigger warnings. The aim of this chapter is to present a concise overview of trends in the study of politeness in order to contextualize and amalgamate some of the key findings from studies that focus on or include considerations of politeness phenomena in Irish English (IrEng). Although an independent field of study in its own right, politeness is often subsumed within the broader field of pragmatics, and from this perspective interest in the study of politeness amplified considerably in the latter part of the twentieth century (Hickey and Stewart 2005). This interest has been sustained in the intervening years by ever-increasing numbers of empirical studies (Culpeper 2011a).

Where politeness as well as pragmatics in IrEng are concerned, Barron and Schneider's *The Pragmatics of Irish English* (2005) is the key volume, with contributions that focus on characteristics of politeness and other pragmatic phenomena across a variety of interactional contexts. This publication marked a considerable expansion in approaches to the study of IrEng as a variety: to that point, as has been frequently observed, IrEng had been well served in terms of descriptions of its phonological, lexical, and syntactic features, both contemporary and historical (Hickey 2005; 2015), but considerably less so from the perspective of its pragmatic features, memorably described as an erstwhile 'desideratum' by Barron and Schneider (2005: 3). An exception to this is a study by Farr and O'Keeffe (2002) which examines *would* as a hedging device in two distinct interactional domains sampled from the IrEng context: radio phone-in and

post-observation feedback in language teacher education. The study itself is one of the earliest published papers based on analysis of the larger corpus of spoken Irish English of which both datasets form a part (the Limerick Corpus of Irish English, LCIE), and the identification of pragmatic patterns around *would* became salient as a result of the corpus-based methodology Farr and O’Keeffe espouse. After a much more substantial discussion on the functions of *would* in context, the authors concluded that patterns and functions of *would* as a hedging device are as much about the Irish sociocultural context as are factors such as register or setting (see Ronan 2012 for a similar conclusion). The papers in Barron and Schneider aimed to bridge a pragmatic gap in the study of IrEng, and describe the Irish sociocultural context more fully.

Of major relevance for the studies cited in the current chapter, a more or less contemporaneous development that flanked this pragmatic turn in the study of IrEng was the compilation of two major corpora of IrEng. The International Corpus of English (Ireland), or ICE-Ireland (Kallen and Kirk 2008) and the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (LCIE; Barker and O’Keeffe 1999; Farr, Murphy, and O’Keeffe 2004) contained larger samples of naturally occurring spoken IrEng than had hitherto been the subject of analysis, at 600,000 and 1-million words respectively. While not the only available corpora of spoken IrEng (see Vaughan and Clancy 2016), their size and composition meant that it was possible to make some general statements on the nature of the spoken language they contained. In addition, both were designed to be comparable: ICE-Ireland is part of the larger ICE project, 1-million-word samples of written and spoken language from 27 varieties of world Englishes (see Kirk and Nelson 2018) while LCIE mirrors the design matrix of the larger, 5-million-word Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE; see McCarthy 1998). This has meant that the findings emerging from the exploration of these IrEng corpora can be contextualized in relation to other Englishes and other languages, with the potential to add nuance to descriptions of, for example, politeness ‘strategies’ (Are they common across other Englishes/in comparison to other languages? Might they be connected with some confidence to IrEng as a variety?). However, it is important to be cognizant of the fact that these corpora, while currently the best we have and valuable resources in their own right, represent only a small, and potentially homogeneous or limited sample of IrEng linguistic behaviour. Nevertheless, they have both been mined for data and utilized in studies that either directly or indirectly focus on politeness, politeness strategies, and/or general aspects of the sociocultural context of Irish English which give rise to these. We now turn to what will be a necessarily brief consideration of the substantial research on politeness, picking out some theories and concepts that frame these studies.

21.2 POLITENESS RESEARCH: A CONCISE OVERVIEW

Politeness research is implicated in quite a broad range of disciplines from (social) psychology to behavioural sciences, with its ‘conceptual heart’ in pragmatics, according

to Culpeper (2011a: 393), though a consensus definition of 'politeness' has been elusive. At the level of everyday, practical understandings, 'polite behaviour' is verbal and non-verbal, comprising any of an array of social expectations and choices, such as where to stand or sit, the observation of social protocols, and formality and informality. To properly frame a theoretical approach to studying politeness, distinctions have been made between this general understanding of politeness, or commonly accepted social rules of behaviour, and linguistic conceptualizations of politeness. These have been termed first-order and second-order politeness (Watts, Ide, and Ehlich 2005 [1992]), or 'politeness₁' and 'politeness₂' (Eelen 2001), as a means to disentangle rules relating to social behaviour which may be culturally relative at best and subjective at worst from linguistic and pragmatic theoretical conceptualizations of politeness, though both, ultimately, are critically important to delimiting politeness (Watts 2003). From this perspective, first-order politeness, politeness₁, references 'the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of sociocultural groups' (Watts et al. 2005: 4–5), what Fraser (1990) calls the 'social norm' view of politeness, and second-order, politeness₂, encompasses a scientific, linguistic concept, 'a more technical notion that can only have a value within an overall theory of social interaction' (Watts et al. 2005: 4–5). Of course, as Held (2005: 133) points out, the social norm view of politeness is ubiquitous in terms of its research vintage, and the fact is that social norms 'are bound to affect the relevant linguistic system from the outside and thus to leave behind traces in its lexicon and grammar' (Held 2005: 136). Hence, social expectations of linguistic contexts are key to interpretations of polite linguistic behaviour. This is the line taken in the present chapter, as what is at issue is politeness in action and interaction in IrEng (Barron, Chapter 19 this volume), and it is always worth acknowledging, as Bousfield (2008: 45) and many others have, that nearly all theoretical views on politeness are in some way reliant on social norms (see also Schneider 2012). Leech (2014: 13) considers this conundrum: should politeness be viewed as a linguistic or a social/cultural phenomenon? He concludes that it is, in fact, both, and this mutual entailment can be conceptualized in terms of two interfaces within a general view of pragmatics, pragmalinguistics, and sociopragmatics (Leech 1983; Thomas 1983). Leech (1983) attributes the refining of these terms to Thomas (1983), and vice versa. Where pragmalinguistics references the linguistic resources within a language that allow for the construction of pragmatic meaning, sociopragmatics references 'more specific "local" conditions on language use' (Leech 1983: 10; see Marmaridou 2011 for a broader discussion of pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics in pragmatics more generally). Culpeper (2011b: 1) enlarges on this definition of sociopragmatics to describe it as the area of study 'that concerns itself with any aspect of the social context that is specific to the pragmatic meanings of particular language use'. Thomas's (1983) consideration of pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics emerges from her work on cross-cultural pragmatic 'failure', which can arise from a mismatch between expectations of social norms, as well as potential for offence in language choices inappropriate to interactional expectations. This subdivision of completely entailed concepts does not indicate that they should be studied in isolation, and Leech (2014: 11) suggests a distinction in perspective to reconcile the two: pragmalinguistics

faces towards language while sociopragmatics faces toward society (see Culpeper 2021 for a nuanced discussion of sociopragmatics which elaborates on sociopragmatics more specifically as a bridge between putative macro- and micro-levels of context).

Where politeness is concerned, Culpeper (2011a) has discussed the history of approaches to politeness research as characterized by a first and second wave, which have laid the groundwork, either via integration or rejection/modification, for current scholarship (see also Kádár and Haugh 2013; Jucker 2020). What Fraser (1990) in an earlier summary identifies as three major perspectives informing politeness research to that point—the social-norm view of politeness, the conversational-maxim view, and the face-saving view—Culpeper (2011a) glosses as first-wave approaches to politeness. He adds discursive approaches to politeness, which lean towards a reintegration of politeness, amongst other characteristics, relational work (Locher 2004; Locher and Watts 2005), and, critically, impoliteness (Culpeper 1996), to the second wave of approaches to politeness from the early 2000s on. Fraser's social-norm view of politeness is somewhat analogous to that of Watts et al.'s (2005 [1992]) first-order politeness/politeness, and he presents the social norm view as a conventional view of politeness which assumes that each society has social norms that prescribe (and equally proscribe) certain social behaviour and ways of behaving in particular situations (he refers, for example, to a nineteenth-century book on etiquette for ladies) (1990: 220). To the social-norm view and conversation-maxim view, Fraser (1990) adds his own perspective, the *conversational-contract* view of politeness, which suggests that parties in interaction enter into a conversational contract determined by internal and external factors; norms evolve within the ecology of the conversation, and only deviations from the norms are marked by the speakers.

Culpeper (2011a) notes Lakoff (1973) as the originator of the maxim-based view of politeness, with her description of the rules of pragmatic competence consisting of two overarching rules: 'be clear' and 'be polite'. The work of H. P. Grice (1975) formalizes, as Culpeper states, Lakoff's 'be clear' maxim in positing the Cooperative Principle (CP): the notion that speakers orient to providing appropriate contributions to the ongoing interaction in line with the purpose or direction of the talk. Four maxims underpin this principle: the maxims of quantity, quality, relation, manner. The maxim of quantity states that contributions should be informative, and neither more nor less than required in the context of interaction; the maxim of quality assumes speakers will be truthful, and 'will not say that for which they lack adequate evidence'; the maxim of relation requires contributions to be relevant; and the maxim of manner requires speakers to avoid obscurity of expression or ambiguity, and to be brief and orderly in their contributions (Grice 1975: 45–6). Grice assumes that speakers will, at times, violate, opt out of, or otherwise flout the maxims he proposes. Leech (1983) builds on Grice's CP and posits the Politeness Principle (PP) in order to explain why this might happen. Leech holds that violations of the CP can be explained with reference to the PP, which proceeds on the premise that one should 'minimise the expression of impolite beliefs and maximise the expression of polite beliefs' (Leech 1983: 81). He formulates accompanying maxims/submaxims for the PP—in the most recent formulation (Leech 2014), there

are ten of these maxims, and accompanying submaxims; for example, the MODESTY MAXIM (in expressives and assertives) whose submaxims are to (a) minimize praise of self and (b) maximize dispraise of self; or the AGREEMENT MAXIM (in assertives), whose submaxims are (a) minimize disagreement between self and other and (b) maximize agreement between self and other (see Culpeper and Terkourafi 2017 for a fuller discussion of pragmatic approaches to (im)politeness). Spencer-Oatey (2000) and Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003: 1635) suggest that Leech's maxims all seem to have 'universal valences', the suggestion being that one pole, the sub-maxims labelled (a) above, are inherently more desirable than the other. Yet, they argue, 'in different cultures, and in different speech contexts within the same culture ... different options or points on the continuum could be favoured' (Spencer-Oatey and Jiang 2003: 1635)—a point it is fair to say Leech originally and more recently anticipated in his assertions that across cultures the maxims may not apply or may be weighted differently. Bousfield (2008) points out what he views as a more serious issue with Leech's PP (and by implication Grice's CP): it presupposes that 'politeness is a "norm" for all speakers across all discourses' and hence impoliteness is 'socially aberrant' despite the fact it is 'ubiquitous ... and can be quite-prevalent-to-centrally important in many discourses' (Bousfield 2008: 51).

These are just some of the complex theoretical and analytical debates in the field of politeness that cannot be played out further here, given our aim and scope, but can and should be referenced in terms of the development of conceptions of (im)politeness (for a chapter-based survey with both breadth and depth, see Culpeper 2011a). This latter formulation (*im*)politeness (rather than *politeness*) is used for the remainder of the chapter as the more contemporary term, and one that acknowledges that while classic work on 'politeness' proceeded by theorizing around a view of interaction predicated on the maintenance of social harmony and active avoidance of conflict or confrontation (cf. Lakoff 1973; Leech 1983; Brown and Levinson 1987), this perspective neglects the very palpable fact that interaction which is intended to actively seek conflict, provoke confrontation, and tend towards hostility rather than harmony also exists, and requires theorization and description (see Bousfield 2008; Culpeper et al. 2003; Culpeper 2011c; see also Haugh and Culpeper 2018).

To the best of my knowledge, there have been no studies that focus exclusively on impoliteness proper in IrE contexts, though potential markers of impoliteness, such as insult constructions with particularly Irish expletives, such as *feck*, are mentioned by Hickey (2015: 20): *Your man is feckin useless; Listen, feck off will ya!*¹ We turn now to research work that specifically considers how (im)politeness is conceptualized and explored in IrE contexts, focusing on the 'Irishness' of language use. These studies range from those that concentrate on highly intimate domains of discourse such as the family, to those which harvest language data from interaction amongst virtual strangers in Irish-based computer-mediated communication contexts, to reveal the complex

¹ Kallen (2013: 166) discusses the etymological bases of *feck* in Irish English, and its contextual flexibility. He notes that *feck*'s ties with *fuck* allows it to encode hostility and aggression, and its euphemistic nature, a less strong flavour of *fuck* as it were, allows it to also act supportively (*Feck off! That's brilliant*) (2013: 202).

relational work encoded in this interaction. We focus on prominent researchers in the field, and draw together some common themes in the research in order to attempt a general characterization of politeness in Irish English, while bearing in mind the inevitable limitations of such an endeavour.

21.3 CHARACTERIZING THE IRISH SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT

An advertising campaign for the German supermarket Aldi was run in Ireland in 2015. It was devised by the Dublin-based creative agency Boys+Girls (<https://boysandgirls.ie/>), and leveraged everyday understandings of Irishness (*It's as Irish as ...*) in order to localize the brand to the Irish market, in particular focusing on Aldi's sourcing of fresh meat from Bord Bia approved farms.² This commodification (cf. Heller 2010; Kelly-Holmes 2005a; 2005b) of Irishness via IrEng engenders a representation, albeit amplified, of elements of pragmatic routines and appropriate behaviour (cf. Schneider 2012) in the Irish context. These provide an oblique but quite interesting perspective on the interactional norms and expectations within which IrEng (im)politeness strategies are produced. The advertisements themselves centred around typical Irish behaviour around closing telephone conversations (the inability to be the first to hang up on a phone conversation), not wanting to complain (despite obvious discomfort), and conventions around responding to compliments. Extract 21.1 presents the script of the advertisement that shows an Irish woman sitting down to dinner with her family while simultaneously ending a telephone conversation.³

(1) **Extract 21.1 It's as Irish as ... never wanting to be the first to hang up the phone**

<V/O> All our fresh meat at Aldi is a hundred per cent Irish from Bord Bia approved farms <\V/O>

<Woman> Yeah. Talk to you later. Yeah. Bye bye bye bye bye bye bye. Bye:: Bye bye bye bye. Yeah. Bye bye bye bye. Okay. Bye bye bye bye bye bye bye bye. *Slán*. Talk to you later. Yeah shur I'll see you in a hour anyway. Bye:: No I won't say a word there's no-one here. Head on there now. Bye bye bye bye bye bye bye bye. Bye:: bye bye. Bye. Yeah. She's gone <\Woman>

<Man> <sighs> <\Man>

<V/O> It's as Irish as never wanting to be the first to hang up the phone <\V/O>

² Bord Bia = the Irish food board.

³ In the extracts for these advertisements, <V/O> ... <\V/O> refers to the voiceover (male voice). In the remainder, <E> ... <\E> adds any relevant extralinguistic information. *Slán* is the Irish for '(good) bye'.

For the closing of a conversation to be ‘accomplished’ in Schegloff and Sacks’ (1973) terms, conversational participants are faced with the necessity of disengaging from the interaction, while simultaneously ensuring speaker relationships are attended to and maintained. This is what motivates the avoidance of abruptness, and the script of the Aldi advertisement plays with how this produces the ‘long goodbye’ often observed in lay terms as an Irish linguistic artefact. The exaggerated number of *bye-bye-byes* in the script of the Aldi advertisement is in fact also mirrored by naturally occurring IrEng interaction, as Extract 21.2 from the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (LCIE) shows:

(2) **Extract 21.2 Telephone conversation closing in LCIE**

- 1 <\$2> Carla my dinner is on the table I better go or.
- 2 <\$1> Okay.
- 3 <\$2> They’d throw it out on me or something.
- 4 <\$1> Yeah I know <\$E> laughs <\$E>. Okay listen thanks for ringing I’ll text you or I’ll ring you again okay.
- 5 <\$2> Fair enough okay.
- 6 <\$1> Okay sweetie take care.
- 7 <\$2> Good luck.
- 8 <\$1> Bye bye bye bye.⁴

The cooperative nature of the closing, the mirroring of closing moves (*take care, good luck, bye bye bye bye*, repetition of *okay*), and the indicators of intimate discourse (Clancy 2016) in the extract, for example in the use of vocatives (*Carla, sweetie*), provide useful proxies for the investigation of (im)politeness strategies. The number of turns required to disengage from the interaction cannot, of course, be argued as particular to the Irish context, but could be connected more to expectations around disengagement from different types of interaction. In another advertisement in the Aldi campaign, presented in Extract 21.3, the humour centres on the lengths to which the interactants will go in order to display modesty in the face of a prototypical compliment (see Manes and Wolfson 1981).

(3) **Extract 21.3 It’s as Irish as the inability to take a compliment**

<V/O> All our fresh meat at Aldi is a hundred per cent Irish from Bord Bia approved farms <\V/O>

<Woman 1> I love your dress. Black looks great on you <\Woman 1>

⁴ This type of reduplication also occurs in IrEng response tokens *yeah* and *no* (see O’Keeffe and Adolphs 2008).

<Woman 2> This? Are you actually serious? I actually hate this dress. I dunno why I wear it. I got it like in a bargain basement you know in one of those baskets. Obviously someone left it there cos it looks so bad. I should probably give it to a charity shop but I'm not gonna give it to a charity shop because I don't want someone to end up walking down the street and I'd be like 'oh my God that is all my fault that you look like a state in that dress like I used to look like a state in that dress'. But your dress looks amazing <\Woman 2>

<\$E> short pause <\\$E>

<Woman 1> This? <\Woman 1>

<V/O> It's as Irish as the inability to take a compliment <\V/O>

How compliments are realized and responded to is a rich area of research cross-culturally (see Chen 2010), and within IrEng, compliment responses have been the subject of comparative analyses, particularly by Schneider (e.g. 1999). He found that his Irish informants used a greater range of strategies to respond to compliments than his American informants, a trend he notes also in relation to responses to thanks (Schneider 2005). He also uncovered a first preference amongst the Irish informants to reject the compliment, which is certainly the response type amplified for comic effect by the Aldi advertisement. Kallen (2005a), meanwhile, notes the strategy of understatement, associated with negative politeness in Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms, as typical to compliment responses in IrEng (*That's a great drawing, Robin/Thanks, I suppose it's not the worst*, p. 134). In understanding the sociocultural norms and values in contemporary Ireland, the reflections provided in media discourse provide a fecund source. There is no shortage of online commentary and clickbait that plays with stereotypes of Irish identity and Irishness under headings such as 'you know you are Irish when ...' and listicles like '10 things that only Irish people will get'. These general observations can suggest useful directions for gaining some initial purchase on characterizations of national, regional, or even highly localized norms which allow for perspectives on (im)politeness, and the contextualization and interpretation of the linguistic evidence. In the English context, Culpeper and Gillings (2018) use similar material as prompts for identifying expressions they gloss as 'diagnostics' of politeness (p. 36), such as conventionalized politeness formulae (*please/thank(s)/ta/cheers*) and vocatives that show deference (*Sir/Madam*), amongst others, in order to explore a potential north/south divide where politeness in England is concerned. In Irish versions of these texts, some regularly cited characteristics, such as saying *sorry* whether or not it is required, ritually acknowledging strangers on the street, or thanking bus drivers, are not necessarily all exclusive to the Irish context. In one such article, though, many of the locutions selected for (admittedly very partial) 'translations', such as *It wouldn't be for me now/It's not ideal/Don't worry, it's grand/Ah I'm not too bad*, do actually reflect those discussed in papers which explore IrEng (im)politeness and its general pragmatic system (*12 polite things all Irish people*

say ...and what they really mean; <https://www.dailyledge.ie/irish-politeness-2-2754751-May2016/>). Kallen (2005a) deals *inter alia* with conventional pessimism (e.g. *not too bad*); the prevalence of *would* in IrEng appears in Farr and O' Keeffe (2002) and Kallen (2005a; 2005b); and Clancy and Vaughan (2012) illustrate the connection of turn-final *now* in IrEng to hedging and politeness. Hickey (2017) tracks the historical development and nature/specificity of the IrEng use of the item *grand*, which includes 'reassuring *grand*'—*Don't worry about dressing up. You'll be grand the way you are*—a use of *grand* particular to IrEng which seeks to put the addressee at ease (Hickey 2017: 98; see also Hickey 2015). Observations like those concerning general aspects of Irish 'culture' are arguable, of course, and yet do advance understandings of politeness cultures. Culture as a concept has been subjected to intensive critique but (it has been argued) viewed through a non-essentialist, micro-level, and discursive prism it can add much to culturally situated (im)politeness studies (see Kádár and Bargiela-Chiappini 2011: 4–5).

In the scholarly work that characterizes IrEng (im)politeness, Kallen (2005a) proposes that the overarching sociocultural norms that underlie linguistic behaviour, and hence linguistic (im)politeness, in Ireland can be comprehended as based on values of silence, hospitality, and reciprocity. He describes 'silence' after Jaworski (1993) for whom 'silence' is construed as an interactive mode in which 'not saying' becomes a form of saying (Kallen 2005a: 133; 2005b). Aspects of this conceptualization correlate strongly with indirectness, as has been pointed out in Barron and Schneider (2005). Indirectness is often axiomatically connected to British English (im)politeness, despite not being exclusive to it (cf. Stewart 2005; Ogiermann 2009; Culpeper and Gillings 2018), and it is certainly a recurrent theme in the description of IrEng (im)politeness. Martin (2005: 236), noting its linguistic expression in discoursal features such as evasiveness or understatement, suggests it is a legacy of colonialism. In addition to silence or indirectness, Kallen (2005a) posits two further concepts in the social foundations for IrEng (im)politeness: hospitality and reciprocity. Hospitality can refer to non-linguistic behaviour, such as the common practice of buying 'rounds' (drinks for a group of people, usually in a pub), but also the value of displaying friendliness in conversation, and pleasure in verbal interaction. Reciprocity accounts for the tendency in IrEng for speakers to display support for the listener's point of view and positive face needs, and to work interactionally to move any potential disagreements to a more neutral footing (Kallen 2005a: 133). Kallen's discussion of linguistic evidence of (im)politeness⁵ in Ireland is based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) face-saving theory of politeness, using the concepts of silence, hospitality, and reciprocity to explain baseline IrEng face needs, hypothesizing that 'a full characterization of Irish politeness must consider the contradiction between the competing demands of *silence* as a face need, which will tend to favour negative politeness strategies, and ... *hospitality*

⁵ Kallen (2005a) uses different types of linguistic evidence to build his characterization of IrEng politeness, including evidence from published ethnographies and dialect studies, an unpublished PhD thesis, his own fieldnotes from localized studies, and the International Corpus of English (Ireland) (ICE-Ireland; Kallen and Kirk 2008).

and *reciprocity*, usually favouring positive politeness' (Kallen 2005a: 131). Barron and Pandarova (2016: 124) also note the culmination of research on different linguistic features in IrE from speech acts to tag questions as 'dictated by the contradictory poles of directness and indirectness, and thus also by positive and negative politeness'. The IrEng interactional preference for consensuality and agreement is a point of discussion in Hickey (2005; 2007a; 2015; 2017), who shows how speakers will cooperate to displace a cause for conversational disagreement to an external source (see Hickey 2007a: 371–3) in order to facilitate the re-establishment of common ground. We can amalgamate these into a broad characterization of the pragmatic profile of IrEng to aid theorization around the motivation for linguistic (im)politeness strategies as well as their interpretation in context. This characterization can be thematized around principles of friendliness and hospitality; the avoidance of confrontation; a tendency towards consensuality and agreement; the minimization of social distance; and tentativeness as well as indirectness as default interactional strategies. To these, we could perhaps add modesty (cf. Leech 1983) as a cultural value, its social policing in the rejection of what are informally termed 'notions' (an ineffable term loosely comprising affectations, delusions of grandeur, pretentiousness, or boastfulness); and enjoyment in 'slagging': (ostensibly) playfully insulting one another as a means of maintaining social equality (interactionally, at least). Slagging can be disconcerting for those unfamiliar with it in the Irish context, as Cacciaguidi-Fahy and Fahy note (2005: 292), though it is by no means a uniquely Irish interactional trait.

In sum, from the research produced so far, on the whole IrEng (im)politeness appears to tend towards the minimization of social distance and the establishment and maintenance of common ground; it favours consensuality and agreement, as well as showing a tendency towards indirectness and tentativeness. Naturally, the samples of IrEng language data used to arrive at these conclusions are significant, as are the methods used in their analysis. In the final sections, we focus on linguistic characteristics of IrEng (im)politeness revealed by studies of a heterogeneous range of IrEng interactional contexts, and their methodological bases.

21.4 LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF IRISH ENGLISH (IM)POLITENESS

In discussing IrEng sociocultural norms and the interactional expectations and behaviour they give rise to, the example from the Aldi advertising campaign foregrounds how harvesting indirect evidence from the IrEng mediascape, and comparing it with examples of naturally occurring language data, can constitute both a novel source of data for (im)politeness and cues for comparative work using existing datasets—as well as perhaps suggesting directions for research. When it comes to the sources and resources used to gain insights into IrEng (and hence IrEng (im)politeness), a significant body

of work describing IrEng has accumulated over time and has been comprehensively and systematically compiled, as well as augmented with original research and different types of language data, by scholars such as Filppula (1999), Hickey (2007a), Corrigan (2010), and Kallen (2013). These descriptions provide a ready source for assessing the strength of connection of a particular linguistic feature with IrEng as a variety, as well as informing work on the relationship between specific features and their potential (im)politeness value in contemporary IrEng interaction. Hickey's Corpus of Irish English (2003; 2007b) uses historical and literary sources to create a survey of IrEng from the fourteenth to early twentieth centuries, and this is used as an initial testing ground for an in-depth historical study on the use of *grand* in IrEng (see section 21.3). Using ICE-Ireland (Kallen and Kirk 2008) and literary sources, Hickey shows how *grand* has acquired a 'reassuring' use in IrEng (as in *don't worry, you're grand*), which shows concern for the addressee's positive face wants, and traces its pragmaticalization over time. The pragmatic expectations of IrEng, and the ways in which these are interactionally realized, are discussed by Vaughan and Clancy (2011), who note the contribution of corpora of IrEng to the characterization of the variety's pragmatic profile, within which they include (im)politeness.

The large corpus projects of the late 1990s and early 2000s brought a significant shift in perspective to the contemporary study of IrEng, the value of smaller corpora for pragmatic research notwithstanding (Vaughan and Clancy 2013). The affordances of corpus analysis allow for the automatic retrieval of raw frequency information for individual words and strings of words in a focus corpus. Comparative frequency information regarding the salient linguistic features in a corpus (*keyness*) can be generated in contrast with a usually much larger corpus. Closer, qualitative analysis of specific search terms in context, using concordance lines, allows enhanced contextual perspectives for qualitative research (see Vaughan and O'Keeffe 2015 for a summary of corpus analysis). The corpus-based studies based on ICE-Ireland and the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (LCIE) have both confirmed and added empirical weight to understandings of previously identified characteristics of IrEng. However, and more importantly, corpus studies have revealed hitherto unintuited patterns of frequency and contextually governed distributions of linguistic features, which, on closer investigation, provide significant insights into the negotiation of (im)politeness across different domains in IrEng interaction. In a paper describing LCIE, Farr et al. (2004) isolate a selection of items with the potential to hedge, including single-word and two-word clusters, such as *just*, *probably*, *like*, *you know*, and *I think*, and compare them across the different genres contained in LCIE. They demonstrate that service encounters contain the smallest amount of hedging, followed by family, then friends, radio phone-ins, and teacher training feedback. The more asymmetric the power relationship, the more relational work (cf. Locher 2004) is done by interactants to mediate that differential, and establish interactional common ground (Kallen 2005a; Hickey 2005; 2007a).

Of the papers in Barron and Schneider (2005), four concern specialized, domain-specific corpora which ultimately formed part of LCIE which ultimately formed part of LCIE. The papers in Barron and Schneider are arranged according to their social context,

and to whether that context is private, official, or public. Communication between friends and family is termed ‘private’; ‘official’ is where at least one of the participants is operating in an institutional or professional capacity during the communication; and ‘public’ refers primarily to communication via mass media (2005: 6–7). In the private sphere, Clancy (2005) focuses on a small corpus of family data; he argues that there is a ‘politeness licence’ (p. 191, cf. Blum-Kulka 1991: 177) in the family context, and that this allows for high levels of directness which is mitigated by recourse to positive politeness strategies that show solidarity. Based on Brown and Levinson (1987), his analysis of the positive politeness strategy of in-group address forms, such as first names, kin titles (*dad, mam*), and terms of endearment (*hun, love, bubs*), and the negative politeness strategy of hedging (e.g. *kind of, sort of, you know, and I think*), shows this ‘politeness licence’ at work. These findings are borne out and expanded in subsequent studies (Clancy 2011a; 2011b; 2015) and larger samples of intimate discourse (Clancy 2016). Interestingly, in the family data on which Clancy (2005) is based, formulaic expressions of politeness (e.g. Watts 2003) like *please* and *thank/s* account for only 0.0014% of the items in the corpus—the same percentage as, for example, *shit* and *tracksuit* (Clancy, personal communication). In passing, Kallen (2005a) notes the diffuseness of thanks exchanges in simple shop transactions (p. 140). Binchy’s (2005) ‘official sphere’ study focuses on a corpus of service encounters in IrEng, and finds that the more acquainted the server and customer are, the less frequent certain politeness markers actually are, while, conversely, the less acquainted server and customer are, the more frequent such markers are. In the public sphere, O’Keeffe (2005) notes the deployment of particularly IrEng features such as ‘redundant’ reflexive pronouns (*you’ve a daughter yourself?*) in question forms in the radio phone-in data, which help to downtone power, and simulate a higher level of intimacy than is actually present.

Descriptions of spoken language based on corpora have sensitized us, amongst other things, to the role that syntactically agile and pragmatically freighted small words play in the smooth functioning of communication, contributing to relational work and leaving traces of the sociopragmatic environment that influence their use. Clancy and Vaughan (2012) investigate the pragmatic marker *now* in IrEng, and find that its salience in IrEng is connected to a larger range of functions than those reported or contained in corpora of other varieties of English. It has a specific hedging function in utterance-final position, a position which is strongly indicative of a politeness-marking function (cf. Kallen 2005a: 137), and thus serves to mitigate, for example, criticisms (*That’s not fair now*).

The papers in Amador-Moreno et al. (2015) all focus on pragmatic markers in IrEng, and take an inclusive approach to the types of features contained within this designation. An interesting example in this respect is Millar’s (2015) study of an Irish beauty blog, www.beaut.ie. She sampled from interaction on the blog over a period of four months, resulting in a corpus of over 270,000 words, and initially searched for pragmatic markers that had previously been reported as emblematic of IrEng, such as *like* and *sure*. Given the nature of the data, analysis of the emoticons on the blog became equally important, and their insertion after a segment of text points to their pragmatic

potential, though they were just as often placed after a longer piece of text. Ultimately, they gave the contributors licence to be ‘nasty as well as nice’ (Millar 2015: 312).

There are, of course, aspects of language use that are critical to understanding (im)politeness, interactionally routine and yet difficult to get at via corpora, such as speech acts. These can be difficult to locate in corpora due to their relative infrequency, or the sheer range of strategies available for their realization. Work on speech acts in IrEng, such as offers (Barron 2005; 2017), requests (Barron 2008), compliment responses (Schneider 1999), and thanks responses (Schneider 2005), has suggested a tendency towards a larger variety of response types, e.g. in rejections of compliments (see section 21.3). Crucially, the inter- and intra-varietal comparison of language data is the cornerstone of work on a range of speech acts in IrEng, the complex interactional work that surrounds them, and how they compare across different levels of variation (see Barron and Pandarova 2016 for an overview).

Much of the earlier work on speech acts used production questionnaires, and this has produced valuable empirical insights not just on linguistic realizations of speech acts respondents identify but also on their perceived appropriateness across different situations (Barron 2017). The development of a pragmatically annotated version of the ICE-Ireland corpus, SPICE-Ireland (Kallen and Kirk 2012), has suggested innovative reconsiderations of these important projects for the study of IrEng, and are useful sources for the identification of illocutionary force-indicating devices (IFIDs) connected with (im)politeness, as well as a more readily searchable means for exploring the discursive work around specific speech acts.

21.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The difficulty of accessing and consulting everyday understandings of (im)politeness has already been noted above, and is central to much current research (see Ogiermann and Blitvich 2019). The different ways in which it is possible to gain an indirect perspective on these everyday understandings is what motivates reference to the Aldi advertisements and what they may be said to reflect in relation to IrE (im)politeness. There is a potential here for further research as well. As Schneider and Placencia (2017: 563) observe, ‘some genres within media discourse, such as advertising, seem to constitute fruitful research areas which are underrepresented in studies of (im)politeness and regional pragmatic variation’, although the context itself has been a more general area of study vis-à-vis IrE (see e.g. Kelly-Holmes 2005b, or O’Sullivan 2015; Chapter 13 this volume). Fictionalized representations of Irish English have been found to provide rich evidence of different varieties of IrE highly suitable to pragmatic research as well as general descriptions; see, for example, the work of Amador-Moreno e.g. 2005, or Amador-Moreno and Terrazas-Calero (2017) on literary works; Palma-Fahey (2015) on television genres, such as soap opera; and Walshe (2009; 2016; 2017) with regard to Irish English as represented in films. The value of media discourse, such as advertising, as capsule representations of Irish sociocultural traits has

been argued for in Vaughan and Moriarty (2020), and is evident in the quite substantial work on media contexts and Irish English mentioned above.

Schneider and Placencia (2017) discuss the ways in which (im)politeness varies across regions, considering how perspectives on (im)politeness and appropriate behaviour (cf. Schneider 2012) can vary at intervareietal level in pluricentric languages like English, but also at intravareietal levels. They distinguish between supranational, national, subnational, local, and sublocal variation, and emphasize the value of the variational pragmatic approach for (im)politeness research. The value of this approach is discussed in far more detail elsewhere (see Schneider and Barron 2008; Barron and Schneider 2009; Schneider 2010; Barron, Chapter 19 this volume). Ultimately, it is these different layers of context that inform the larger picture of what we know about (im)politeness in IrEng so far. The present trend in research is for regular and iterative recourse to the specific situated interactions that yield evidence of the linguistic proxies for (im)politeness. There is much work to be done on a broader range of contexts, locally, regionally, and nationally.

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CHAPTER 22

THE LANGUAGE OF IRISH LITERATURE IN ENGLISH

RAYMOND HICKEY

22.1 INTRODUCTION

At the very end of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth, English authors began to produce dramas which contained portrayals of non-English individuals. These portrayals are generally negative, satirizing individuals who were regarded as less cultivated than the English of the time, with whom they were implicitly contrasted. Such writing is connected in no small part to Elizabethan and Jacobean notions of the value of English culture and the lower cultural status attached to those outside England. Elizabethan satire also rests on the notion of ‘Four Nations’—England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland—and in particular uses characters from Scotland and Ireland in order to provide comic relief within English plays. Among the earliest writers to do this is Shakespeare in *Henry V*. In this play he created four characters, officers in the king’s army, and contrasted their personalities and speech in the Four Nations scene. There are a number of features which can be identified in the speech of Captain Macmorris (the Irishman in this scene) and which recur in later portrayals of the Irish well into the later modern period (see remarks in section 22.2).

Parodies of non-English are found in dramas on the levels of both contents and language. Certain obvious features which were putatively typical of the non-English group being parodied were employed to characterize their speech. This practice led to the birth of a linguistic stereotype which is central to the history of Irish English.

The present chapter will examine in detail the features used by English drama writers to satirize the Irish. The discussion will also be put in the broader context of how non-standard language is represented in writing (Taavitsainen and Nevanlinna 2000), i.e. it will look at how a tradition of portraying non-standard English became established in the seventeenth century. A considerable body of literature focuses on this general topic. There are early treatments, above all Eckhardt (1910–11), Lawrence (1912), Duggan

(1969 [1937]), and Bartley (1954), with Bliss (1979) a somewhat later study which forms a bridge in the Irish context between scholars working in the first half of the twentieth century and those active at present, e.g. Amador-Moreno (2006; 2016). Blake (1981) is a similar study of some decades ago which looks at the broad English context, while Taavitsainen, Melchers, and Pahta (2000) is a wide-ranging examination of the practice of representing non-standard English in literature in general, and along with Hodson (2014), a major book-length study of this subject, which has, however, a somewhat narrower remit regarding language and literature.

22.1.1 Enter a stereotype: the stage Irishman

When parliamentary rule in the middle of the seventeenth century ended, the English king, Charles II, was restored to the English throne (1660). Cultural life in England after the return of the monarchy experienced a reawakening, something which is clearly seen in the reopening of the theatres in England. It led to a blossoming of drama, particularly comedies, and many of these had Irish characters in them. A type of dramatic character arose which later became known as the Stage Irishman. To ensure that the Irish nature of this character was clearly recognized on the stage, English authors attempted to represent the speech of the Irish figures in their dramas.

The figure of the Stage Irishman (Duggan 1969 [1937]) has a long pedigree in English drama, and in fact somewhat predates the Restoration period in England. The stereotypical picture is an excitable, eloquent, and pugnacious individual, with a fair portion of national pride. These are features which literary critics such as Kiberd (1980) see as consistent with subsequent portrayals. His function as a foil within English literature is of significance, and continued throughout the centuries (see Kosok 1990: 61–70, and the various references in Morash 2002). In the plays considered below, which have a mixture of Irish and English characters, the latter comment on the eccentricity of the former. For instance, in *Captain O'Blunder* the English sergeant comments on O'Blunder's lack of logical thinking, as when he suggests shooting the enemy and then flogging him. This illogicality is a feature of the so-called 'Irish bull', a short anecdote which satirizes the putatively contradictory nature of Irish thinking (Edgeworth and Edgeworth 1802).

22.1.2 Reconstruction via satire

Documents illustrating Irish English from the early modern period fall into two distinct types, both of which are available from the seventeenth through to the nineteenth century.

- (1) a. More or less genuine representations of Irish English by native Irish, frequently anonymous writers.
- b. Stretches of texts by English writers where a non-native perception of Irish English is available.

Such texts can serve as general guidelines for the more salient features of Irish English (see Sullivan 1976; 1980, who supports this view). In essence, the difficulty is that one must rely on dialect spellings (Bowdre 1971). The orthography of English is not necessarily suitable for rendering the idiosyncrasies of Irish English, and indeed one cannot assume that a non-native speaker's attempt at caricaturing Irish English will be satisfying and accurate, though it may well give indications of what features of a dialect were salient to non-native ears, so to speak.

Furthermore, phonetic details cannot be indicated by spelling and so these will not be recoverable via the textual record. For example, the distinction between dental and alveolar stops, central to varieties of Irish English to this day, cannot be represented with the orthography of English, though the use of a stop rather than a fricative can be, and was, indicated in spelling.

22.2 THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Shakespeare's historical play *Henry V* dates to 1599 and was later printed in the 1620s. In the well-known Four Nations scene, Shakespeare contrasts the manners and speech of a representative of each nation in the British Isles, i.e. England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The Irishman is Captain Macmorris, who speaks on four occasions: what he says totals 204 words in all:

MACMORRIS. By Chrish Law tish ill done: the Worke ish giue ouer, the Trompet sound the Retreat. By my Hand I sweare, and my fathers Soule, the Worke ish ill done: it ish giue ouer: I would haue blowed vp the Towne, so Chrish saue me law, in an houre. O tish ill done, tish ill done: by my Hand tish ill done. [...]

MACMORRIS. It is no time to discourse, so Chrish saue me: the day is hot, and the Weather, and the Warres, and the King, and the Dukes: it is no time to discourse, the Town is beseech'd: and the Trumpet call vs to the breech, and we talke, and be Chrish do nothing, tis shame for vs all: so God sa'me tis shame to stand still, it is shame by my hand: and there is Throats to be cut, and Workes to be done, and there ish nothing done, so Christ sa'me law. [...]

MACMORRIS. Of my Nation? What ish my Nation? Ish a Villaine, and a Basterd, and a Knaue, and a Rascall. What ish my Nation? Who talkes of my Nation? [...]

MACMORRIS. I doe not know you so good a man as my selfe: so Chrish saue me, I will cut off your Head.

Table 22.1 Linguistic features of the Four Nations scene (*Henry V*)

- (1) Replacement of /s/ by /ʃ/, e.g. *tish* 'it's', *ish* 'is', *Chrish* 'Christ'.
- (2) Possibly [ʃ] for /v/, e.g. *giue* 'give', *saue* 'save', *haue* 'have'. This interpretation would seem justified given that elsewhere in *Henry V* Shakespeare writes *give*, *have*, etc.
- (3) Devoicing of /dz/, e.g. *beseech'd* 'besieged'.
- (4) Singular verb form despite plural subject with existential *there*, e.g. ... *there is Throats to be cut* ...

Feature (1) in Table 22.1 is a consistent feature of Irish English in all literary representations, and remained typical into the twentieth century. However, by the modern period the shift of /s/ to /ʃ/ was confined to a pre-consonantal environment in syllable codas, e.g. *west* [weʃt], *best* [beʃt].

Feature (2) is also a genuine feature of Irish English through its entire history (on its occurrence in Irish English in the fourteenth century, see Hickey 1993; 2007: sect. 2.3). It rests on the fact that speakers of Irish frequently use bilabial realizations of /f/ [ɸ] and /v/ [β], these then being transferred to their pronunciation of English. In present-day Irish these realizations are typical of western and northern pronunciations and they probably had a greater geographical scope in previous centuries. The variation in the realization of Irish /f/ and /v/ can be seen in the anglicizations of Irish names, e.g. Ó Faoláin which has been rendered as both *Pheelan* with /f/ and *Wheelan* with /ʍ/. In the reverse direction one has Irish /f/ as the equivalent of English /ʍ/ in loanwords like *faoitín* from *whiting*. Given the bilabial and voiceless nature of Irish /f/, one finds <f> written for <wh> in many early modern texts, e.g. *fat* for *what*.

Feature (3) is attested in many early modern texts, though it is not typical of modern Irish English. However, in contact Irish English it is found, given that Irish has no voiced sibilant (/z/ and /ʒ/ do not occur in the language). Hence voiced fricatives which contain /ʒ/ were devoiced. This applied to loanwords from Anglo-Norman/English into Irish (which also show metathesis), e.g. *page* [-dʒ-] > *páiste* [pa:ʃtə] ‘child’, *college* [-dʒ-] > *coláiste* [kʊlʲa:ʃtə] ‘college’.

Feature (4) is also documented throughout the entire history of Irish English and is found in all vernacular varieties of Irish English today. Generally, this phenomenon is known as the Northern Subject Rule (Ihalainen 1994), though it has been shown to occur in various parts of Britain and to manifest itself differently in different regions. The original English input to Ireland was of a western or south-western nature, so that the appearance of singular verb concord with plural subjects supports the view that this is by no means an exclusively northern feature in England.

Other features of Irish English are not shown by Shakespeare but indicated by his near contemporary Ben Jonson (see section 22.3) such as unshifted Middle English /i:/ and /u:/, which in London at around 1600 would have already been diphthongized to /əi/ and /əu/, if not /æi/ and /ʌu/, respectively.

The anonymous play *Captain Thomas Stukeley* is available in a single edition from the year 1605 and probably dates from 1596. It contains one scene in Irish English, the seventh scene, which by some curious twist is present in two consecutive versions in the extant edition. The first version is in blank verse, like the remainder of the play, and the second is in prose. Bliss (1979: 32–3) supports the view that the Irish English scene is not by the author of the rest of the play and attributes a good knowledge of Irish affairs to its original composer. There are discussions of this play in older literature, notably Eckhardt (1910–11), Duggan (1969 [1937]: 51–7), and Bartley (1954: 14–16). Some of this literature contains linguistic discussion, for instance when Eckhardt (1910–11: 38–41) deals with phonetic peculiarities of Irish English.

Table 22.2 Linguistic features of *Captain Thomas Stukeley*

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (1) | (i) Replacement of /s/ by /ʃ/, e.g. <i>Cresh blesh</i> vs 'Christ bless us', <i>ish</i> 'is', <i>tish</i> 'it is', <i>Shecretary</i> 'secretary', (ii) replacement of /ʃ/ by /s/, e.g. <i>sall</i> 'shall'. |
| (2) | (i) Use of [f] for <i>wh-</i> [ʍ], e.g. <i>feete</i> 'white', <i>fate</i> 'what', <i>fan</i> 'when'; (ii) Use of [v] for /w/, <i>valles</i> 'walls', <i>vater</i> 'water', (iii) Possibly [β] for /v/, e.g. <i>giue</i> 'give', <i>euen</i> 'even'. |
| (3) | Stopping of dental fricatives, <i>too</i> 'thou', <i>turd</i> 'third'. |
| (4) | Unshifted Middle English /u:/: e.g. <i>toone</i> 'town', <i>prood</i> 'proud', <i>aboote</i> 'about'. |
| (5) | Unshifted Middle English /i:/: e.g. <i>feete</i> 'white', <i>dree</i> 'dry', <i>lee</i> 'lie'. |
| (6) | Lowering of /er/ to /ar/, e.g. <i>ovare</i> 'over'. |

Feature (1) in Table 22.2 shows replacement in both directions in this document. /ʃ/ by /s/ is not found in the Four Nations scene, but it is attested in the early fourteenth-century *Kildare Poems* (Hickey 1993).

Feature (2) shows additional complexities, with /w/ being substituted by [v], probably due to the merging of [v] and [w] under [β]. The variation among labial fricatives both in early Irish English (again in the *Kildare Poems*) and in Anglo-Norman/English loanwords into Irish is considerable. In the latter one finds the substitution of /b/ for /w/, e.g. *balla* 'wall', probably because the form [wal] was regarded by the Irish as showing lenition (a change of stop to fricative) and was 'reversed' on borrowing, yielding initial /b-/ in Irish.

Feature (3) is again known from the late medieval period, and is characteristic of vernacular forms of Irish English to this day. The spelling used to indicate this stopping is generally *t* for voiceless *th* /θ/ and *d* for voiced *th* /ð/. This feature is among the most salient in Irish English, and has been repeatedly indicated in stage-Irish portrayals in early modern and late modern literature.

Features (4) and (5) show that the English long vowel shift (the 'Great Vowel Shift', Pyles and Algeo 1993 [1964]: 170–3) was not found in varieties of Irish English. Because of this, the vowels written as <a, i, u> were pronounced as /a:, i:, u:/. Evidence of this can also be found in English loanwords in Irish, e.g. *bácús* /ba:ku:s/ 'bakehouse' and *slísín* /s'li:s'i:n/ 'little slice, rasher' which show unshifted /a:, i:, u:/. In general this vowel shift was slow to be implemented in Ireland: /a:/:, /i:/:, and /u:/: were recorded in the FACE, PRICE, and MOUTH lexical sets respectively (Wells 1982) until the early eighteenth century. Unraised long E is also part of the English long vowel shift: it stems from Middle English /ɛ:/ (the vowel in *meat* /mɛ:t/ and by extension the vowel in *meet* /mɛ:t/ with which it later merged). Long E (either from /ɛ:/ or /e:/) was not raised to /i:/: in Ireland, and nineteenth-century, supraregional Irish English (Hickey forthcoming) adopted an /i:/: pronunciation in line with mainstream British English.

Feature (6) shows a lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/. This is the same feature as found in *barn*, *dark*, *parson*, and county names like *Derbyshire*, *Berkshire*, *Hertfordshire* in British English. It had a much wider range in Irish English, due either to its quantitative representation in input varieties or to an extension of the /er/ > /ar/ shift within Ireland. The feature is very widespread in texts representing Irish English up to the late nineteenth

century, after which it disappears. It is not found in present-day spoken Irish English. In writing the shift is indicated by <ar>, e.g. *sarve* ‘serve’ *sarch* ‘search’. Because the form *sarve* is so frequent in the textual record, the shift is termed ‘SERVE-lowering’ in the present chapter.

22.3 THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The early seventeenth century marked the appearance of *The Irish Masque at Court* (1616) by Ben Jonson (1572–37), which illustrates the satirical portrayal of Irish characters by an English author. This is a drama piece, some six pages long, in which four Irish characters—Dennish, Donnell, Dermock, and Patrick—are made fun of by Jonson.

Table 22.3 Linguistic features of <i>The Irish Masque at Court</i>	
(1)	Replacement of /s/ by /ʃ/, e.g. <i>chreesh</i> ‘Christ’, <i>blesh</i> ‘bless’, <i>tish</i> ‘it is’, <i>shweet</i> ‘sweet’, <i>shpeake</i> ‘speak’, <i>faish</i> ‘face’, <i>shay</i> ‘say’, <i>besht</i> ‘best’, <i>pleash</i> ‘please’, <i>vash</i> ‘was’.
(2)	(i) Use of <i>ph-</i> [f] for <i>wh-</i> [ʍ], e.g. <i>phair</i> ‘where’, <i>phich</i> ‘which’; (ii) <i>ph-</i> [f] for <i>w-</i> [w], e.g. <i>phit</i> ‘with’; (iii) Use of [v] for /w/, <i>vilt</i> ‘wilt’, <i>vit</i> ‘with’, <i>vay</i> ‘way’, <i>vorsht</i> ‘worst’, (iv) Possibly [β] for /v/, e.g. <i>sheruice</i> ‘service’, <i>fiue</i> ‘five’, <i>giue</i> ‘give’.
(3)	Stopping of dental fricatives, e.g. <i>tou</i> , ‘thou’, <i>tat</i> ‘that’, <i>te</i> ‘the’, <i>ten</i> ‘then’, <i>fayt</i> ‘faith’.
(4)	Unshifted Middle English /i:/, e.g. <i>creesh</i> ‘Christ’.
(5)	Unshifted Middle English /e:/, e.g. <i>hee</i> ‘he’.
(6)	Low vowel retraction and raising, e.g. <i>daunsh</i> ‘dance’.
(7)	Lowering of /er/ to /ar/, e.g. <i>var</i> ‘where’.
(8)	(i) Final devoicing, e.g. <i>got</i> ‘god’, <i>gotsh</i> ‘god’s’, <i>ant</i> ‘and’, <i>heet</i> ‘heed’; (ii) Sibilant devoicing, e.g. <i>doshen</i> ‘dozen’.

Feature (1) in Table 22.3 shows the unconditioned realization of /s/ as /ʃ/. It occurs word-finally, prepausally, and before a stop, and also initially before a vowel and before a stop.

Feature (2) shows a similar degree of variation to that in *Captain Thomas Stukeley*. Jonson writes *ph-*, presumably to indicate a sound different from English /f/. This would suggest the bilabial voiceless fricative [ɸ].

Features (4) and (5) suggest that the English long vowel shift had not taken place, e.g. *chreesh* ‘Christ’ points to Middle English /i:/. The spelling *hee* for ‘he’ would seem to imply /he:/. However, the dangers of putting too much store by English representations of Irish English are evident here: Jonson implies in spellings such as *mout* ‘mouth’, *now* ‘now’, *tou* ‘thou’ that Middle English /u:/ had shifted, or at least he leaves the matter undecided as he does not avail himself of the spelling <oo> in such words (as did the author of *Captain Thomas Stukeley*).

Feature (6) is only attested in one word in Jonson, but it is found in later texts. It implies that /a:/ was raised to /ɔ:/, perhaps first before nasals and later unconditionally. This feature is censured by Thomas Sheridan (1781: 144–5) in the late eighteenth century (Hickey 2010). He mentions *psalm* with [ɔ:] which shows a retraction and raising of /a:/. The raising of low vowels along a back trajectory was later reversed (Hickey 2002a); lowering became typical and remained so into the twentieth century, only being reversed to a raising tendency in emergent twenty-first century varieties of supraregional Irish English (Hickey 2003).

Feature (7) is the same type of lowering of /er/ > /ar/ which was found occasionally in *Captain Thomas Stukeley*. It is worth commenting on the fact that none of the plays looked at so far have many tokens of this feature (this contrasts starkly with later cases). This might imply that the feature was not very widespread in Irish English at the time. It may well be that the later high incidence of /er/ > /ar/ was due to renewed English input in the mid-seventeenth century as a consequence of the Cromwellian settlements which provided land to English soldiers who had rendered military service to Cromwell. If this is the case, then the varieties of English brought to the south of Ireland in the mid-seventeenth century were responsible for the later widespread appearance of /er/ > /ar/ in Irish English.

Feature (8) has two variants. The first is final devoicing, which is attested in later texts. It is also found in present-day vernacular rural varieties of Irish English but only in post-sonorant position, e.g. *beyond* [br'jant], *killed* [kɪlt]. The second variant is the devoicing of all sibilants of English whether /z/ or /ʒ/, whether on their own or in clusters or affricates. This is a clear transfer feature from Irish, which has no voiced sibilants.

Reviewing the above features and considering their putative genuineness, the question can be asked how a writer like Ben Jonson attained his knowledge of Irish English. He is not known to have been in Ireland (though he did visit Scotland). Perhaps he acquired some acquaintance of Irish English from inmates during his many spells in prison in London and/or through contact with Irish vagrants, of which there were many in England in the early seventeenth century (Edwards 1973: 139). The latter may also have been true for Shakespeare.

22.4 THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Not all Irish or Irish-related drama in the early modern period is centred around the Stage Irishman. Dramatists were active at the beginning of the eighteenth century who worked in the Restoration tradition of the comedy of manners. William Congreve (1670–1729) and George Farquhar (1678–1707) are probably the best-known examples. Congreve was born in Leeds, but his father was posted on military service to Ireland which led to his son being educated there, first at Kilkenny School and later at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was a fellow student of Swift. He is the author of a number of dramas, the best known of which is probably *The Way of the World* (1700). The language

of his plays does not, however, betray any non-standard features and cannot be taken as particularly Irish in character.

George Farquhar was born in Derry; he later studied at Trinity College, Dublin, and then worked as an actor in the Smock Alley theatre, playing major Shakespearian roles. In 1697 he left for London, where he began as a playwright. His best-known comedy, *The Beaux' Stratagem* (1707), was written just before he died. Farquhar is one of the last Restoration dramatists and his plays, such as *The Twin Rivals* (1702) and *The Stage Coach* (1704), had a strong influence on subsequent writers in the eighteenth century, including novelists like Fielding, Smollett, and Defoe. His plays sometimes contain Irish characters, and Farquhar attempted to represent the Irish speech of his time.

The later eighteenth century (Morash 2002: 67–93) saw the novelist and dramatist Oliver Goldsmith (1728–74) produce his popular comedy *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773). The Dublin playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816) began his dramatic production in 1775 with *The Rivals*, which was a success at Covent Garden. Soon afterwards, Sheridan produced his own major work, *The School for Scandal* (1778), which was quickly followed by another comedy of considerable merit, *The Critic* (1779). Neither Goldsmith nor Sheridan were particularly concerned with representing Irish speech in their plays. Indeed it was Sheridan's father, the elocutionist Thomas Sheridan (1719–88), who in his one play, *Captain O'Blunder or The Brave Irishman* (1740/1754), did portray Irish speech by manipulating English spellings using conventions which are reminiscent of Ben Jonson, e.g. *ph-* for *[φ]*.

The following two extracts show stretches of Irish English from pieces by Farquhar and Thomas Sheridan with lists of features (Tables 22.4 and 22.5). In the first extract the figure Teague speaks. The name used here—deriving from the Irish first name *Tadhg*—is a typical name used for Irish characters in early modern drama. In the second extract the eponymous hero of the play—Captain O'Blunder—is speaking and, given his telling name, it is hardly necessary to say that he is a figure of satire.

- (1) George Farquhar: *The Twin Rivals* (1702/1703)

Teague. *Fet* [what], dear Joy, 'tis the bravest *Plaase* [place] I have *sheen* [seen] in my Peregrinations, *exshepting* [excepting] my nown brave *Shitty* [city] of Carick-Vergus.—uf, uf, *dere ish* [there is] a very fragrant *Shmell* [smell] hereabouts.—*Maishter* [master], shall I run to that *Paishtry* [pastry]—Cooks for *shix* [six] penyworths of boil'd Beef?

Teague. Early! *Deel tauke* [devil take] me, *Maishter*, 'tish [Master, 'tis] a great deal more than almost twelve a-clock.

Teague. *Be me Shoul* [By my soul], my *fole* [whole] Generation *ish* [is] so.—I have *noting* [nothing] but *thish* [this] poor Portmantel, and *dat* [that] it *shelf ish* [self is] not my own.

Teague. [Aside.] I will tell a *Lee* [lie] now; but it shall be a true one. – Macfadin, dear Joy, was his *Naam* [name]. He *vent* [went] over *vith* [with] King Jamish into France.—He was my Master once.—*Dere ish de* [there is the] true *Lee*, *noo* [lie, now].

Table 22.4 Linguistic features of *The Twin Rivals*

- 1) Replacement of /s/ by /ʃ/, e.g. *sheen* 'seen', *ish* 'is', *shix* 'six'.
- 2) Use of f[ɸ] for /m/, e.g. *fet* 'what', *fole* 'whole'; shift of /w/ to /v/, e.g. *vent* 'went'.
- 3) Stopping of dental fricatives, *tere* 'there', *noting* 'nothing'.
- 4) Low vowel retraction and raising, e.g. *tauke* 'take'.
- 5) Unshifted Middle English /i:/, e.g. *lee* 'lie'.
- 6) Unshifted Middle English /a:/, e.g. *naam* 'name'.
- 7) Unshifted Middle English /u:/, e.g. *noo* 'now'.

- (2) Thomas Sheridan: *Captain O'Blunder or The Brave Irishman* (1740/1754)
 Captain. *Yesh* [yes], you *shons* [sons] of whores, don't you see by my dress that I am a *shentleman* [gentleman]? And if I have not better *cloaths* [clothes] on now, *phat* [what] magnifies that? Sure I can have them on to-morrow.
 Captain. Arra then! ... and they know my *faash* [face] ever since—*Shir* [Sir].
 Captain. O, ... you mean my *chister's* [sister's] husband ...

Table 22.5 Linguistic features of *Captain O'Blunder*

- 1) Replacement of /s/ by /ʃ/, e.g. *yesh* 'yes', *shons* 'sons', *shix* 'six', *shivil* 'civil'.
- 2) Shift of /ʃ/ to /tʃ/, e.g. *chister* 'sister', *Chergeant* 'sergeant'.
- 3) Use of ph [ɸ] for /m/, e.g. *phat* 'what', *phipt* 'whipped', *phat* 'what'.
- 4) Unshifted Middle English /a:/, e.g. *faash* 'face', *plaash* 'place'.
- 5) Raising of /ɛ/ to /i/ before nasals: *phin* 'when'.
- 6) Verbal -s as marker of narrative present, e.g. *And so you tells me ...*; *if I catches any of these ...*

Feature (2) is common in Irish English of the late modern period and occasionally rendered orthographically as here. It was commented on in the early twentieth century by P. W. Joyce (1979 [1910]: 98): 'there is a curious tendency among us to reverse the sounds of certain letters, as for instance *sh* and *ch* "When you're coming to-morrow bring the spade and *chovel*, and a pound of butter *frech* from the *shurn*."'

Feature (5) is not represented before Sheridan, and he himself has only one token. As this is easily represented in English spelling, it may well be that it simply was not widely present in Irish English in the early eighteenth century. But by the nineteenth century the unconditioned raising of /e/ to /i/ became a salient feature of Irish English, and one which is repeatedly indicated in dramas with Irish characters. In present-day rural Irish English of the south-west and mid-west, the conditioned raising before nasals is still found, but the unconditioned raising does not occur anymore.

This is the first attestation of feature (6) in Irish drama and points to the existence of this feature in Irish English already in the early eighteenth century. It is still widespread in vernacular varieties, both rural and urban.

Sheridan's piece is noticeable for not having some features which were definitely present in vernacular Irish English of his day. For instance, he does not use *t/d* for *th* to indicate stopping of the dental fricatives.

22.4.1 Labelling Irish English: the 'brogue'

Sheridan would appear to be the first dramatist to use the word 'brogue' (Murphy 1943) in a play when referring to an Irish accent of English (Sconce to Captain O'Blunder: ... *you have not the least bit of the brogue about you*). This term was afterwards used repeatedly to characterize the speech of Irish characters in satirical and/or sentimental drama, e.g. by Dion Boucicault in his play *The Colleen Bawn* (1860):

- (3) *Eily, with her awkward manners, her Kerry brogue, her ignorance of the usages of society.*
... but I'm gettin' clane of the brogue, and learnin' to do nothing—I'm to be changed entirely.
When I am angry the brogue comes out.
May the brogue of ould Ireland niver forsake your tongue

In another play, *The Shaughraun* (1875), Captain Molineux, a young English officer, remarks favourably on the Irish English accent (after hearing Claire Ffolliott, a Sligo lady, say *you mane* [me:n] 'you mean'): *Delicious brogue—quite delicious!* By this stage (the second half of the nineteenth century) there was a certain reverse pride in the use of an Irish accent in English, as can be seen from a later comment by Claire Ffolliott in the same play: *That speech only wanted a taste of the brogue to be worthy of an Irishman.*

The eighteenth century also saw some minor dramatists of sentimental comedies who are now more or less forgotten. Of these one could mention John O'Keefe (1747–1833), who was quite successful and devised a distinctly Irish mode for plays produced in Ireland, often in the reputable Smock Alley Theatre (Morash 2002: 71–4).

The documents for English in eighteenth-century Ireland are fairly abundant, at least compared to those for the centuries before this. The dramas by English authors give an indication of what features of Irish English were generally known to an English audience. Seen from this point of view, a play like *A Wife Well Managed* (1715) by Susannah Centlivre (1667–1723) is of interest. In general, there is more linguistic detail in the plays written by Irish authors themselves, e.g. by John Michelbourne (1646–1721), whose tragi-comedy *Ireland Preserved, or the Siege of Londonderry* (1705) contains a lot of information on language. This short piece is noticeable for a number of reasons; for example, it contains the first recorded instance of the habitual *do* of later Irish English, and has several instances of the *after* perfective (Hickey 2000).

Table 22.6 Linguistic features of Ireland Preserved

- 1) (i) replacement of /s/ by /ʃ/, e.g. *plaash* 'place', *graash* 'grace', (ii) replacement of /ʃ/ by /s/, e.g. *seep* 'sheep', *sall* 'shall'.
- 2) Possibly *f* [ɸ] for /w/, e.g. *fee* 'we', *fill* 'will', *faarne* 'warm', *fell* 'well'; *f* [ɸ] for /m/, e.g. *fen* 'when', *fy* 'why'; *f* [ɸ] for /v/ *fery*; *w* /w/ for /v/ before /a:/, e.g. *waacancy* 'vacancy'.
- 3) Low vowel retraction and raising, e.g. *laubour* [lɔ:'bu:r] 'labour', *mauke* 'make' [mɔ:k].
- 4) Shift of /tʃ/ to /ʃ/, e.g. *shamber* 'chamber'.
- 5) Unshifted Middle English /e:/, e.g. *fee* 'we'.
- 6) Unshifted Middle English /a:/, e.g. *graash* 'grace', *haast* 'haste'.
- 7) Unshifted Middle English /ɔ:/, e.g. *cloaths* [-ɔ:-] 'clothes'.
- 8) Stopping of dental fricatives, *de*, 'the', *den* 'then', *fid* 'with', *fait* 'faith'.
- 9) Possible final stress in cases like *bacoan* [ba'ko:n], *trooparr* [tru:'par], *laubour* [lɔ:'bu:r] 'labour', *shouldar* [ʃaul'dar] 'shoulder'.
- 10) Habitual *do*: *and fen de Trooparr do get up, he does go and bring home de Seep and de Muck ... and no body do taake any ting from me* '... and when the trooper do get up, he do go and bring home the sheep and the pig ... and nobody do take anything from me'.
- 11) *After* perfective; *he has been after wearing dem himself* 'he has been wearing them himself', *I'll bee after telling dee de Raison* 'I will have told you the reason', ... *and I fill be after doing fell for my shelf* '... I will have done well for myself'.
- 12) Uninflected finite *be*: *We be dose de Rebels call Rapparees, we be de Kings gued Voluntiers*. 'We are those the rebels call rapparees, we are the King's good volunteers.'

Features (1)–(3) in Table 22.6 are those found in other texts as is Feature (4), the reverse of the shift of /ʃ/ to /tʃ/, found in Sheridan's play (cf. *chister* 'sister', see Table 22.5). Features (5), (6), and (7) show the lack of the Great Vowel Shift as one would expect in an Irish English text from about 1700. Feature (8), the stopping of dental fricatives is unremarkable in the Irish English context.

Feature (9), assuming the interpretation of the spelling is correct, is an archaic feature of Irish English, namely final stress in words ending in a sonorant (here /n/ or /r/). This stress pattern is known from Anglo-Norman and words borrowed from it into Irish (in southern Irish, Hickey 1997) and from the archaic dialect of Forth and Bargo in the south-east corner of Ireland (Hickey 2007: sect. 2.4).

The remaining three features—(10), (11), and (12)—are syntactic and show that by 1700 two of the central features of Irish English grammar, the *after* perfective and habitual *do*, were already clearly established. The instances of uninflected *be* in this text show that this prominent feature of vernacular Irish English was also present, probably an archaic feature (see Hickey 2007: sect. 4.4.1 'The verbal area').

22.4.2 Summary of features up to 1800

By the end of the early modern period (c.1800) a number of features of Irish English were clearly established and represented with reasonable consistency in different dramas by

various authors. The general regularity of the representations would imply not just that the authors copied from each other but that the features in question were indeed present in Irish English contemporary to the author in question. These features are summarized in Table 22.7 with the approximate date when they ceased to be attested in the textual record given in the rightmost column.

Table 22.7 Historical features of early modern Irish English

Feature	Realization	Representation	Attested until
<i>Vowels</i>			
1. Long U-retention	<i>now</i> [nu:]	<oo>, <i>noo</i>	Mid-18c.
2. Long I-retention	<i>lie</i> [li:]	<ee>, <i>lee</i>	Mid-18c.
3. Long A-retention	<i>face</i> [fa:s]	<aa>, <i>faash</i>	Mid-18c
4. Long OA-retention	<i>clothes</i> [klɔ:z]	<oa>, <i>cloaths</i>	Mid-18c
5. A-back raising	<i>take</i> [tɔ:k]	<au>, <i>tauke</i>	Late 18c.
6. SERVE lowering	<i>serve</i> [sa:rv]	<ar>, <i>sarve</i>	Late 19c.
7. A-raising	<i>what</i> [fɛt]	<e>, <i>fet</i>	Early 20c.
8. Short E-raising	<i>yes</i> [jis]	<i>, <i>yis</i>	Now only pre-nasally
9. Unraised long E	<i>speak</i> [spe:k]	<aCe>, <i>spake</i>	Today, recessive
10. OL-diphthongization	<i>old</i> [auld]	<ou>, <i>ould</i>	Today, restricted
<i>Consonants</i>			
11. F [ɸ] for WH	<i>when</i> [ɸɛn]	<f, ph> <i>fen</i>	19c.
12. V [β] for W	<i>went</i> [βɛnt]	<v> <i>vent</i>	19c.
13. S-palatalization	<i>self</i> [jɛlf]	<sh>, <i>shelf</i>	Today, recessive
14. SH-CH exchange	<i>sister</i> [tʃistə]	<ch>, <i>chister</i>	Early 20c.
15. TH/DH-stopping	<i>nothing</i> [nʌtɪŋ]	<t>, <i>noting</i>	Today

Notes

- 1–4 The English long vowel shift which began during the late Middle English period in England, was slow to be implemented in Ireland. /u:/ and /i:/ were recorded in the MOUTH and PRICE lexical sets respectively until the mid-18c. Unraised long E is also connected to the English long vowel shift: the vowel stems from Middle English /ɛ:/ (and by extension from words with /e:/ in Middle English) which was not raised to /i:/ in Ireland. In the 19c., non-local Irish English speakers adopted an /i:/ pronunciation in line with mainstream British English. /a:/ in the FACE lexical set and /ɔ:/ in the GOAT set are further evidence that the long vowel shift had not taken place in Ireland by the mid-18c.
- 5 This feature was censured by Thomas Sheridan in the late 18c.: see Sheridan (1781: 141). Its origin is uncertain.
- 6 Lowering before /r/ had a much wider range in Irish English, probably due to its quantitative representation in input varieties.

Table 22.7 Continued

- | | |
|--------|---|
| 7 | This feature appears to have been continued with some speakers into the 20c. (it was a prominent characteristic of conservative Received Pronunciation until the mid-20c., Bauer 1994: 120–1). |
| 8 | Short E-raising is common today, but only in south-west and mid-west rural Irish English and only in pre-nasal position, e.g. <i>when</i> [ʍɪn], <i>pen</i> [pɪn]. Joyce (1979 [1910]: 100) states that ‘short <i>e</i> is always sounded before <i>n</i> and <i>m</i> , and sometimes in other positions, like short <i>i</i> : “How many arrived? <i>Tin min</i> and five women.”’ |
| 9 | Unraised long E has a special status as a stereotypically Irish feature which has been lexicalized in the expletive <i>Jaysus!</i> [dʒɛːzɪz] and in set expressions like <i>lea</i> ’ [lɛː] <i>me alone!</i> It is found regularly in vernacular varieties throughout Ireland. |
| 10 | OL-diphthongization is most common with <i>old</i> and <i>bold</i> today. Joyce (1979 [1910]: 99) mentions it with reference to these words, and to <i>hould</i> where it is not found in supraregional speech today. However, in vernacular varieties, both north and south, there is a greater range of forms with OL-diphthongization. Pre-1800 texts do not show this diphthongization, but it must have been present, since it is an inherited feature of early varieties of English taken to Ireland. The feature was already noted in England by John Ray in 1674. |
| 11, 12 | In dialect literature the bilabial fricative [ɸ] is rendered as <i>f</i> or <i>ph</i> , and its voiced counterpart [β] as <i>v</i> or <i>u</i> . This development would appear to be independent of developments in Britain, although a case might be made for the transportation of [ɸ] and [β] to the Caribbean by indentured Irish in the 17c. (see Trudgill, Schreier, Long, and Williams 2003 on approximants in this context but without a consideration of the Irish situation). |
| 13–14 | S-palatalization (the shift of /s/ to /ʃ/) is still a feature of contact Irish English, e.g. <i>vest</i> [vɛʃt], and is generally confined to syllable codas in pre-consonantal position. |
| 15 | TH/DH-stopping takes on two forms (i) fortition to dental stops and (ii) fortition to alveolar stops. The former is part of supraregional Irish English, e.g. <i>thin</i> [tɪn], <i>this</i> [tɪs], whereas the latter is stigmatized. |

22.5 THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The history of Irish English can be divided into two periods, an early one which began in the late Middle Ages and continued until the sixteenth century and a second period which began around 1600. The features of the early period were by and large replaced from the seventeenth century onwards. Some phonetic traces of English from the first period (before 1600) were to be found during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and can be seen in colloquial Dublin English today, e.g. unshifted [ʊ] in the STRUT lexical set (Hickey 2005). Features of a phonological nature, e.g. vowel values which contrasted in the sound system of Irish English, were generally aligned to those of English in England by the eighteenth century. A few were retained by relegation to the vernacular level, i.e. by representing an alternative, non-standard pronunciation which is still used for local flavour in colloquial Irish English, e.g. ‘Unshifted long E’ as in *leave*, *tea*, *eat*, *speak* with [eː] or [ɛː] rather than [iː].

Nonetheless, there are features of early modern Irish English which are shown clearly in dramatic representations of Irish English (see remarks in various sections above) but which no longer occur in any variety of Irish English today, and which disappeared from the textual record in the late nineteenth century, or by the early twentieth century at the latest (Hickey 2008). For instance, by the mid-nineteenth century there are no more references to /a:/ in the FACE lexical set (or to the unshifted vowels in the MOUTH and PRICE sets). The playwright Dion Boucicault, who shows many non-standard pronunciations in his dramas, does not indicate unshifted Middle English /a:/ when writing some 80 years after Sheridan. The older pronunciation was replaced by the newer one in the generations between the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century, i.e. within three generations.

This kind of development can be shown to have applied to a number of features. For instance, SERVE-lowering appears to have died out during the nineteenth century: by the beginning of the twentieth century the feature had all but disappeared.

Table 22.8 Development of Irish English features since 1800	
<i>Features which have disappeared entirely</i>	
<i>Vowels</i>	<i>Consonants</i>
Unshifted long U, I, A	SH depalatalization
A-back raising	SH-CH interchange
SERVE lowering	
A-front raising	
<i>Features which have developed a more restricted occurrence</i>	
<i>Vowels/consonants</i>	<i>Restriction</i>
Unraised long E	Only in vernacular varieties, not for all words
Short E-raising	Only pre-nasally in south-west and mid-west
Final devoicing	Only after sonorants
OL-diphthongization	Confined to few words, e.g. <i>old</i> [aul], <i>bold</i> [baul]
[ɸ] for WH, [β] for W	Only in contact Irish English, if at all
s palatalization	Only pre-consonantally in syllable coda in western rural vernaculars
<i>Persistent features in the history of Irish English</i>	
TH/DH-stopping	Habitual <i>do</i> , <i>after</i> perfective

Table 22.8 might suggest that of all the phonetic features discussed in this chapter, only TH/DH-stopping has survived since the early modern period. However, the comments above refer to features which are clearly indicated in non-standard English spellings. There are many other features which cannot be represented via the orthography and hence are ‘invisible’ in the textual record. For instance, the lenition of /t/ in post-vocalic, intervocalic, or pre-pausal position is not shown in writing but must have been an

established feature of Irish English for some time, not least because it was transported abroad, e.g. to Newfoundland in the eighteenth century by Irish migrant labourers in the fishing industry and later by settlers (Hickey 2002b), and probably to Australia and New Zealand in the nineteenth century as well (Hickey 2023: 268, 271).

22.5.1 The grammar of literary texts

The discussion of language so far has been largely confined to pronunciation features. However, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries non-standard grammatical features in literary texts come to the fore. Some grammatical features can be seen in the regional novel *Castle Rackrent* (1801) by Maria Edgeworth, but these are most obvious in dramatic texts by Irish writers from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. An innovative writer of this time is Dion Boucicault (1820–90) inasmuch as he deals with a range of Irish themes and manipulates language as part of this undertaking. In his use of language, Boucicault shows many features of Irish English which are later found with authors like Lady Gregory, John Millington Synge, and especially Sean O'Casey. Pronunciation features from his plays include: (1) The use of stops rather than fricatives for sounds written with *th*–: 'wid' (*Arragh na Pogue*), 'den' (*The Colleen Bawn*); (2) the raising of short E to short I as in 'divil', 'togithir', (*Arragh na Pogue*), 'riverince', 'niver' (*The Colleen Bawn*), 'agin' (*The Shaughraun*); and (3) no raising of long mid front vowels to high vowels: 'spake' (*Arragh na Pogue*, *The Colleen Bawn*, *The Shaughraun*), 'rade' (*The Shaughraun*), 'kape' (*Arragh na Pogue*). Table 22.9 lists a selection of grammatical features from three of Boucicault's plays, which he used to give his characters' speech a specifically Irish flavour.

Table 22.9 Grammatical features in the plays of Dion Boucicault

- (1) Reduced number of verb forms: 'I *seen* it all' (*The Shaughraun*, 1875)
- (2) Use of *them* as a demonstrative pronoun: 'If Shaun heard *them* words', 'I'll swear to *them* notes' (*Arragh na Pogue*, 1864)
- (3) Non-standard second person plural pronouns: 'I thried to tell *ye*', 'Did *ye*?' (*Arragh na Pogue*). 'Wouldn't I die for *yez*?' (*The Colleen Bawn*, 1860)
- (4) Use of unbound reflexive pronouns: '*Himself*, yer honour, [...]', 'He's gone to inform on *himself*' (*Arragh na Pogue*, 1864)
- (5) Use of *in it* for existence: 'It's yourself that's *in it*?' (*Arragh na Pogue*, 1864)
- (6) Clause coordination with *and*: 'She's got a long round to go, *and* the wind rising' (*The Colleen Bawn*, 1860)
- (7) Highlighting of sentence elements: 'It's the pig that's got loose', 'It's the bad luck that is over me entirely', 'It's proud I am of the kiss' (*Arragh na Pogue*, 1864)
- (8) Use of *after* perfective: 'But don't ye be *after forgettin*' your pretty girl' (*The Colleen Bawn*, 1860). 'And *after letting* me throw all the money away' (*The Shaughraun*, 1875)
- (9) Verb forms expressing habitual action with *do* + *be*: 'I *do be* afraid to go near some girls' (*Arragh na Pogue*, 1864). 'He *does be* always telling me' (*The Shaughraun*, 1875)
- (10) Narrative present with inflectional -s: 'Well, *says I*, 'that's not the place' (*The Colleen Bawn*, 1860). 'Very well, *says I*, 'Bally-mulligan is my parish.' (*The Shaughraun*, 1875)

22.5.2 Kiltartanese

The authors directly involved in the Irish Literary Revival from the 1880s onwards adopted a positive stance towards non-standard features of Irish English. A good practitioner of a radically different representation of Irish speech was Lady Augusta Gregory (1852–1932), who wrote dramas about the Irish peasants in her neighbourhood. The setting for these works was often Kiltartan, a district not far from Coole Park (just outside the town of Gort) in south Co. Galway, the home of Lady Gregory. She was among the first to use what she regarded as typical rural Irish English for her dramas in local settings. This type of English came to be labelled disparagingly as ‘Kiltartanese’ by those who felt that it was artificial. However, it was to reach new heights and a different quality in the plays of Synge at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The flavour of this speech can be glimpsed from the sentence structure used, which leans heavily on Irish syntax. For instance, a syntactic construction which is found frequently in the plays of Lady Gregory has been termed the ‘Kiltartan infinitive’ (Greene 1985: 68) and is a calque on Irish syntax, as can be seen from the following instance where an Irish translation is offered.

- (4) *It’s a pity some honest man not to be the better of that.*
Is trua fear cneasta gan a bheith níos fearr.
[is pity man honest not COMP be yet better]

22.6 THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The twentieth century in Irish literature opened with the plays of John Millington Synge (1871–1909), which contain highly idiomatic language which the author maintained was based on sayings and expressions he heard in the Aran Islands. Scholarly opinion is still divided on whether Synge’s language represents genuine rural speech (Kiberd 1980, although the non-standard sentence structures in his plays are amply attested elsewhere. Table 22.10 illustrates some of the main grammatical constructions of Irish English found in Synge’s plays.

Table 22.10 Grammatical features in the plays of J. M. Synge	
(1)	After perfective <i>He’s after dying on me, God forgive him, and there I am now.</i> <i>(In the Shadow of the Glen, 1903)</i>
(2)	Habitual aspect with <i>do be</i> <i>... but in this place it is the young men do be leaving things behind ...</i> <i>(Riders to the Sea, 1904)</i> <i>... the rich tinkers do be travelling from Tibbradden to the Tara Hill</i> <i>(The Tinker’s Wedding, 1909)</i>

Table 22.10 Continued

- (3) Subordinating *and*
... there was a star up against the moon, and it rising in the night.
Why wouldn't you give him your blessing and he looking round in the door?
And what time would a man take, and he floating?
 (Riders to the Sea, 1905)
- (4) Use of *on* + personal pronoun to express relevance
Maybe she'd wake up on us, and come in before we'd done.
 (Riders to the Sea, 1904)

Another noted dramatist from the first quarter of the twentieth century is Sean O'Casey (1884–1964) who, in his plays set in working-class Dublin during the Irish revolutionary decade (1913–22), attempted to represent vernacular speech of the capital. His plays contain a number of Irish English features, such as inflectional -s on plural verb forms, subordinating *and*, the *after* perfective, and multiple negation, as well as the use of *on* + personal pronoun to express relevance, as can be seen from Table 22.11.

Table 22.11 Grammatical features in the plays of Sean O'Casey

- (1) Use of *on* + personal pronoun to express relevance
D'ye want to waken her again on me, when she's just gone asleep?
 (The Plough and the Stars, 1926)
God, I'd be afraid he might come in on us alone.
 (The Silver Tassie, 1928)
- (2) Singular verb form used with plural subject
... that they wasn't a mile from where he was livin'
 (The Shadow of a Gunman, 1923)
- (3) Subordinating *and*
We've had enough for one night, and you for a serious operation tomorrow.
 (The Silver Tassie, 1928)
- (4) Multiple negation
You'll not shut no door till you've heard what I've got to say.
 (The Shadow of a Gunman, 1923)
... an' not be clusthered round the table, as if we never seen nothin'.
 (Juno and the Paycock, 1924)
We don't want no shoutin' here.
 (The Plough and the Stars, 1926)
- (5) Use of *yous(e)* for the second person plural
But yous'll not escape from th' arrow ...
 (The Plough and the Stars, 1926)
D'ye mean to tell me that the pair of yous wasn't collogin' together here
 (Juno and the Paycock, 1924)

In the mid- to late twentieth century and into the twenty-first, the representation of local Dublin English was prominent in literary fiction. The plays of Brendan Behan (1923–64), written in the 1950s, are linguistically in the tradition of O’Casey. From the 1980s onwards the Dublin writer Roddy Doyle (1959–) published novels in which vernacular speech abounds (Amador-Moreno 2015), e.g. *The Commitments* (1987) or the Booker prize winner *Paddy Clarke, Ha! Ha! Ha!* (1993). Doyle is sparing in his use of grammatical features: for instance, there is no instance of an habitual with *do be* or an *after* perfective in either of the two novels referred to. However, he does indicate pronunciation features such as the use of [n] in continuous verb forms (*buying*’, *doin*’, *leavin*’) or the glottalization/deletion of final /-t/ (*that*’, *wha*’, *rih*’). Doyle also uses a non-standard second person plural personal pronoun, either *youse* or *yis* (*Wha’ do youse want? Get away from tha’, youse. Get dancin’, youse. I told yis, he hasn’t a clue. Wha’ else d’yis do? Why did yis form the group?*). The second form is especially common: in *The Commitments* there are 112 instances of *yis* (0.3321% of the 33,729 words of the novel).

22.7 CONCLUSION

The development of specific features of Irish English can be traced in dramatic texts from about 1600 onwards. These texts are largely satirical in nature, and in general contrast Irish English speakers with those whose language was more formal and/or standard. While it is true that only a selection of salient features are picked out by different authors, the recurrence of these across texts of various types would point to their existence in spoken Irish English of the early modern period.

The criteria laid out here, and those put forward by other scholars (e.g. Gordon 1998; Maynor 1988; Mesthrie 2005; Preston 1985; Sullivan 1980), provide a basis for the linguistic analysis of non-standard texts from previous centuries which in general seek to portray Irish English of the time by representing salient features of the variety. By the early nineteenth century this concern with the regional nature of speech was put on a broader footing with the rise of explicitly regional literature, e.g. with the novels of Maria Edgeworth and Walter Scott (in Scotland). Before that time, the material (Bartley 1954; Duggan 1969 [1937]) is satirical and linguistically two-dimensional; but with the establishment of a genuine regional literature, the linguistic features were not just confined to satire but increasingly employed as a medium to express a cultural identity which was uniquely Irish.

If the criteria discussed above are applied rigorously, and if as many different texts as are available are cross-checked for consistency of representation, then the likelihood of reaching firm conclusions concerning the evolution of Irish English via literary texts increases. Taken together, the criteria outlined here provide a methodology for assessing textual records of very different forms of non-standard English, and for offering a linguistically reliable analysis of their language.

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PART IV

.....
LANGUAGE AND THE
IRISH DIASPORA
.....

CHAPTER 23

THE SPREAD OF IRISH ENGLISH

RAYMOND HICKEY

23.1 INTRODUCTION

FOR something like a millennium and a half, people have left Ireland to settle abroad more or less permanently. There have been two main reasons for this. The first applied in the earliest period, between about 500 and 800 (Dudley Edwards with Hourican 2005: 128). This was to establish religious centres on the continent (Fowkes 1997) and thus strengthen the fledgling church there. The second type of emigration applies much later, to escape unfavourable circumstances in Ireland. The latter can in turn be broken down into at least four sub-types.

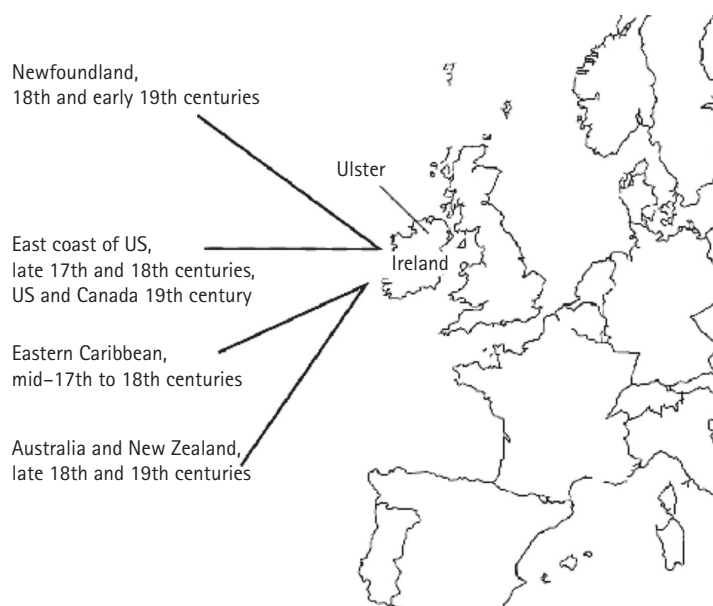
The first is where Irish military leaders were defeated and forced to submit to the English crown. The most famous instance of this type of emigration was the so-called ‘Flight of the Earls’ in 1607 from Lough Swilly in the north of the country, after the defeat of the Irish by the English in 1601 and the subsequent subjugation of Gaelic lords in Ulster. This type of exodus peaked at key periods in Irish history, hence there is another rise after 1690 when the Jacobite rebellion was finally quelled in Ireland.

The second sub-type has to do with deportation by the English authorities. There are two occasions when significant groups of Irish were deported to overseas locations. The first was in the south-east Caribbean, to Barbados (and from there to Montserrat), where Irish were deported in the early 1650s by Oliver Cromwell. The second was to Australia, where deportations of Irish took place in the early days of anglophone settlement, i.e. in the decades immediately following the initial taking of the Sydney area in 1788.

A third sub-type of emigration has to do with religious intolerance, whether perceived or actual. During the eighteenth century the tension between Presbyterians of Scottish origin in Ulster and the mainstream Anglican church over the demands of the latter that the former take an oath and sacramental test resulted in an increasing desire to emigrate (along with economic pressure), in this case to North America.

The fourth sub-type is that which one might most readily imagine to be the primary cause of emigration, economic necessity. This kind of emigration is what later came to characterize the movement of very large numbers of Irish to Britain, Canada, and above all to the United States in the nineteenth century, but it was also a significant factor with the Ulster Scots in the eighteenth century.

Emigration from Ireland must have started quite early, long before the beginning of the early modern period around 1600 (Map 23.1). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was seasonal migration to England during harvest time and Irish vagrants were common (Dudley Edwards with Hourican 2005: 131–2). Their speech must have been known in rough outline before the second period of English in Ireland, i.e. before 1600. After all, Shakespeare was in a position to characterize some of the more prominent features of Irish English in the figure of Captain Macmorris in the ‘Four Nations Scene’ of *Henry V* (Blank 1996: 136–9). Ben Jonson was able to write a short satirical piece, *The Irish Masque at Court* (1613/16) at the beginning of the seventeenth century which is replete with salient features of Irish English.



MAP 23.1 Emigration from Ireland during the colonial period (c.1600–1900)

In the following sections the spread of Irish English to North America and to Britain is considered in detail. When looking at the English language in Canada, the case of Newfoundland is not considered, as this is treated in Clarke, Chapter 24 this volume. Neither are Australian English and New Zealand, as for both there are dedicated chapters in this volume (see Musgrave and Burrige, Chapter 25, and Bonness, Chapter 26, respectively).

23.1.1 Assessing features in overseas varieties

Before examining the histories of overseas locations with input from Irish English, one can consider what would constitute evidence of Irish influence at such locations. There are at least three sources (Table 23.1) for the features in an overseas variety (see the general discussion in Tagliamonte 2006). Naturally, combinations of these three are also to be found.

Table 23.1 Possible sources for features in overseas varieties

Source 1	Irish English input only
Source 2	Irish English input and/or other input (dialects of English or substrate languages)
Source 3	Independent developments

The essential difficulty lies in deciding which of the above sources is the most likely for a given feature. In general, one can say that Source 1 is only likely where (i) the feature in question is unique to the particular variety and to Irish English and (ii) the location of the overseas variety has been isolated from outside influences throughout its history. There are not many features which fulfil these conditions, but one example would be the *after-perfective* of Irish English also found in Newfoundland (Clarke 1997). A similar case (with an English source) would be initial voicing, attested in traditional dialects in England from Kent across to Devon (Trudgill 1990: 29) and in Newfoundland among the English-based community there (Clarke 2004: 248).

A further problem with parallels between an overseas and an input variety is that Source 3 could constitute the origin. An instance of this is so-called ‘diphthong flattening’ (Wells 1982: 614), a term used to refer to the lack of an upward glide with the /ai/ and /au/ diphthongs in particular, i.e. *wife* when realized as [wa:f]. Such ‘flattening’ is found today in areas as far apart as the southern United States and South Africa (Lass 1987: 305–6), quite apart from its occurrence in parts of England such as Yorkshire and Merseyside.

In such cases additional evidence might help in deciding a matter. For instance, it is known from diaspora varieties of African American English that this flattening is a fairly recent phenomenon (Bailey and Ross 1992) and not characteristic of African American speech before the twentieth century. This fact would support the view that the ‘flattening’ in the locations referred to is an independent development.

Another factor of importance when considering possible sources is the relative unusualness of features. Two different examples of this are special forms of the second person plural and the feature known as ‘positive *anymore*’.

English is virtually unique among European languages in not having a distinction between singular and plural forms of second person pronouns. This situation arose due to the demise of the special second person singular form *thou* in the early modern period, which is now found with only a very restricted distribution in parts of England and in

ritualized language such as religious services. Non-standard varieties of English largely compensated for this by developing specific plural forms of their own, retaining the form *you* as a singular personal pronoun. There are various forms used in the plural, e.g. *ye*, *yez*, *youse*, *y'all*, *you'uns* (see Hickey 2003a for a detailed discussion). This means that the mere existence of a special plural form for the second person pronoun is not sufficient to posit an historical connection between varieties. What is needed is a clear formal parallel. It is known that the form *youse* is of Irish English origin, so its occurrence in forms of southern hemisphere English, such as Australian and New Zealand English, clearly points to an Irish origin.

Some formal parallels are of a very general nature, such as the contraction of *you* and *all* to *y'all*. This makes it unlikely that varieties as far apart geographically as southern American English and South African Indian English could be historically related in this respect. Other features of such generality would be (i) unmarked adverbs, i.e. where the ending *-ly* is not present, as in *He's awful busy these days*, and (ii) *them* as a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *Them boys out on the street*. The ubiquity of such usages (Trudgill 1990: 79; Wakelin 1984: 82) greatly reduces their value as diagnostics.

The feature known as 'positive *anymore*' (Labov 1991) is quite unusual. However, it may occur in the Midland area of the United States (and further into the west, Wolfram and Schilling 2016: 142; Eitner 1991) as in *They go to Florida on their holidays anymore*. It may well derive from the speech of eighteenth-century Ulster Scots settlers, whose predecessors had in turn picked this up from native speakers of Irish before emigration, though see Butters (2001: 331–2) for a dissenting opinion.

In Table 23.1, what is labelled Source 2 has also been a matter of dispute among scholars. Essentially, one is dealing here with features which have more than one possible source. For instance, the occurrence of a habitual aspect in forms of English in the Eastern Caribbean, above all in the English of Barbados, is something which could be traced back to input forms of English from either England or Ireland or to the substrate influence of the African languages which form the linguistic background of early slaves in the region. It may be that the Irish and the English inputs came together in this region—this would be a case of convergence. The contact account, on the other hand, would favour African substrate languages as the most likely source for the habitual aspect (for detailed discussions, see the contributions in Hickey 2004).

23.2 THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

The history of Irish emigrants in Britain reaches back many centuries (Fitzgerald 1992). But mass emigration only set in during the nineteenth century (Hickman 2005), and was considerable to various parts of north-central and northern Britain and to the London area.

Similar to the pattern of emigration to the United States (see section 23.4), the Irish congregated in areas where labour for industries like mining was required (O'Connor

1972; MacRaild 1999). It is estimated that by 1841 nearly 2% of the population of England was born in Ireland (Dudley Edwards with Hourican 2005: 137–8). In Wales the percentage was much less, but there was a concentration in Swansea and Cardiff, cities which have always had connections with cities on the south coast of Ireland like Cork (O’Leary 2000). In Scotland the figures were much higher: 4.8% of the population there were Irish-born (in 1841), and again these lived chiefly in the large cities, Glasgow and Edinburgh, which have a tradition of accepting migrant labour from Ireland, especially from nearby Ulster (Devine 1991).

As with the United States, the key period for the rise in the Irish sector of the population lies after the late 1840s. This was largely as a result of the Great Famine, which triggered a wave of immigration to both Britain (Crawford 1997; Neal 1997) and the New World. The censuses of 1841 and 1861 returned 415,000 and 806,000 Irish-born in Britain respectively (G. Davis 1991; 2000: 20). This increase led to much friction between the English and Irish, especially as the Irish were frequently under-nourished and diseased; in 1852, for instance, there were anti-Catholic, i.e. anti-Irish, riots in Stockport (Dudley Edwards with Hourican 2005: 140).

The linguistic effect of the Irish on the areas in which they settled depended on at least three main factors: their numbers, the structure of the English communities they were in contact with, and whether they displayed focused or diffuse settlement patterns. For instance, the city of Sheffield experienced immigration during the nineteenth century from Irish who came to work in the steel industry and who largely congregated in the north-western part of the city (Hey 1998: 148). Sheffield had a dense system of networks based on the families traditionally employed in the cutlery industry, a precursor to steel production. The numbers of Irish were relatively low: between 3% and 4% was the figure returned by the 1851 census (Hey 1998), perhaps below the threshold to have penetrated the established networks in the city and so to have had an effect on speech there.

The density of settlement is a significant factor as well. In many cases the Irish were to be found in certain well-defined areas which would have maintained Irish features, possibly transferring these in the course of time to the English communities surrounding them, as was probably the case in Liverpool (see section 23.2.1). More diffuse settlement was found in Lancashire to the north, often associated with work in the agricultural sector (O’Dowd 1991). Such diffuse settlement probably had no influence on varieties of English in the areas where it occurred.

23.2.1 Merseyside

The area of England which absorbed most Irish was Merseyside and its hinterland of Cheshire in the south and Lancashire in the north. The reason for this is obvious: the port of Liverpool is directly opposite Dublin and there was, and still is, a constant ship service between the two cities. Liverpool was an important port for emigration to North America, and many Irish who had travelled there with this intention ended up staying in Merseyside, usually because they lacked the money for transportation (G. Davis

2000: 23). This group would have provided an input to vernacular speech in this region in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The local dialect of Liverpool is Scouse, and it is characteristic of its speakers to show a degree of frication with /p, t, k/ in environments where they are flanked by vowels or before a pause, i.e. in intervocalic and word-final position (Honeybone 2001: 234–42, 2007; Sangster 2001: 402; Knowles 1978). Scholars such as Wells (1982) generally ascribe this to an independent development in Scouse. In more detailed treatments, the origin and predominance of Liverpool lenition in working-class speech is highlighted (Sangster 2001: 411). This section of society is of course that which has the strongest historical links with Ireland, given that many of its members are both Catholic and descendants of poor Irish emigrants. Another feature associated with working-class Catholics in Liverpool is the fortition of /θ, ð/ as in *month* [mʌnt̪] and *that* [d̪at] (Wells 1982: 371).

In the nineteenth century the Irish language in Ireland was relatively strong. Furthermore, the Irish who were forced to emigrate were the economically disadvantaged, which is tantamount to saying that they were Irish-speakers or poor bilinguals. The emigrants would thus have spoken a variety of English which was strongly affected by their native Irish and would thus have been likely to show lenition (Hickey 2009) as a transfer phenomenon. In Irish, the stops /p, t, k/ lenite to /f, h, x/ respectively. When considering Liverpool and Irish English lenition, the lenited form of /t/ is uncontroversial, as it is the same in both cases, i.e. an apico-alveolar fricative. What remains is the lenition of /p/ and /k/ to their corresponding fricatives, /f/ and /x/, in local Liverpool English.

23.2.2 Teesside

The city of Middlesbrough, since 1996 a unitary authority located in the former county of Cleveland, lies between Co. Durham to the north and North Yorkshire to the south (Llamas 2006: 96–7). The city is on the south bank of the Tees estuary. It was founded in 1830, when a railway was built in order to provide transportation for coal mined in the area, making Middlesbrough the first railway town. Ironworks were founded in 1841 and iron ore was discovered in the region. Within a few decades Middlesbrough had become the largest producer of pig-iron in the world. This led to a phenomenal growth in the labour force and hence in the population, so that within 40 years, by the 1870s, it had become a major town. By 1901 the population had increased to 91,000 from a mere 154 in 1831 (Llamas 2001).

The dramatic increase in Middlesbrough's population was fed from a number of sources, one of which was immigrant Irish. Due to the heterogeneous composition of the population, it can be seen that by the census year 1851, there were no specifically Irish quarters in Middlesbrough. In addition, no aversion to the Irish by the non-Irish was discernible at this time (Willis 2003: 20–4). The Irish section of the population had grown rapidly, as seen in the increase from 6.3% in 1851 to 15.6% by 1861. By the 1870s one

in five adult males was Irish, putting Middlesbrough second only to Liverpool in terms of the size of its Irish population.

Given the significant portion of Irish and the looser nature of its structure as a new town, as opposed to the much more established city of Sheffield, for instance, it is not surprising that an Irish influence is discernible in Middlesbrough speech, a legacy of nineteenth-century demographics. The similarity between Liverpool and Middlesbrough accents has been remarked upon repeatedly, including in the scholarly literature (see Kerswill and Williams 2000), with the Middlesbrough speakers being mistaken for Liverpool speakers. Jones and Llamas (2003) have also commented on this in the context of fricated /t/ in both cities.

Among the Middlesbrough features which can be seen as indicative of Irish are alveolar /l/, second person plural *youse*, and vowel epenthesis in words like *film* ['filəm]. To these can be added fricated /t/ and, importantly, a less common tendency to fricate word-final, pre-pausal /-k/ as in *back* [bax]. The lenition of labials, e.g. *cup* [caf], does not appear to occur. This fact matches the cline in Liverpool English, where the preferential sites for lenition are (i) alveolar (*slit* [slɪ̥t]), (ii) velar (*slack* [slax]), and (iii) labial (*slap* [slaf]).

It is no coincidence that both Merseyside and Teesside are dialect areas of Britain which show consonant lenition, and that it is these areas which had the greatest input from (southern) Irish English. Add to this the folk perception experiments of Kerswill and Williams (2000), which linked the speech of the two areas, and the conclusion seems justified that the shared speech characteristics can be traced to nineteenth-century Irish migrants into these areas. The greater scope of stop lenition in both Liverpool and Merseyside might furthermore support the view that this is a kind of 'colonial lag', i.e. a remnant of wider lenition which might have been later narrowed in Ireland to alveolars due to the effects of supraregionalization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

23.2.3 Newcastle upon Tyne

Another area of England with considerable Irish immigration in the nineteenth century is Tyneside. House (1954: 47) in Beal (1993: 189) notes: 'In 1851 [the year of a census—*RH*], Newcastle, the most cosmopolitan of the north-eastern towns, had one person in every ten born in Ireland.'

When considering possible influence of Irish English in Tyneside, one must take into account the history of features within England. For instance, it is true that Tyneside English shows *ye* as the second person pronoun (Upton and Widdowson 1996: 66–7)—an obvious parallel with Irish English. But this is a survival from older forms of English and is present in Scotland as well. So at best one could argue for a certain convergence of Irish English and Tyneside English in this respect, but even this should not be exaggerated. The same caution should be exercised when considering non-standard syntactic features such as the use of *what* as relative pronoun. This is found in Tyneside, but in their study of Newcastle and Sheffield, Beal and Corrigan (2005) found that *what*

as a relative pronoun was much more common in the latter location, the one with a considerably smaller Irish influx in the nineteenth century. The situation is somewhat different with features which are known to be specifically Irish such as the use of epistemic *must* in the negative (Beal 1993: 197; 2004: 126) or the second person plural form *yous* (see relevant section of Table 23.2) which is most likely to be of Irish origin.

Table 23.2 Features of Tyneside English attested in the Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (NECTE)

- | |
|--|
| (1) Negative epistemic <i>must</i>
<i>You <u>mustn't</u> have had a sink then if you, if you screamed when it disappeared right down the sink; We <u>mustn't</u> have had what ever it is, claustrophobia or anything, must we?</i> (F 51–60, secretary, lower middle class) |
| (2) Second person plural <i>ye</i> and <i>yous</i>
<i>I'm telling <u>ye</u>—well—what's the age group you—you eh knock about with; . . . eleven driving lessons <u>ye</u> should need . . .</i> (M 16–20, car mechanic, working class); <i>'<u>yous</u> are cocky <u>yous</u> are cocky like' we goes . . .</i> (M 16–20, student, lower middle class); <i>that's the way <u>yous</u> were when <u>yous</u> went</i> (M 51–60, retired plumber, lower middle class) |
| (3) What for relative pronoun <i>which</i>
<i>I don't mind the uniform <u>what</u> we have; that's right, it's difficult with money <u>what</u> surprises me</i> (M 41–50, local government officer, middle class) |

The use of singular inflection with third person plural verbs: *Her sisters is quite near* (Beal 1993: 194) is a feature both of northern English in general and of vernacular Irish English. Like *ye*, this could be a continuation of an older situation here and in Ireland. Failure of negative attraction is also attested for Tyneside English, e.g. *Everyone didn't want to hear them*, for *Nobody wanted to hear them*, as is *never* as a negative with singular time reference, e.g. *I never done the work* 'I didn't do the work' (Beal 1993: 198). In Tyneside English the use of *whether* is less common (Beal 1993: 204), the indirect question maintaining the word order of the direct question as in: *She asked her son did he clean up*. This type of inversion is typical of Irish English, both northern and southern forms. Furthermore, relative clauses may be introduced by *that* in restrictive contexts, e.g. *The man that you know is outside*, and *what* may also occur as a relative pronoun with an animate referent, e.g. *The man what was interested in linguistics* as can *which*, e.g. *The ladies which accompanied him had curly hair* (Beal 1993: 207; 2004: 131–4).

Some of the features are reminiscent of northern Irish English, e.g. the use of double modals (not found in the south of Ireland and only very rarely in the north nowadays), especially in the negative in urban Tyneside, e.g. . . . *they mustn't could have made any today* (Beal 1993: 195; 2004: 127–8). This is also true of the use of a past participle after *need*, e.g. *My hair needs washed* for *My hair needs washing* (Beal 1993: 200). With these features one may be dealing with a geographical continuum including Tyneside and Scotland north of it. Indeed, the use of a past participle after *need* would seem to have been taken to northern Ireland by Scots settlers. This feature is also found in western

Pennsylvania, probably as a relic of Ulster Scots speech from the eighteenth century (Montgomery 2001: 149).

Not all the specific features of Tyneside speech (see Table 23.3) point to possible Irish influence: for example, the use of *for to* + infinitive is a common dialectal feature in the British Isles, as is the use of *them* as a demonstrative pronoun (*I like them books*, Beal 1993: 207) and of course the use of singular nouns after numerals (*I lived there for ten year*, Beal 1993: 209). Items from phonology, where convergence with Irish English input may have been operative, include the retention of word-initial /h-/ and the retention of /hw/, [ɰ], e.g. *which* [ɰɪtʃ] (initial /h-/ is a characteristic of the far north of England, Upton and Widdowson 1996: 46–7). The adverb *geet* [gi:ʔ] in the sense of ‘really’, e.g. *This is geet hard*, is not known in Ireland. Verb contractions like *divvent* ‘do not’ (Beal 2004: 124) do not occur in Ireland either.

Table 23.3 Further parallels between Tyneside English and Irish English

- (1) Preference for *will* over *shall* (Beal 1993: 194–5): *Will I put the kettle on?*
- (2) *For to* + infinitive (Beal 2004: 134): ... *it just didn't enter me head for to say I wonder what if it'll be different.*
- (3) Sentence-final *but* in the sense of ‘though’: *I'll manage, but*
- (4) *Can* or *could* are found in perfective constructions where more standard forms of English have *be able to*: *He cannot get a job since he's left school.*
- (5) The use of *can*, rather than *may*, to express permission. Connected with this is the use of *might* to express possibility rather than *may* (Beal 1993: 194): *Mind, it looks as if it might rain, doesn't it?*
- (6) Extended use of the definite article, e.g. with reference to age: *So I never really started work 'till I was about the fifteen* (Beal 2004b 129).

23.3 SCOTLAND

The present chapter is concerned with identifying features of Irish English which might have been transported to locations outside Ireland. In the case of Scotland, this endeavour must consider whether parallels between forms of Irish English and Scottish English are (i) historically continuations of earlier varieties of English or (ii) both due to transfer from Q-Celtic (Irish in Ireland and Scottish Gaelic in Scotland) which affected both Ireland and Scotland due to the historic shift to English. Furthermore, when considering possible parallels, it is sensible to examine forms of English in Ulster (Ulster Scots and Ulster English), rather than forms further south, given the geographical proximity of Ulster to Scotland and the historically attested emigration which was often seasonal and driven by the search for work in Glasgow and west central Scotland and which has been typical of Ulster for the last two centuries. This latter situation, together with the seventeenth-century plantation of Ulster by Scots, means that many features of

English in Ulster may be imports from Scotland, i.e. that transportation was into, and not out of Ireland.

The following discussion examines vernacular Glasgow English (Table 23.4). This has been investigated thoroughly by Caroline Macafee (see Macafee 1983 and 1994), and it is furthermore an urban vernacular which shows influence from Ulster English (from Co. Donegal across to Co. Down) due to emigration from the north of Ireland to the Glasgow region.

Table 23.4 Parallels between Glasgow English and northern Irish English

- (1) In general, vowel length tends to be determined by the Scottish Vowel Length Rule where the phonetic environment following the vowel determines its length (Stuart-Smith 2004: 56–7; McClure 1994: 51). Basically, this also applies to Ulster Scots, as an imported feature, and has affected Ulster English to a certain extent. There is no trace of the rule further south in Ireland.
- (2) The fronted [ʉ] sound is shared with English in Ulster (and Ulster Irish). The sound can be fronted as far as [ɪ] in Glasgow, which gives pronunciations like *boot* [bɪt], *good* [gɪd], traditionally written as *buit*, *guid*, etc. These realizations are also typical of conservative Ulster Scots.
- (3) The non-retraction of /a/ after /w/, found in Glasgow, is also a conservative feature of Irish English in the north and south (mentioned by Sheridan 1781: 145).
- (4) The merger of the SQUARE and NURSE lexical sets in Glasgow is also found in northern Irish English, but not in southern forms. Macafee (1994: 225) considers this the result of Irish influence on Glasgow English.
- (5) The Glaswegian shift of /ð/ to /r/ (Stuart-Smith 2004: 62) is not a feature of Irish English, though the deletion of intervocalic /ð/ is a common northern feature, e.g. *northern* [nɔːɹn]. The use of [f] (TH-fronting) by younger speakers (Stuart-Smith 2004: 62) is probably an adopted feature from southern British urban vernaculars.
- (6) Vowel epenthesis in final clusters of /-lm/, e.g. *film* [fɪləm], and often extended to /-rl/ clusters, e.g. *girl* [gɛrəl], is an areal feature of both Ulster English and Irish as well as vernacular Scottish English and Scottish Gaelic.
- (7) L-vocalization (McClure 1994: 48) is an established feature of Scots and continued in Ulster Scots. However, elsewhere in Ireland it is unknown.
- (8) Post-stop sonorant deletion, *col'*, *ol'*, etc., is also shared with Irish English in the north and south.
- (9) The reduction of final, unstressed /o/ in *follow*, *yellow*, etc. is shared with both the north and south of Ireland.
- (10) The enclitic negatives /-ne, nɪ/, common in vernacular forms of Scottish English, are shared with Ulster Scots, but not with southern Irish English, though they can be found sometimes in general forms of Ulster English.
- (11) *Youse*, *yiz* are probably imports from Ulster to Glasgow and western Scotland, but *you'ns*, *yins* (< *you ones*) are Scottish in origin.
- (12) *See* as an opener highlighting a topic, e.g. *See football, I hate the stuff*, is not common in Ireland.
- (13) The form *ken*, equivalent to the pragmatic marker *you know*, is not found in Ireland.

There are a number of grammatical parallels between Scottish English and forms of Irish English. Some are very general, such as the past tense forms of verbs, e.g. *come*

'came', *done* 'did' (J. Miller 2004: 48) or the use of inflected verb forms with plural subjects, e.g. with the third person plural. However, verbal -s with the first person plural is not a common Irish feature (there is only one occurrence of *we was* in *A Corpus of Irish English* (Hickey 2003b), namely in Shaw's play *John Bull's Other Island*). Other features, like negative epistemic *must*, e.g. *This mustn't be the place* (J. Miller 2004: 53), are more exclusive parallels with Irish and northern British English.

Another grammatical parallel is the resultative O+PP word order as in *That's the letters written and posted* (J. Miller 2004: 56). Other features one could mention in this context is the overuse of the definite article, compared to more standard forms of English (J. Miller 2004: 59–60); the use of *than what* in comparatives; and unbound *myself*. These last three features have clear parallels in Scottish Gaelic, as their equivalents in Ireland have in Irish, and can probably be regarded as transfer features originating in the historical language shift in Scotland. The widespread use of cleft sentences for topicalization purposes (J. Miller 2004: 66–7) is similar to the situation in Ireland, as is the preference for *that* as a relative pronoun with an animate antecedent.

23.4 THE IRISH IN THE UNITED STATES

Irish emigration to the United States can be divided into two phases. The first is that of Protestant emigration from Ulster in the eighteenth century, largely to Pennsylvania and from there further down to the inland south-east. The second phase is that of the nineteenth century, especially the second half, which was largely characterized by Catholic emigrants from the south of Ireland. There are, however, general features of American English which cannot conclusively be traced to either phase, and which may have diffused into general varieties of English during the long period from the beginning of the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century.

Such features are not necessarily salient; indeed, it is their low profile which probably accounts for their survival in more standard varieties of American English. The following two features may serve to illustrate this point.

- (1) The first concerns the use of the definite article. In varieties of English which historically have been in contact with Celtic languages, the definite article is found in generic senses (Harris 1993: 144–5): *The life there is hard. He asked the both of them.* A certain consensus exists that the greater application of the definite article in forms of American English is a legacy of Irish influence (Montgomery 2001: 133; Butters 2001: 337). It is especially common in generic statements, e.g. *She has gone to the hospital. The child has got the measles. They go to Florida in the spring.*
- (2) The second feature is negative epistemic *must*, as in *She mustn't be very old*, which has been mentioned above in the context of Tyneside and Scottish English. In an investigation with several informants (undergraduates, pupils, and some others),

Tottie (1985: 110) found that *must* occurred in 23% of the sentences in her control group, with a negative epistemic sense for the Americans. This contrasts with a single instance in the British group. Again, the existence of this feature in American English could be traced to its presence in Irish English input.

23.4.1 Ulster Scots in the United States

23.4.1.1 *Emigration from Ulster*

The eighteenth century is a period during which considerable emigration from Ulster (and Scotland) to North America took place, with many people leaving the province. Estimates for the numbers vary. At the one end, historians like Kerby Miller suggest that anywhere between 250,000 and 400,000 emigrated between 1700 and the American Revolution, and that only between one-fifth and one-fourth of these were Catholics (K. Miller 1985: 137). Duffy (1997: 90–1) maintains that throughout the eighteenth century emigration ran at about 4,000 a year, and totalled over a quarter of a million. At the other end, estimates for the Ulster Scots migration in the eighteenth century favour lower numbers. Louis Cullen suggests 40,000 in the period 1701–75 (Cullen 1994: 139–40). Bernard Bailyn suggests that 55,000 Protestant Irish (from the north and the south) left for North America in the years 1700–1760 (Bailyn 1986: 24–7). While Miller's figures apply to Ulster and Scotland together, those of Cullen and Bailyn apply to Ulster alone. Nonetheless, there is a considerable discrepancy between the estimates, something which is no doubt due to the lack of exact figures, e.g. in census returns, for the period in question. Notwithstanding these differences, one can still recognize that a sizeable proportion of settlers to eighteenth-century North America were of Ulster or Scots provenance, and that these must have had a significant influence on speech in an emerging society in the New World.

The situation in Ulster, which at the beginning of the eighteenth century triggered this emigration, was characterized by a combination of economic and religious grievances. The religious motivation was rooted in such demands as the sacramental test which, according to an *Address of Protestant Dissenting Ministers to the King* (1729), was found by Ulster Presbyterians to be 'so very grievous that they have in great numbers transported themselves to the American Plantations for the sake of that liberty and ease which they are denied in their native country' (Bardon 1996: 94). The desire of the Ulster Scots Presbyterians who left in the eighteenth century to seek more freedom to practise their variety of Protestantism in America has been underlined frequently (K. Miller 1985: 137–68). But there is consensus among historians today (K. Miller 1985: 137–8; Foster 1988: 215–16; Bardon 1996: 94) that economic reasons were probably more important: the increase in rents and tithes, along with the prospect of paying little rent and no tithes or taxes in America. Added to this were food shortages due to failures of crops, resulting in famine in 1728/9 and most severely in 1741. Foster (1988: 216) stresses that the nature of Ulster trade facilitated emigration: the ships which carried flax seed from

America were able to carry emigrants on the outward journey. Up to 1720, the prime destination was New England; this then shifted somewhat southwards, to Pennsylvania (from where the Irish frequently pushed further south, Algeo 2001: 13–14; Montgomery 2001: 126) and later to South Carolina. The rate of emigration depended on the situation in Ireland. In the late 1720s, in the 1760s and in the early 1770s there were peaks of emigration which coincided with economic difficulties triggered by crop failure or destruction in Ireland (Montgomery 2000: 244–5).

The option of emigration in the eighteenth century was open more to Protestants than to Catholics. The latter would equally have had substantial motivation for emigrating: after all the Penal Laws, which discriminated against Catholics in public life, were in force from at least the late seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth. But emigration did not take place to the same extent with Catholics (the overwhelming majority for the eighteenth century were Protestants). It could be postulated that the Catholics lacked the financial means for a move to the New World. However, the Protestants who left were not necessarily in a financially better position—indeed, many were indentured labourers who thus obtained a free passage. Foster (1988: 216) assumes that the Protestants were more ready to move and subdue new land (as their forefathers from Scotland had done in Ulster in the previous century). The Protestant communities were separate from the Catholics and more closely knit. Furthermore, they were involved in linen production, so that the cargo boats used for emigration would have been in Protestant hands anyway.

The Ulster Scots emigration (Wood and Blethen 1997) is not only important because of its early date but because it established a pattern of exodus to North America which, apart from Merseyside and to a much lesser extent Tyneside and some other locations in the north of England, became the chief destination of Irish emigration in the northern hemisphere (Miller and Wagner 1994).

The features of regional forms of American English which are suspected of deriving from Ulster Scots input in the eighteenth century cover phonology, morphology, and lexis (Crozier 1984). A few features of pronunciation and grammar are discussed here. For a detailed consideration of lexis, see Montgomery (2004).

The vowels in *cot* and *caught* are not always distinguished, either in length and/or quality. The lowering /ɔ/ to /ɒ/ and then unrounding and centralization to /a/ (Wolfram and Schilling 2016: 68–9) may have been influenced by Irish English speakers. Traditionally, it is a feature of western Pennsylvania, which had considerable Ulster Scots settlement (Montgomery 2001: 141–2), though as Lass (1987: 286) notes, the shift is to the back vowel in Lowland Scots/Ulster Scots but to the central vowel in American English. The unrounding of /ɒ/ is common in the far north of England as well (Trudgill 1990: 19), cf. *lang* for *long*.

In Appalachian English (Christian 1991), the position of a reflexive is occupied by a simple personal pronoun, as in *I washed me quickly*. This may well be a transported Ulster Scots feature, also found in Pittsburgh, western Pennsylvania (Montgomery 2001: 125).

In varieties which historically have had an Ulster Scots and/or Scots input, notably Appalachian English, sequences of two modals can be found, e.g. *She might could come tomorrow* (Montgomery 2001: 148; Feagin 1979; Bernstein 2003). Here it might be more the mechanism than the actual form which was inherited. Such constructions are also found in African American English (see Martin and Wolfram 1998: 32–5). On the occurrence in Scottish English, see J. Miller (1993: 120–1); for Scots, see McClure (1994: 72–3). There are also attestations from Tyneside (see Beal 1993: 191).

According to Mishoe and Montgomery (1994: 20), the most common multiple modals, found in northern Ireland speech and attested in the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States Concordance*, are *might could*, *used to could*, and *might can*. Multiple modals are quite scarce in both documentary records and dialect fiction on both sides of the Atlantic. A reason for this is offered by the two authors: multiple modals (Fennell and Butters 1996) are not neutral lexical items or idioms but bound to well-defined pragmatic restrictions which have to do with face-saving, negotiation among interlocutors, and interactional give-and-take. They conclude (Mishoe and Montgomery 1994: 22) that ‘the documents that we have access to lack the types of contexts in which they most often were employed’.

So-called ‘positive *anymore*’ (see section 23.1) may occur in the Midland area of the United States (and further west, Wolfram and Schilling 2016: 142; Eitner 1991) as in *They go to Florida on their holidays anymore*. It may well derive from the speech of eighteenth-century Ulster Scots settlers whose predecessors had in turn picked this up from native speakers of Irish before emigration. Butters (2001: 331–2) views positive *anymore* as an extension of the negative use, and is doubtful of the proposed Ulster Scots/Irish antecedent. However, he does not specify why this should have occurred in American English and not in other parts of the anglophone world.

A feature of northern Irish English is the use of *whenever* in the sense of ‘when’, e.g. *Whenever George VI was King* (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 70). This is also attested for the American Midland region (Montgomery 2001: 150).

A-prefixing has a source in English where the *a* is a reduced form of *on* much as in adverbs like *alive*, *asleep* (< *on life*, *on slæpe*): *She was a-singing*. In Irish a similar construction exists: the preposition *ag* ‘at’ is used with the so-called verbal noun (a non-finite verb form with nominal characteristics) *Bhí sí ag canadh* lit.: ‘was she at singing’; *Fiche bliain ag fás*, lit.: ‘twenty years at growing’. However, the structure is not found in contemporary Irish English, and its attestation historically is meagre so that the English input is likely to be the source of the construction in Appalachian English (Montgomery 2001: 148); see Wolfram (1991) and Wolfram and Schilling (2016: 334) as well as Dietrich (1981).

In addition to the morphosyntactic features listed above, there are phonetic features of Appalachian English which contribute to its unique profile, e.g. the realization of the PRICE vowel as [a] with little or no off-glide (Reed 2016) contributing to a distinct Appalachian linguistic identity (Reed 2018).

23.4.2 Nineteenth-century emigration

23.4.2.1 *Introduction*

Although the reasons for Irish people leaving the country became purely economic after the eighteenth century, the role of the church in the Irish diaspora should not be underestimated (Gilley 1984). The Catholic church had a definite stance vis-à-vis emigration, sending clergy to cater for Irish emigrants and also attempting to regulate such essential social services as education. This was frequently interpreted as meddling in the internal affairs of the host country: the matter of Catholic education for emigrants was of central importance for Irish, Italian, and Polish emigrants in the United States, and the clash of interest evoked by this concern of the church was not resolved until the twentieth century in some instances, for example in New Zealand.

Parallel to economically motivated emigration, there was missionary activity overseas. This began in Africa in 1842—in Liberia at the behest of Pope Gregory XVI—along with missionaries from the major European colonizing nations in the scramble for Africa: France, Belgium, Holland, and Germany. Despite the obvious Irish presence in this phase of African settlement, there is no discernible influence of Irish speech on any form of English in Africa. In South Africa the number of immigrants from Ireland was under 1% (mainly in the area of Grahamstown, north-east of Port Elizabeth), and was thus insignificant for the development of English there, although the level of education, and hence the social position, of these immigrants was generally high (Akenson 1996: 127–39).

The deportation of Irish convicts to Australia began in 1791 (Dudley Edwards with Hourican 2005: 134–6), and within a decade there were over 2,000 of them in the young colony. By 1836 there were over 21,000 Catholics, only half of them convicts by this stage. In 1835 a Catholic bishop was appointed. During the rest of the nineteenth century the orientation of the Catholic church in Australia towards a homeland, of which the descendants of immigrants had no direct experience, diminished.

Catholic emigration to North America began in earnest after the Napoleonic wars, i.e. after 1815. During this period Ireland had benefited from heightened economic activity (Dudley Edwards with Hourican 2005: 131–2), but the agricultural depression which followed struck the country severely. An estimated 20,000 left the country in 1818 alone. Economic factors were significant here. The North Atlantic timber trade meant that ships plying across the ocean could take immigrants on the 6–8-week outward journey at a reasonable price (with wood as cargo on the return). Again, an estimate gives an approximate picture: between 1831 and 1841 some 200,000 Irish left for America (via Britain), as is known from the figures kept at British ports. By this time—the early nineteenth century—immigration was also taking place to destinations in the southern hemisphere as well, i.e. to Australia. Figures from the colonial administration for 1861 show that in Australia, just under 20% of the population was Irish.

23.4.2.2 *Emigration to the United States*

Of all countries which absorbed Irish immigrants it was the United States which took the lion's share. The figure for the entire period of emigration to America is likely to be in the region of 6–7 million (Montgomery 2001: 90) with two peaks: one in the eighteenth century with Ulster Scots settlers and the second in the mid-nineteenth century, the latter continuing at least until to the end of that century. The greatest numbers of Irish emigrants went in the years of the Great Famine (Kinealy 1994; Ó Gráda 1989) during the peak of 1848–9 and immediately afterwards, with more than 100,000 per year leaving between 1847 and 1854. The increase in the Irish-derived sector of the population can be recognized by viewing the figures for the numbers of Irish-born living in the United States after the mid-nineteenth century (Table 23.5; data from Dudley Edwards with Hourican 2005: 144), the greatest increase being in the two decades from 1851 to 1871 (an increase of almost one million).

Table 23.5 Irish-born in the United States after the mid-nineteenth century

Year	Number	Year	Number
1851	962,000	1871	1,856,000
1891	1,615,000	1911	1,352,000

The nineteenth-century Irish emigrants show a markedly different settlement pattern compared to their northern compatriots who left in the previous century. Whereas the Ulster Scots settled in states such as Pennsylvania and South Carolina, the Catholic Irish, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, stayed in the urban centres of the eastern United States, accounting for the sizeable Irish populations in cities like New York and Boston (Algeo 2001: 27; Montgomery 2000: 245). The reason for this switch from a rural way of life in the homeland to an urban one abroad is obvious: the memories of rural poverty and deprivation, the fear of a repetition of famine, were so strong as to deter the Irish from pushing further into the rural Midwest as opposed to, say, the attitude of Scandinavian or Ukrainian immigrants.

The desire to break with a background of poverty explains why the Irish abandoned their native language. It was associated with backwardness and distress, and even in Ireland, Catholic leaders such as Daniel O'Connell were advocating by the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Irish switch to English, as only with this language was there any hope of social betterment.

It cannot be overemphasized that there was a major difference between the medium numbers of able-bodied Ulster Protestants in the eighteenth century on the one hand and, on the other, the enormous numbers of weak, poverty-stricken Catholics fleeing from famine-ridden Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century. The Ulster Scots were welcome on the then frontier in order to keep the native Americans in check (it is estimated

that by the close of the eighteenth century over half the settlers on the trans-Appalachian frontier were of Ulster lineage, K. Miller 1985: 161). In southern states like South Carolina they additionally served to dilute the high proportion of African Americans in the population, with whom they initially competed for lower-paid jobs (Dudley Edwards with Hourican 2005: 144). Their relative numbers were also significant: by the eve of the War of Independence (1775–83), the Scots-Irish represented about one quarter of the population of the Thirteen Colonies. In addition to this relatively large proportion of the entire population the fact that they were early immigrants meant that they had an influence on American English during its formative years.

Neither of these factors applied to the nineteenth-century immigrants. Furthermore, diminished tolerance and their own desire to assimilate rapidly meant that virtually no trace of nineteenth-century Irish English was left in the English spoken in the eastern United States, where the later Irish immigrants settled. According to Nilsen (2002 [1997]: 63) Irish was used in New York up to c.1880, and the notion that all the emigrants were monoglot English speakers would seem to be false. There was a Gaelic movement in the United States (Ní Bhroiméil 2003: 32–57) with missions of the Gaelic League continuing up until the beginning of the twentieth century (Ní Bhroiméil 2003: 105–21). But despite the efforts of small groups and individuals (see the contributions in Ihde 1994), there was no significant continuation of the language in any part of the United States. Reasons for this can be recognized by considering the position in New York which, of all American cities, had a considerable Irish population.

Attempts to establish Irish in education in New York were not successful, and the language was never able to gain a foothold with the Irish population of the city. Nilsen (2002 [1997]: 67) notes that the majority of Irish-speakers in New York did not in fact avail themselves of any organizations which were devoted to the language. Given this attitude to language maintenance, it is not surprising that it was not transmitted to subsequent generations.

There is perhaps one phonetic feature in the English of Boston which could be traced to Irish English. Laferriere (1986) maintains that the latter could be the source of the /ɒ/-pronunciation in words like *short*, *forty*.

23.5 THE IRISH IN CANADA

Irish emigration to Canada can be divided into two sections. The first involves those Irish who settled in Newfoundland (see Clarke, this volume), and the second those who moved to mainland Canada, chiefly to the province of Ontario, the southern part of which is contained in what was previously called Upper Canada.

The oldest emigration to the region of Canada is to Newfoundland, which goes back to seasonal migration for fishing with later settlement in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Clarke 2004). The second group is that of nineteenth-century immigrants who travelled up the St Lawrence River to reach inland Canada. There was

further diffusion from there into the northern United States. Far fewer Irish emigrants settled in Canada—only somewhat more than 300,000 for the entire nineteenth century. But relative to the population of Canada throughout this century, this is still significant, and some scholars maintain that elements of Irish speech are still discernible in the English of the Ottawa Valley (Pringle and Padolsky 1981; 1983; Carroll 1983).

23.5.1 Mainland Canada

The Irish in mainland Canada were among the earliest immigrants, and enjoyed a relatively privileged status in early Canadian society. By the 1860s they formed a large section of the English-speaking population in Canada, and constituted some 40% of the British Isles immigrants in the newly founded Canadian Confederation. These Irish came both from the north and south of the country, but there was a preponderance of Protestants (some two-thirds in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) as opposed to the situation in Newfoundland, where the Irish community was almost entirely Catholic.

The Protestants in Canada had a considerable impact on public life. They bolstered the loyalist tradition which formed the basis for anglophone Canada. In the Canadian context, the term 'loyalist' refers to that section of the American population which left the Thirteen Colonies after the American Revolution of 1776, moving northwards to Canadian territory where they were free to demonstrate their loyalty to the English crown. As these Irish Protestants were of Ulster origin, they later maintained their tradition of organization in the Orange Order, which was an important voluntary organization in Canada.

In Ontario there were sizeable numbers of Catholics; they in turn mounted pressure on the government to grant them separate Catholic schools and funding to support these, much as the Catholics in New Zealand had campaigned for the same goal in that country.

In mainland Canada the Irish dispersed fairly evenly throughout the country (including Montreal in Quebec), even if there is a preponderance in Ontario and in the Ottawa Valley. But there is nothing like the heavy concentration of Scots-Irish in Appalachia (Montgomery 1989) or that of later, post-Famine Irish in the urban centres of the north-eastern United States such as New York and Boston.

The drive west through Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta across to British Columbia followed a pattern of internal migration westwards in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this newer period of population growth, Canada, like the United States, was fed by a continuous stream of English-speaking immigrants via Grosse Île at the entrance to the St Lawrence River estuary, the Ellis Island of Canada so to speak. The influence of this later wave of immigration on Canadian English is not as evident as in Newfoundland. Nonetheless, one should mention one feature which Canadian English has at least in common with the English in the north of Ireland (Gregg 1973; Scargill 1977: 12)—what is known in linguistic literature as 'Canadian Raising' (Chambers 1973). The essence of this phenomenon is a more central starting point for the diphthongs /ai/

and /au/ before a voiceless consonant than before the corresponding voiced one: *light*, *lout* [laɪt, laʊt] but *lied*, *loud* [laɪd, laʊd].

23.6 THE IRISH IN THE CARIBBEAN

Although the Caribbean is an area which is not immediately associated with Irish influence, the initial anglophone settlement of the area, during the so-called 'homestead phase', i.e. before the importation of African slaves, did involve considerable Irish input. The island of Barbados was the earliest to be settled by the British (Holm 1994), as of 1627, and Cromwell in the early 1650s had a sizeable number of Irish deported as indentured labourers in order to rid Ireland of those he considered politically undesirable. This input to Barbados is important to Caribbean English for two reasons. The first is that it was very early, and so there was Irish input during the formative years of English there (before slaves from West Africa arrived in large numbers in the latter half of the seventeenth century). The second reason is that the island of Barbados quickly became overpopulated, and speakers of Barbadian English moved from there to other locations in the Caribbean and indeed to coastal South Carolina and Georgia, i.e. to the region where Gullah was later spoken (Hancock 1980).

The views of linguists concerning possible Irish influence on the genesis of English varieties in the Caribbean vary considerably. Wells (1980) is doubtful about Irish influence on the pronunciation of English on Montserrat. Rickford (1986) in a well-known article postulates that southern Irish input to the Caribbean had an influence on the expression of the habitual aspect in varieties of English there, especially because *do(es)* + *be* is the preferred form of the habitual in the south of Ireland. This matter is actually quite complex, and Rickford's view has been challenged by Montgomery and Kirk (1996).

It should also be stressed that for many phenomena in varieties of Caribbean English, a convergence scenario may be closest to historical reality, difficult as it is to determine just what this was probably like. For instance, the presence of aspectual categories in regional forms of British and Irish English is paralleled by similar categories, albeit with very different exponence, in the West African languages which represented the substrate for slaves in the early anglophone Caribbean and on the mainland of the later United States. Convergence may also have been operative on the phonological level; for example, the occurrence of stops in Caribbean English as equivalents to dental fricatives in standard English (in such words as *thin* and *this*) is paralleled both by stops in Irish English and by the nonexistence of dental fricatives in West African languages.

Recent reorientation has apportioned a much greater role to superstrate models in the early stages of English in the Caribbean and also in the American south (Schneider 1993), an area it is closely associated with. The view of scholars such as Winford (1997–8: 123) is that creolization developed somewhat after the initial settlement of the Caribbean and the American south, and was triggered by the establishment of

a widespread plantation rural economy—something which was not present at the outset in either region. Supportive evidence for this stance is to be found in areas of the Caribbean where plantations were not established, e.g. on the Cayman Islands, which retain distinctive traces of English regional input (Holm 1994: 332). Among the many views in this field are those which claim that the African slaves taken to the Caribbean had already learned a pidgin (Cassidy 1980) or possibly a creole (Hancock 1980) before their transportation. However, if this was true, then it was not so for the period in which the earliest slaves were taken to the Caribbean, i.e. not for the first half of the seventeenth century.

The scenario in which approximation to English regional input precedes possible creolization has wide-ranging implications for the interpretation of key structures in both present-day Caribbean creoles and African American English. It suggests that the first few generations—the founder generations during the formative years—were exposed sufficiently to regional British English input for structural features of the latter to be transferred to incipient varieties of Caribbean English due to an unguided second-language acquisition process among adults. In this respect, the earliest years of English in the Caribbean among African slaves shows distinct parallels with English in Ireland (Hickey 1997) in the early modern period (from the early seventeenth century onwards). In both cases, speakers shifted to English as adults, learning the language in an unguided fashion with obvious imperfect results. Such a scenario is one where both syntactic transfer from the substrate languages, and the adoption of salient grammatical features of the superstrate language are at a premium. In the present context, the concern is with discerning the latter features and considering whether these were adopted into early forms of non-native English in the Caribbean.

23.6.1 The case of Barbados

In the history of anglophone settlement in the Caribbean, the island of Barbados in the south-east (along with St Kitts somewhat to the north) plays a central role. There were various reasons for the exploitation of Barbados by the English. Initially, the island functioned as a bridgehead for the English in the Caribbean which, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, was dominated by the Spanish. It was later to become important with the development of the cane sugar trade (Taylor 2001: 205–17; Dunn 1972), something which also came to be true of Jamaica after it was wrenched from Spanish control in the mid-seventeenth century (Taylor 2001: 217–21; Le Page 1960). Before the large-scale importation of African slaves got under way in the later seventeenth century, the English had a system of indenture whereby settlers from the British Isles went to the Caribbean to work for a period, typically five to eight years, after which they were free to move at will, their circumstances permitting.

The settlement of Barbados is also linked to the deportation of Irish dissidents by Oliver Cromwell, as mentioned above, this element forming a significant proportion of early white settlers from the late 1640s onwards (O'Callaghan 2000: 65–76). These

Table 23.6 Development of English on Barbados

1627–50	Pre-plantation period with predominance of white settler speech
1650–80	Early plantation period with a great increase in African population
1680–1800	Core plantation period
1800–1900	Late and post-plantation period

settlers would have been in contact with African slaves in a work context (Rickford 1986: 251). There was also a later deportation to Jamaica (O'Callaghan 2000: 77–88). The vicissitudes of the Civil War in England (1642–51) were also responsible for the emigration of English.

Given the size of Barbados and the relatively low social position of the Irish in the white community on the island, there would have been fairly intensive contact between Africans and the Irish. P. Campbell (1993: 148) mentions the late 1640s as the beginning of the sugar revolution with the switch from tobacco. This was also the switch from white indentured servants to black slaves (Harlowe 1969 [1926]: 292–330) and the exodus of the former from Barbados. From 1650 to 1680, upwards of 10,000 people left Barbados (a conservative estimate). Settlers from other parts of the Caribbean left for the south-east of the North American mainland, chiefly to South Carolina, a movement which began in 1670 and which was largely completed by 1700 (Holm 1994: 342). It should also be mentioned that, with the later concentration of African slaves on Barbados, settlement patterns arose which were conducive to creolization: Rickford and Handler (1994: 230) point out that 'these slaves lived in compact village settlements located next to the plantation yard' and that 'these are just the kinds of demographic and settlement patterns which would have produced and/or maintained creole-speaking communities'.

23.6.1.1 *Tense and aspect systems*

The area of syntax in Caribbean English, which has received most attention from scholars working in variety studies, is the tense and aspect system. Creoles tend to show formal marking of certain aspectual distinctions, notably the perfective and the habitual. What is noticeable here is that in general creoles are sparing in the explicit expression of grammatical categories, so it is all the more remarkable that they should do so in the area of aspect. Furthermore, the means for marking aspect stem as a rule from superstrate sources, usually with semantic motivation for the choice of markers. An example of this is completive *don* in Caribbean English. It is consistent with the semantics of *do* to use it to express a completed action. Many dialects of English, e.g. virtually all vernacular forms of Irish English, have only one form of *do* in the past, namely *done*, e.g. *He done all the work for her*. The verb *do* was also co-opted to serve as a marker of the habitual, at least in most forms of creole English in the Caribbean, cf. the preverbal *does* of Barbadian speech (Burrowes and Allsopp 1983: 42).

The tense distinctions of creole verbal systems are based on a binary or at most tertiary system: (1) time in focus, (2) time anterior to this, (3) time beyond that in focus, this being a future or conditional. Aspectual distinctions are also either binary or tertiary: (1) an imperfective, non-punctual mode, (2) a perfective, e.g. with completive *done*, (3) an habitual, e.g. with *does/do + be*.

23.6.1.2 *Habitual marking in Caribbean English*

The major study of possible connections between English in Britain and Ireland and in the Caribbean is Rickford (1986). Among other things, Rickford is concerned with the possible diffusion of (*does*) *be* as an aspectual marker from Irish English to African American English in the United States. He devotes a large portion of the article to determining how extensive, and of what nature, the contact between the Irish and African American populations of America was. He begins, however, with the Caribbean (Barbados, Montserrat, and to a lesser extent St Kitts). Rickford also points out that there was considerable contact between Irish indentured servants and African slaves. He looks at periphrastic *do*, a common feature of south-western varieties of English, and suggests that this too could have diffused from the speech of the many immigrants from this part of England into the Caribbean area.

A similar study is Winford (2000), which takes a close look at superstrate antecedents of aspectual marking in Caribbean English, specifically in Barbadian English. Winford (2000: 228–9) initially favours south-western British English as the source of Barbadian *does* for the habitual, *did* for the imperfective, and *done* for the perfective (completive) aspect. However, later in the same article he maintains that the Irish English input was significant on Barbados. The reason for considering the latter is that Barbadian English favours the use of invariant *does*, rather than uninflected *do*, as well as the co-occurrence of *does* with *be*. Neither of these features is characteristic of present-day south-western British English, nor do they seem to have been, at least for the nineteenth century, as attested in the study by Elworthy (1877).

Another author to consider this question is Mufwene. He sees the [dɔz] of Gullah and the [dɔz] of Guyanese Creole as causally linked to immigrants to the Caribbean from Ireland and south-west England, where a *do* habitual would have existed (Mufwene 2001: 31–2). However, his assumption that the habitual *does* was brought directly from south-west England and Ireland is unsubstantiated. The contention (Mufwene 2001: 32) that the habitual was established by 1700 is unproven.

Unfortunately, the picture which emerges from the textual attestation of Irish English is not conclusive. In historical texts, the habitual *do(es) + be* in Irish English does not go back much before the nineteenth century, although there is one text from 1705 with instances of it. For the seventeenth century, when the Irish immigration into the Caribbean was taking place, there are no instances of the habitual in the textual record.

There is no simple answer to the question of possible influence by the Irish on early Caribbean English. It is true that many Irish were deported from Ireland or from England, from where many Irish vagrants were sent to the Caribbean as indentured servants (Beier 1985). It is also possible that refunctionalization of periphrastic *do* by

speakers of Irish and/or non-fluent speakers of Irish English occurred during the contact with English dialect speakers and African slaves in early anglophone Barbados (during the seventeenth century). This view would crucially depend on establishing objectively what percentage of Irish settlers on Barbados were Irish-speaking (Rickford 1986: 253). As the records are not sufficient to allow definite conclusions, one is left with the formal parallels between Irish English and Caribbean English in the expression of the habitual, but without the clinching evidence to prove a historical connection.

23.7 CONCLUSION

Taken as a whole, the influence of Irish English on varieties overseas has been slight, and in no way commensurate with the numbers of Irish who emigrated over the past few centuries. The reasons for this must be sought outside language: wherever Irish people emigrated they found themselves in colonies of Britain in which the Irish were at the lower end of the social scale. In addition, the Irish were confronted with many disadvantages from the beginning, e.g. the fact that they mostly emigrated on their own to New Zealand whereas English people emigrated as couples with children with an inherently higher social status. Yet despite this, there are some features which can be traced to Irish influence. These are either clearly vernacular features, like the pronoun *youse* for the second person plural, or they were not acoustically salient and hence below the level of consciousness for speakers hearing them, e.g. the central vowel in the second syllable of words like *WANTED*. In those scenarios where the Irish were on a more equal footing with other social groups, more clearly defined possible influence can be observed, e.g. habitual marking in Barbadian or *ASK* metathesis among African Americans. Despite the clear parallels with forms of Irish English, such features should be viewed as possible convergent developments, as other varieties could well have functioned as sources. In addition, there is always the possibility of independent developments, and of more general tendencies typical of the contact scenarios in which Irish people found themselves in the overseas locations they emigrated to.

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CHAPTER 24

FROM IRELAND TO NEWFOUNDLAND

SANDRA CLARKE

24.1 INTRODUCTION

NEWFOUNDLAND—THE insular portion of Canada’s tenth province, which joined the Canadian Confederation only in 1949—has been called the most Irish place outside of Ireland. Irish visitors to the south-eastern portion of the island, including its capital, St John’s, have often noted the remarkable similarity of the local accent to the speech of south-eastern Ireland. As Dunphy (2013) puts it, ‘Any visitor to Newfoundland [. . .] will perhaps be most struck by the island’s accent particularly around the south of the island. It bears such an uncanny resemblance to the Waterford/south-east accent you might be forgiven for thinking you were speaking to someone who’d just got off the Passage East to Ballyhack ferry.’¹ Dunphy’s observation is hardly surprising, given the close historical links that exist between Ireland and Newfoundland—links that date back almost four centuries and represent the oldest connections between Ireland and North America. The Irish emigration to Newfoundland was unlike any other: not only was it among the earliest (on a par with Irish in the Caribbean), it was also the most homogenous in terms of documented origins, as well as homogeneity of New World settlement. Moreover, in Newfoundland, transplanted Irish English (IrEng) came into contact with no varieties of English other than southwestern British English (SWBrE)—the English of the West Country—with which it shares many similarities. In short, Newfoundland offers ideal conditions for linguistic preservation.²

¹ Dunphy is referring to a small car ferry across the river Suir, which links the villages of Ballyhack in Wexford and Passage East in Waterford, just 12 km south, south-east of Waterford City.

² Indeed, Newfoundland is one of the few places outside of Europe to have its own Irish name, *Talamh an Éisc*, loosely translated as ‘Land of Fish’ (Hickey 2002a).

Despite considerable research into Newfoundland Irish English (NfldIrE), the IrEng literature has by and large ignored the potential contribution of this variety in reconstituting the features of earlier IrEng, preferring to focus on written documentation, such as emigrant letters (see e.g. McCafferty 2011). While the Newfoundland Irish, many of them illiterate, left little written evidence of their speech, the sound recordings of speakers born in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal this variety to be highly conservative.

This chapter outlines the major phonological and morphosyntactic features of NfldIrE, and indicates many of the areas in which NfldIrE can shed further light on the history of the spoken English of southeastern Ireland (SEIrE). It begins, however, with a brief historical introduction.

24.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

When in 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert took possession of the island of Newfoundland in the name of Queen Elizabeth I of England, the region was already well known in much of western Europe. As early as the sixteenth century, ships from the Basque Country, Portugal, Spain, France, and England regularly plied the North Atlantic in a seasonal spring and summer fishery, returning home in the fall with their loads of dried salted cod as well as cod and whale oil. By 1575, the English had established coastal fishing stations in the south-eastern portion of the island. Though much of the early English presence in Newfoundland was purely seasonal, a small permanent population soon developed. By the time of the first census in 1675, some 1,700 English were overwintering in Newfoundland, clustered along the ‘English Shore’, which stretched along the Atlantic coast from Trepassey in the south to Bonavista in the north (see Map 24.1).

Through the seventeenth century, the Newfoundland fishery out of England was largely carried out by Devon merchant firms, with Bristol merchants also playing a role. Young men who came out for the seasonal fishery were recruited from major ports and their hinterlands. By the eighteenth century, merchants from Dorset had assumed a much larger role, with Poole becoming the centre of this enterprise in the mid-1700s. This resulted in the recruitment of workers from the ‘Wessex’ area of West Country England, specifically, Dorset, south Somerset, and west Hampshire (see Handcock 1989). Wessex migrants came to constitute the predominant settler group on most of the coast of Newfoundland outside the Avalon Peninsula.

Irish involvement in the Newfoundland fishery can be traced to approximately 1670, when merchant vessels out of Devon and Bristol began stopping in at southeastern Irish ports, in particular Waterford and Cork. There they took on provisions of salt and other wares needed for the upcoming season. They also took on Irish ‘youngsters’, young men who were typically indentured for one or two fishing seasons, along with a very small number of indentured women. There are reports as early as the sixteenth century of an occasional Irish ship trading in Newfoundland (e.g. Garcia 2015), along with late



MAP 24.1 Selected Irish Newfoundland communities

seventeenth-century references to Irish settlers on the island (Handcock 1989; Nemec 1991). Yet the first important influx of Irish occurred after 1713, when, via the Treaty of Utrecht, France relinquished its fishing rights in southern Newfoundland. Handcock (1977: 29) cites the words of Commodore Percy in a 1720 report to the Council of Trades and Plantations: 'here are brought over every year by the Bristol, Biddiford and Bastable ships great numbers of Irish Roman Catholics who all settle to the southward in our Plantations.' 'Southward' refers to the Atlantic coastline of the Avalon Peninsula south of St John's, a region today known as the Southern Shore. It also encompasses St Mary's Bay and the east coast of Placentia Bay (see Map 24.1). By 1750 the Irish constituted at least half the population of most settlements in this area (Nemec 1991).

The bulk of Irish immigration, however, was to occur in the first four decades of the nineteenth century. Mannion (2012) documents that more than three-quarters of the recorded passengers who arrived in Newfoundland between 1800 and 1835 were Irish. By 1836, the approximately 38,000 resident Irish constituted about half the island's total

population, and three-quarters of the population of its largest city, St John's (Nemec 1991; Mannion 2012). After c.1850, however, out-migration to Newfoundland from both Ireland and southwest England fell off dramatically.

From its beginnings, the catchment area for the Ireland–Newfoundland migration was highly concentrated. Mannion (2012: 9) observes:

No other province in Canada or state in America drew such an overwhelming proportion of their immigrants from so geographically compact an area in Ireland for so prolonged a period of time. Over 85% of the immigrant Irish in Newfoundland came from four counties in the southeast: Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford and Tipperary. A further 7% came from Cork. Emigrants were further concentrated within each of these counties, specifically in southwest Wexford, south Kilkenny, southeast Tipperary, southeast Cork, and Waterford. The only notable pocket of emigration outside the southeast was around Dingle in distant Kerry.

In Newfoundland, Irish settlement was likewise highly concentrated. By 1850, the Irish had become virtually the sole occupants of the southern Avalon Peninsula, and constituted a very sizeable portion of the population of Conception Bay, including such larger communities as Carbonear and Harbour Grace. They could also be found in a handful of other small 'outports' on the English-settled coastline—among them the almost exclusively Irish hamlet of Tilting in Notre Dame Bay, first settled around 1750, as well as the originally French fishing station of Conche near the northern tip of Newfoundland (see Map 24.1). Today, the Irish constitute c.20% of the province's population, largely concentrated on the southern Avalon Peninsula.

The geographical segregation of Irish and English reinforced Irish identity, which in turn was reinforced by a religious divide: the vast majority of the Irish were Roman Catholic, while the south-west English were largely Protestant. Mannion notes that even in areas of ethnic mixing, the two groups did not readily integrate, nor did they tend to intermarry. He observes (1991: 60): 'Ethnicity and religion were paramount in shaping the cultural character of Newfoundland communities.' As Houston and Smyth (1990: 192–3) put it:

The Newfoundland Irish community matured largely in isolation from the direct influences of other cultures [...] In the harsh and isolated conditions of the settlements, the essence of southeastern Ireland's culture was protected from the challenges of other cultures. The Irish population was small, confined by the narrow source region of its origin and by the bonds of kinship maintained by that origin and the Catholic faith [...] kinship ties were made intense by geographically restricted marriage fields [...] Continuity and stability were guaranteed, and an unusually homogeneous cultural region was created and maintained.

As the following sections show, these conditions were optimal for linguistic preservation.

24.3 DATA SOURCES

While NfldIrE has little in the way of pre-twentieth-century vernacular writing, it is amply represented from the mid-twentieth century on by recorded sound corpora. Many of these recordings—which represent speakers born as early as the 1860s—are stored in Memorial University’s Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA).

The NfldIrE data in this chapter are drawn largely from two sources: DANL, or the online Dialect Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador (Clarke, Hiscock, et al. 2013); and, primarily, VNL, the forthcoming online Voices of Newfoundland and Labrador site (Clarke et al. forthcoming), 18 of whose 62 speakers are of Irish ancestry. Both of these data sets utilize MUNFLA recordings to a fairly large degree. Clarke (2010) represents an additional data source. Table 24.1 contains information on those VNL speakers whose data provide illustrative examples.

The following sections outline the phonetic systems of NfldIrE and their relationship to SEIrE.

Table 24.1 Irish-origin speakers cited from the Voices of Newfoundland and Labrador (VNL) database				
Community	Initials	Gender	Year of birth	Year interviewed
Conche	JED	M	1900	1977
Tilting	MB	F	1945	2004
Bay de Verde	TD	M	1958	2003
Torbay	JW	M	c.1952	1962
St John’s	CF	M	1914	1980
Tors Cove	AO	M	1916	1984
Cape Broyle	RD	M	1891	1968
Ferryland	MS	F	1912	1968
St Shott’s	RM	F	1904	1981
St Stephen’s	JF	M	c.1927	1982
Branch	AP	M	1904	1979
Patrick’s Cove	PJ	M	1912	1981
Fox Cove/ Mortier	JP	M	1960	1993

24.4 THE VOWELS OF NEWFOUNDLAND IRISH ENGLISH

This section treats, in succession, short vowels, long vowels, vowels before /r/, and diphthongs.

24.4.1 Newfoundland Irish English short vowels

The short-vowel system of NfldIrE has many similarities to that of IrEng. Both varieties display highly salient rounding of the STRUT vowel, so that words like *summer* and *snuff* are pronounced with [ʊ] rather than standard [ʌ]. Conservative speakers of NfldIrE also share with IrEng the use of [æ] rather than [ɛ] in *any/many* words (thus *any* sounds like ‘Annie’). In addition, relative to most other varieties of standard English (StE), IrEng uses a fronted and unrounded [a]-like pronunciation in LOT words (e.g. *stop* pronounced [stap]; see Hickey 2002b: 107–8). The same vowel typically occurs in NfldIrE—as in Newfoundland South-West British English (NfldSWBrE), descended from West Country English (cf. Wells 1982: 34)—in the THOUGHT/CLOTH sets, with which LOT has undergone merger.

The following subsections outline short-vowel pronunciations which tend to retain more conservative values than usually found in contemporary IrEng.

24.4.1.1 DRESS raising

In present-day IrEng of the west and south-west, the DRESS vowel [ɛ] is raised to [ɪ], the KIT vowel, but only before nasal consonants. As Hickey (2002b: 115–16; cf. Henry 1958: 111) points out, however, in earlier IrEng, DRESS raising was an unconditioned change affecting all environments. In NfldIrE, it retains this wider set of historical environments: while most common before nasals (as in *tenth*, *then*), it also occurs before oral stops (e.g. *get*, *dead*, *confectionery*), fricatives (*west*), and even liquids (*well*). The NfldIrE situation, then, still reflects the generalized raising of /ɛ/ to [ɪ] that characterized eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century dialects spoken in the south-east of Ireland, indeed in the south of Ireland more generally.

24.4.1.2 KIT and FOOT tensing/diphthongization

By comparison to StE, the KIT and FOOT vowels in conservative NfldIrE are decidedly more peripheral and tense: *six* may sound to non-local speakers much like *seeks*, and *foot* approaches the vowel of StE *food*. For KIT words at least, this tendency appears to be general rather than context-dependent, as it is attested before oral and nasal stops (examples collected include *bit*, *picket*, *didn’t*, *big*, *simple*, *finish*, *thing*), as well as fricatives (e.g. *fifteen*, *fish*, *finish*). FOOT tensing/lengthening appears more restricted; it has been observed in *book*, *good*, *woods* (cf. Wells 1982: 423).

More rarely in NfldIrE, the KIT and FOOT vowels are not simply lengthened, but also diphthongized. This is particularly true when the syllable in question is stressed. In the VNL data, examples include *fish* [fi:i] from an older male resident of Branch, plus *spring* [sprɪ:iɪn] from an older female from Tilting. These NfldIrE pronunciations are inherited: they reflect a recessive IrEng feature noted by Henry (1958: 120) for parts of Co. Tipperary, where lengthening and disyllabification of the KIT and FOOT vowels occur in such words as *fist*, *bib*, *pigs*, *did*, *chin*, and *good*. For a few conservative NfldIrE speakers, however, diphthongization is not restricted to the KIT and FOOT sets: it can occur in the case of all short vowels. This is illustrated in particular by an older female from the isolated Irish-settled community of Tilting on Newfoundland’s north-east coast, whose

diphthongized realizations include the DRESS (e.g. *men* [mi:ɪn]), TRAP (*Dad* [deɪd]), and STRUT sets (*one* [woʷʊn]). These examples indicate that short-vowel diphthongization may have been more extensive in earlier SEIrE than the literature suggests.

24.4.1.3 RAP/BATH fronting/raising

In late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century IrEng, the TRAP vowel had an [æ] or even [ɛ]-like pronunciation, which became lowered and somewhat retracted to [a] by the twentieth century (see Hickey 2002b: 116, who notes eighteenth-century renderings like ‘gether’ for *gather* and ‘etch’ for *catch*). NfldIrE—like NfldSWBrE—retains the earlier raised/fronted pronunciation: in the VNL data, a raised [æ] or lowered [ɛ] frequently occurs before stops, as in *traps*, *that*, *packed*, *abscess*, *family*, and *had*.

24.4.2 Newfoundland Irish English long vowels

The long-vowel system of NfldIrE exhibits many of the conservative features that characterize SEIrE. These include: (i) retention of the FACE vowel in certain FLEECE words (section 22.4.2.1); (ii) monophthongal pronunciations of the FACE and GOAT vowels (22.4.2.2); and (iii) for certain speakers, non-upglided disyllabification (‘breaking’) of long vowels (24.4.2.2–24.4.2.4).

24.4.2.1 Non-raising of the FLEECE vowel

IrEng is well-known for retention of the mid vowel /e:/, rather than its merger with the FLEECE set, as occurred in eighteenth-century StE. This mid pronunciation persists in vernacular speech, albeit recessively or for pragmatic effect, for certain items in the FLEECE/BEAT set (e.g. Wells 1982: 425; Hickey 2007: 307). In NfldIrE, likewise, non-raising in BEAT words continues as a recessive feature. Examples in (1) below (words containing an *-ea-* sequence) are taken from the VNL database (see Table 24.1 for speaker information).

- (1) a. *eat* (pronounced ‘ate’) *a cake* (RD, Cape Broyle)
- b. *and the seas*; *she really broke down* (both from JED, Conche)
- c. *an awful beating* (CF, St John’s)

This database also contains numerous examples of BEAT non-raising from highly conservative speakers of NfldSWBrE, among them *heaving*, *reach*, *sea*, and *mean*.

Much more rarely in IrEng, the FACE vowel may be preserved in certain words spelled with *-ee-*, as in *sleepy* (Henry 1958: 110–11) and *peek*, *tree* (Wells 1982: 425). Wells attributes this to confusion, or hypercorrection, or possibly ‘archaisms surviving from the medieval Hiberno-English of Fingal, Forth and Bargo’. That this is an archaic pronunciation (see Hickey 2007: 70–6) is suggested by similar examples with *-ee-* spellings drawn from VNL data, not only in NfldIrE, (2) below, but also NfldSWBrE, as in (3):

- (2) a. *a creepy* (pronounced ‘crape-y’) *one* (AP, Branch)
- b. *sight-seeing; dozy and sleepy* (MS, Ferryland)
- c. *kneel down* (RM, St Shott’s)
- d. *couldn’t do it, see* (JED, Conche)
- (3) a. *nobody else to be seen* (sounds like ‘sane’; AP, northeast coast)
- b. *haul on your creepers; middle of the week* (MM, south coast)

24.4.2.2 Long-vowel monophthongization vs breaking

In StE, the FACE and GOAT vowels retained a monophthongal pronunciation until the beginning of the nineteenth century (Wells 1982: 210). IrEng, however, represents one of the varieties in which monophthongs (as opposed to the upglided diphthongs of StE) have been retained to the present day (e.g. Henry 1958: 111; Wells 1982: 424–5). Monophthongal pronunciations also characterize conservative speakers of both NfldIrE and NfldSWBrE.

In both Newfoundland dialect types, however, a competing pronunciation exists, inherited in each case from its source variety. Henry (1958: 119–21) notes disyllabification and ‘overlengthening’ of the mid to high long vowels (the FLEECE, FACE, GOOSE, and GOAT sets) in Connacht, Leinster, and particularly Munster. For Kilkenny, Moylan (1996: 293–4) records occasional offgliding in the FLEECE and FACE sets, especially in slow speech. Hickey (2007: 166) points out that one striking characteristic of conservative rural County Waterford is long-vowel diphthongization and breaking. Indeed, Henry (1958: 109–10) observes that ‘gliding, sometimes leading to diphthongization, is undoubtedly a general feature of [Irish English].’

As NfldIrE is a conservative variety with primary roots within a 30-mile radius of Waterford City, long-vowel breaking is readily apparent in the VNL data. Breaking is most associated with closed stressed syllables and slow tempo. (4) below contains NfldIrE examples of the FLEECE vowel, (5), of the FACE vowel, and (6) of the GOAT vowel:

- (4) a. *He went to the priest.* ([pri:ɪs]; AP, Branch)
- b. *He’d look at your teeth.* (RD, Cape Broyle)
- c. *meal for the plant* (JF, St Stephen’s)
- d. *never seemed to heal* (RM, St Shott’s)
- e. *for horses and sheep* (MB, Tilting)
- (5) a. *a cake of bread to eat* ([e:jɪt]; (RD, Cape Broyle)
- b. *our main plant; with our sales* (both from JF, St Stephen’s)
- c. *stayed there night and day* (MS, Ferryland)
- d. *thirteen years of age* (RM, St Shott’s)
- e. *when he came to his doorstep* (AP, Branch)
- f. *they’re building stages* (MB, Tilting)
- (6) a. *kind of dozed* [dɔ^wəzd]; *woman got old* (both from MS, Ferryland)
- b. *it ... broke; he was real old* (both from RM, St Shott’s)
- c. *the whole day* (JED, Conche)
- d. *they got stoves ordered* (MB, Tilting)

Hickey (2007: 166) notes that long-vowel breaking in SEIrE is reminiscent of the Forth and Bargy dialect, a medieval variety of English carried to south-east Ireland in the

pre-Elizabethan period. This closed-syllable ingliding diphthong, however, continued to characterize conservative SWBrE; from there, it was imported to Newfoundland by early settlers from south-west England. In our VNL data, it is also attested among a number of conservative NfldSWBrE speakers, in both the FACE (e.g. *straight* [strejt], *sails*, *same*, *place*) and GOAT sets (e.g. *boat* [bo^wət], *goats*, *telephone*). However, it does not appear to be as extensive as in NfldIrE.

24.4.2.3 *The ‘auld’ vowel*

As Hickey (2007: 304) points out, historically in IrEng the /o:/ vowel was diphthongized to an [aʊ]-like realization before /l/, as in *cold* and *hold*. Moylan (1996: 296) notes this pronunciation as [əʊ] or [ɛʊ] for Kilkenny. Today, however, this diphthongization is retained generally in IrEng only in the words *old* and *bold*, where it has taken on a separate, affective meaning (Hickey 2007: 306).

Though rare in the VNL data, similar pronunciations of /o:/ can be found. They are most prevalent in the speech of MB from the isolated Irish enclave of Tilting on Newfoundland’s north-east coast. For MB, however, this pronunciation is not limited to the pre-/l/ environment, but occurs in a range of contexts, including the words *alone*, *over*, *most*, and *go*. Some of her articulations are disyllabic. Her pronunciations lead to the speculation that the diphthongization of long /o:/ may have been more widespread than before a following /l/ in earlier SEIrE.

24.4.2.4 *The GOOSE vowel*

In present-day IrEng, long /u:/ is typically a high back rounded vowel (Kallen 2013: 59). The exception would appear to be Dublin English, where /u:/ can be overlengthened and diphthongized to [u:ə] or [u:^wə] (Hickey 2007: 352). Rural south-eastern varieties, however, have been noted as having fronted and onglided pronunciations: thus for Kilkenny, Moylan (1996: 297) transcribes *blue* as [bl^lü].

In NirE /u:/ is also frequently realized as a centralized [ü]-like vowel. Before /l/, it is noticeably diphthongized by some speakers, so that a word like *school* is pronounced disyllabically, much like [skü^wəl] or [skə^wəl]; this pronunciation is not found in NSWBrE. Once again, the most conservative speaker in the VNL sample is an older female from the enclave of Tilting, who regularly diphthongizes the vowel in all environments, not simply before /l/. Among the NfldIrE examples in the VNL data, in addition to *school*, are *June*, *screws*, *soup*, *tools*, and *used*.

The NfldIrE evidence once again suggests that GOOSE diphthongization may have been more widespread in south-east Ireland, prior to the mid-nineteenth century, than the literature suggests.

24.4.3 Vowels before /r/ in Newfoundland Irish English

Vernacular NfldIrE has a smaller set of vocalic oppositions in the pre-/r/ environment than does standard IrEng. For the latter, Wells (1982: 419) notes a phonemic distinction

between the NEAR and SQUARE sets, as well as between NORTH and FORCE. However, in both NfldIrE and NfldSWBrE, NEAR and SQUARE tend to overlap, as do NORTH and FORCE. Likewise, NfldIrE does not maintain the vernacular IrEng distinction between /er/ and /ʌr, ʊr/,³ as in *earn* vs *urn*; both are realized phonetically as [ə-] (cf. Wells 1982: 421).

Vernacular NfldIrE (like NfldSWBrE) does resemble IrEng, however, in its tendency to use the START vowel for pre-consonantal NORTH words, as in *port* pronounced ‘part’ (cf. Hickey 1986 for parts of southern Ireland). Among the NfldIrE VNL data displaying this feature are the words *horse*, *forward*, *born*, *fortune*, *ordered*, *short*, and *quarter*.

24.4.4 Diphthongs in Newfoundland Irish English

One of the stereotypic traits of IrEng is the unrounding of the nucleus of the CHOICE diphthong, to sound like the first element of standard English PRICE (e.g. *boy* sounds like b’y [bar]). Yet according to Hickey (2001: 18), the two diphthongs have not merged in Waterford English, since words in the PRICE lexical set are pronounced with [əɪ], and CHOICE words, with a lower retracted [ɑɪ]. For Kilkenny, Moylan (1996: 299) represents the distinction as [öɪ]/[ɔɪ] and [aːɪ], respectively.

CHOICE unrounding is likewise a stereotypic feature of both vernacular NfldIrE and NfldSWBrE (cf. Wakelin 1986: 28 for West Country English). And as in IrEng, in both Newfoundland varieties the nucleus of PRICE may be retracted and variably rounded (cf. the IrEng stereotype represented in ‘a noice toime’, though this may indicate a centralized onset which cannot be represented unambiguously in English orthography). The VNL data in fact show the occurrence of both unrounded and rounded onsets, for both CHOICE and PRICE words, in conservative NfldIrE and NfldSWBrE. In addition, nuclei tend to be mid rather than fully lowered. (Examples of NfldIrE CHOICE unrounding from VNL include *enjoyed*, *voice*, *oil*, *point*, *voyage*, and *Roy*; PRICE rounding is apparent in *buying*, *price*, *Michael’s*, *wife*, *high*, *icing*, and *slide*.)

Another striking feature of NfldIrE relates to the MOUTH diphthong. In SEIrE, the nucleus of /aʊ/ is typically fronted: Hickey (2001: 18) notes the usual Waterford City realization as [æʊ], while Henry (1958: 70) uses [ɛʊ] or disyllabic [ɛwə] for Dublin English, as well as for the archaic dialect of Forth and Bargo. In southwest England, likewise (e.g. Wakelin 1986: 28), the nucleus of this diphthong is generally fronted to [ɛ], along with a fronted rounded upglide.

It is not surprising, then, that both NfldIrE and NfldSWBrE typically display a fronted nucleus for /aʊ/. However, unlike NfldSWBrE, NIrE is distinct in that the upglide may also be fronted (and variably rounded). VNL data yield NfldIrE examples in which /aʊ/ sounds much like [æɪ], among them *house* (pronounced ‘hice’), *out* (‘ite’), *pounds* (‘pines’), and *down* (‘dine’). While presumably inherited from SEIrE, these pronunciations are not typically noted in the IrE literature.

³ The high back rounded vowel is typical of local Dublin English (Hickey 2005: 34–7).

24.5 CONSONANTS IN NEWFOUNDLAND IRISH ENGLISH

Despite its highly conservative nature, NfldIrE has not retained two marked Irish consonantal features. The sequence *wh-* in NfldIrE is regularly pronounced [w] rather than the voiceless [ɱ] of traditional IrEng; in the VNL data, [ɱ] is used in the words *what* and *when* by only one speaker, a male born in 1904:

- (7) *I'm going to see what's going on; when the skipper went down;
when he came on deck* (AP, Branch)

And while the labiodental fricatives /f/ and /v/ were found as bilabial fricatives with some highly conservative speakers of IrEng (e.g. Moylan 1996: 300), bilabial pronunciations are rare in the VNL data (though occasionally found in conservative NfldSWBrE). Other IrEng consonantal features, however, are clearly in evidence.

24.5.1 Stereotypic Irish English features: *th*, *t*, *l*, and *h*

Among the most remarked-on features of contemporary IrEng is a dental stop articulation of the interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, as well as lenited (i.e. fricated) pronunciations of postvocalic /t/. While perhaps less salient, no less differentiating is the alveolar ('clear' or 'light') articulation of postvocalic /l/, which up to some decades ago was typical of nearly all forms of southern Irish English.

As the online DANL data show, all three of these features are also highly apparent in NfldIrE. The first of these, however, presents a more complex picture. As DANL illustrates, in NfldIrE—just as in NfldSWBrE—the usual reflexes of interdental fricatives are alveolar rather than dental stops; dental articulations are much less frequent, though they tend to be concentrated in areas settled by the Irish, notably the south-eastern part of the island. Clear postvocalic /l/, likewise, is linked primarily to Irish-settled communities. As to lenited /t/, DANL does not document realization of postvocalic /t/, but does show that when /θ/ is realized as an alveolar stop [t], this [t] may assume a lenited articulation in Irish communities (generally, the slit fricative [t̪], but occasionally [h], as in *Saturday*).⁴ The VNL data provide considerably more information on this feature, in that fricated /t/—and, to a much lesser degree, /d/, /k/, and /g/, as in *salad*, *fork*, *bigger*, and *August*—is linked exclusively to Irish-settled areas.

While not a stereotypic feature of IrEng, its preservation of word- or syllable-initial /h/ stands in marked contrast to the variable deletion of /h/ in much of regional England. This

⁴ The pronunciation of *Saturday* with intervocalic /-h-/ is lexicalized in all forms of Irish English (Hickey 2007: 323)—something which may be related to the pronunciation of Irish *Sathairn* 'Saturday' with internal /-h-/. Lenition/loss of intervocalic /ð/ also occurs, as in *She was like any mother* [mo^wə] (RM, St Shott's).

feature also remains highly distinctive in Newfoundland: NfldIrE retains standard /h/, as opposed to its phonetically conditioned deletion, retention, and non-etymological insertion in NfldSWBrE (see Clarke 2010: 47–8). The only exception in NfldIrE, just as in IrEng, is the insertion of [h] in the pronunciation of the letter *h*, as ‘haitch’.

24.5.2 Postvocalic /r/

Though IrEng is well-known for its maintenance of rhoticity, the SEIrE literature mentions two fairly rare variants: uvular [ʁ] and /r/ deletion. The former is said to occur highly recessively in west Waterford and southern Tipperary (Hickey 2001: 7), and appears in the *Linguistic Survey of Ireland* materials in Wexford, Kilkenny, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, and Kerry (Hickey 2007: 321). Moylan (1996: 301) confirms its presence in elderly Kilkenny speakers. As to postvocalic /r/ deletion, Moylan (1996: 303) observes that ‘Some r-dropping is typical of the oldest and best [Kilkenny] informants’; Hickey (2002a: 296) notes /r/ deletion to be a feature of older popular Dublin English, which may have been more widespread in the past in eastern IrEng.

Uvular /r/ has been reported for NfldIrE (see Clarke 2010: 51); however, no recordings of this pronunciation appear to exist. The situation is quite different for postvocalic /r/ deletion, since it occurs variably in unstressed syllables throughout the island, in both NfldIrE and NfldSWBrE. In stressed syllables, it is most associated with a regional pocket of West Country English settlement. However, it is also found in some conservative speakers of Irish descent, notably in the communities of Branch on the southern Avalon Peninsula, and the enclave of Tilting on the island’s northeast coast.⁵

24.5.3 Processes affecting consonants

Conservative rural IrEng is well known for its palatalization of /s/ before stops. This feature is not readily apparent in NfldIrE, though the VNL data do contain occasional instances of the palatalization of syllable-initial or syllable-final /s/ to [ʃ] (e.g. *see, sixty, so, Sunday, says, this, house*). As Hickey (2007: 304, 313) points out, however, in earlier IrEng /s/ palatalization occurred widely, and not simply as the first element of a syllable-final consonant cluster, as it does recessively in western Ireland today (e.g. *best, past*). Here, then, NfldIrE proves to be more conservative than contemporary IrEng.

A feature inherited from IrEng, and confined almost exclusively to speakers of Irish ancestry, is the devoicing of word-final stops following the sonorants *l* and *n*—and

⁵ A 1989 recording of Dan Greene from Tilting provides an example of *r*-deletion in the word *forks* (*throw it up on the stage head with fish forks*); this is available at c.1:04 in https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/ich_cn/id/986

occasionally, *r*—as in *told* ('tolt'), *ordered*, *husband*, *ground*, *around* (plus the lexicalized 'olt' in the phrase *get hold to*, found throughout the province). Though not frequently mentioned in the literature (yet see Hickey 2007: 170), IrEng also displays a tendency to devoice word-final fricatives, such that *z* and *v* are pronounced *s* and *f*, respectively. NfldIrE examples include *bees* (pronounced 'beece'), *says* (JW, Torbay); *premises*, *stores*, *cause* (MB, Tilting); *cove*, *have* (AO, Tors Cove); *cures*, *he was* (RM, St Shott's); *always* (JF, St Stephen's).

Like all vernacular dialects, NfldIrE displays extensive deletion of postconsonantal word- or syllable-final /t/ and /d/ (as in *priest*, *strict*, *around*, *old*). Yet the opposite tendency also occurs occasionally, in the form of insertion of non-historical final *t* or *d* (cf. Hickey 2007: 116, 308). Although also found in conservative NfldSWBrE (as in *clift* ('cliff'), *bilt* ('bill')), it is most frequent in NfldIrE, as exemplified by the following VNL examples: *down* (pronounced 'downd'), *iron* ('irond') and *lep* ('lept') *in*!⁶

Wells (1982: 435) notes that a similar tendency, which he terms 'D Epenthesis', may occur in IrEng between /r/ and a following [n] or [l], for example *aren't* pronounced 'ar-dent'. In NfldIrE, D Epenthesis is found in the pronunciation of *weren't* as 'weredn't', as in:

- (8) a. they weren't interested (JF, St Stephen's)
b. eggs weren't allowed (PJ, Patrick's Cove)

Hickey (2007: 307) claims that the above feature (which he terms 'sibilant fortition') was imported into IrEng from southwest England. However, D Epenthesis does not occur for items like *weredn't* in NfldSWBrE. What is found, rather, is sibilant assimilation (termed by Hickey (2007: 170) 'pre-nasal sibilant fortition') which in Newfoundland affects only forms of the verb *be*, so that the [z] of *isn't* and *wasn't* is partially assimilated to the following nasal stop, yielding pronunciations like [ɪdn] and [wɔdn] ('iddn' and 'wuddn'; see Clarke 2010: 58). While such forms also occur in southeast Ireland (Hickey 2007: 170), they are found in the VNL data only for NfldSWBrE, not NfldIrE.

In addition to D Epenthesis, a sequence of sonorant + stop (or the reverse) may undergo schwa epenthesis in IrEng. This is also the case in NfldIrE. The VNL project includes such examples as *Dwyer* pronounced [dəwa'r] (MB, Tilting) and *Englee* as [ɛŋəli] (JED, Conche). Schwa-insertion may also occur in NfldIrE between /r/ and /m/, as in *worm* and *barm* (Clarke 2010: 64)

The final consonantal feature to be dealt with is yod. As Hickey (2007: 361) points out, in stressed syllables both Yod Coalescence (the pronunciation of stop + yod as an affricate, as in *tune* pronounced [tʃun]; see also Wells 1982: 435) and Yod Deletion (particularly after *n*) are typical of IrEng. Both phenomena also characterize NfldIrE, along with NfldSWBrE. Yod Coalescence in stressed syllables is otherwise rare in North America, where deletion is the norm.

⁶ *Lep* is the IrEng vernacular form of the verb *leap*; see Hickey (2007: 173).

24.6 RECENT SOUND CHANGE

In the past half-century or more, considerable phonetic change has occurred in Newfoundland; many of the features documented above are declining among younger generations. By way of example, Clarke (2017) traces the sociolinguistic profiles in the capital, St John's, of palatal postvocalic /l/ and slit fricative /t/, two notable features of NfldIrE that no longer constitute the community norm.

24.7 MORPHOSYNTAX OF NEWFOUNDLAND IRISH ENGLISH

NfldIrE shares many morphological and syntactic features with IrEng. These are frequently also shared with NfldSWBrE, since they represent features of an earlier historical period that were maintained in conservative regional varieties, including SWBrE (see e.g. Wakelin 1986). A small sampling is given in Table 24.2 of these, only the first four are unique to NfldIrE.

Table 24.2 Morphosyntactic features of Newfoundland Irish English

- (a) Second person plural *ye*, possessives *yeer*, *yeers* (Clarke 2010: 89; cf. Hickey 2007: 237–8)
- (b) Existential *they* ('there'), as in *they were an old woman* (Clarke 2010: 74; cf. Moylan 1996: 367–8)
- (c) Progressive in negative imperatives, as in *Don't be talkin'!* (Clarke 2010: 77; cf. Hickey 2007: 222) *
- (d) 'Subordinating' *and*, as in *the seas, my son, the great big lops, and they rolling right down on us* (Clarke 2010: 101; cf. Filppula 1999: sect. 8.3)
- (e) Non-standard past forms of strong verbs, as in *it riz* ('rose') *and broke*, RM, St Shott's; cf. Hickey (2007: 173), Clarke (2010: 70–2)
- (f) Inversion in embedded questions, as in *I phoned Leonard's wife ... to see did Leonard hear anything* (Clarke 2010: 99; cf. Filppula (1999: sect. 7.3)
- (g) Retention of the definite article with general reference, as in *clean as the whistle* (Clarke 2010: 91; cf. Hickey 2007: 251)
- (h) Complementizer *for to*, as in *He asked me for to use it* (Clarke 2010: 100; cf. Hickey 2007: 186–9)

* The presence of this construction in NfldIrE confirms its use in IrEng by the late 18th century, as suggested by Hickey (2007: 223) on the basis of literary texts. While not a feature of traditional NfldSWBrE, it now occurs throughout the province.

The following sections focus on several well-known verbal features of IrEng that were transported to Newfoundland, with a view to determining what the Newfoundland data can contribute to the documentation of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century

south-eastern IrEng. Further information on all these features may be found in Clarke (2010: 67–101).

24.7.1 Verbal -s: the Northern Subject Rule

Much recent research has concluded that non-standard present-tense lexical verb concord in southern IrEng obeys the Northern Subject Rule (NSR) (e.g. Filppula 1999; McCafferty 2004; Bonness, Chapter 26 this volume). According to this rule, the verbal inflection -s occurs variably with all subject types except an adjacent non-third-singular personal pronoun;⁷ this explains the non-acceptability of (9a) below, and the acceptability of (9b).

- (9) a. **I/we/you/they goes.*
b. *The people goes.*

However, the above conclusion is not supported by the IrEng dialect literature, which documents the use of verbal -s on lexical verbs with adjacent personal pronoun subjects in the first and second persons, plus the third plural: see Henry (1958: 143) for the west and south of Ireland, and Hickey (2001: 18) for east Waterford and adjacent counties. Moylan (1996: 311) reports levelling of all present-tense forms under -s in Kilkenny.

The NfldIrE situation provides evidence in support of the IrEng dialect literature, and against the ubiquity of the NSR. Verbal -s is commonplace with lexical verbs in NfldIrE across all subject types: in the VNL data, for example, over 60% of speakers of Irish extraction display variable verbal -s with adjacent personal pronoun subjects outside the third singular, as in:⁸

- (10) a. *Supposing I meets the devil now; when you goes down* (AP, Branch)
b. *We sits them on a rock; they breaks out* (JW, Torbay)

Along with Pietsch (2005), Clarke (2015) provides reasons for such incompatible findings from the literature. Among these is the issue of what should be counted as a legitimate token. As Pietsch points out, the verb *be* (which constitutes a sizeable portion of the data in many studies) has exceptional status with respect to the NSR; its inclusion is therefore questionable. (The same might possibly be said of the verbs *do* and *have*; see the following section.) In fact, as Clarke (2015) suggests, the presence of verbal -s can often be attributed to factors such as processing constraints and vernacular universals, rather than a historically inherited NSR pattern. In any case, the NfldIrE data

⁷ It is doubtful whether the Northern Subject Rule (from the north of England and Scotland) ever applied in this form in Irish English; in (south-east) Irish English verbal -s signals a punctual habitual and *do be* + V a durative habitual (see Hickey, Chapter 6 this volume; Hickey 2007: 213–22).—RH

⁸ A similar pattern also occurs in SWBrE and Anglo-Caribbean English; see Clarke (2015: 78–9) for references.

confirm that the NSR was by no means the only pattern to be found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century SEIrE.

24.7.2 Verbal *-s*: *do* and *have*

In both colloquial NfldIrE and NfldSWBrE, the presence of verbal *-s* on the verbs *do* and *have* is subject to a ‘function constraint’: the present-tense lexical verb function requires the use of an *-s* suffix with all subjects (as in (11) below, where (11a) represents NfldIrE and (11b), NfldSWBrE), whereas auxiliary function is marked by a zero suffix with all subjects ((12) below):

- (11) a. ... *which haves a formula* (TD, Bay de Verde)
 b. *He often haves a drink.* (DANL, South coast)
- (12) a. *(a) man that have never split it* (DANL, Witless Bay)
 b. *He haven’t got no fire.* (BS, South coast)

Exactly the same pattern is found in SWBrE (for references, see Clarke 2015: 90, n. 2). A similar though not identical pattern has been documented for SEIrE. There, not only are zero-suffix *do* and *have* found throughout the auxiliary paradigm, but a zero form may also occur with third-person singular lexical function, as in:

- (13) a. *Her mother have a car.* (Hickey 2007: 17))⁹
 b. *There’s a woman have ...* (‘who has’; Moylan 1996: 312)

Though very rare, zero making on third-singular lexical *do* and *have* has also been attested in NfldIrE, as in:

- (14) *There’s hardly a day but he have a different complaint.* (Dillon 1968: 140)

The virtual absence of zero-suffix lexical verb third-person singulars in NfldIrE might possibly reflect their general lack of frequency in SEIrE; no attestation as to frequency could be found in the literature.

24.7.3 Habitual *be*

Researchers suggest that for the verb *be*, the habitual/durative was traditionally expressed by *do(es) be* in the south of Ireland, and by *be(e)s* in the north (cf. Hickey

⁹ No examples of unambiguous third-singular indicative lexical *do* could be found in these sources. As various authors have noted, the lack of *-s* suffix also occurs for other lexical verbs in IrEng (as in *she want, he hate*; Moylan 1996: 311). The same phenomenon is occasionally found in conservative SWBrE (Wakelin 1986: 36). However, there appears to be no parallel in either NfldIrE or NfldSWBrE.

2007: 224–32). As Hickey points out, however, habitual *bees* is found not only in the north of Ireland: it also occurs, along with *do be*, in the southeast (e.g. Co. Wexford, along with Kilkenny and Waterford).

The evidence from Newfoundland supports the likelihood that *bees/do be* was transported across the Atlantic by the eighteenth century not only from south-east Ireland but also from south-west England. Both *bees* and *do be* occur in the DANL and VNL materials. In the former, habitual *bees* is restricted to areas settled from south-west England, though VNL reveals its use by a single speaker of Irish descent, when describing children's games played in his community:

- (15) *And then they bees in; one bees in the middle* (JW, Torbay)

Affirmative *do* [də] *be* does not appear in either data set, though it has been occasionally attested in conservative NfldIrE, as in:

- (16) a. *I do be so hungry I don't know what I'm at.* (Dillon 1968: 131)
 b. *I do be up there every day; she do be talking all day*
 (collected by present author from C. Byrne, Tilting, 1984)

The DANL materials contain one instance of *do* [du] *be*, from a community of mixed Irish/English origin:

- (17) *It do* [du] *be because* ... (Bell Island)

Habitual/durative *don't be*, however, is readily attested by DANL in Irish-settled areas (18a/b below) and, to a lesser extent, in English-settled ones (18c):

- (18) a. *People don't be afraid anymore.* (Calvert)
 b. *They don't be cured.* (Mount Carmel)
 c. *I don't be at it.* (northern Newfoundland)

On the basis of written texts, Hickey (2007: 224) dates the emergence of habitual *do(es) be* in IrEng to the early to mid-nineteenth century; the mid-nineteenth century is also assumed to be when habitual *bees* emerged in northern IrEng (Montgomery and Kirk 1996). Using their CORIECOR corpus, McCafferty and Amador-Moreno (2012: 281) likewise date the emergence of *do(es) be* and *be(es)* in IrEng to around 1840. This dating would seriously challenge the hypothesis of Rickford (1986) that *bees* was introduced to the Caribbean from Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Newfoundland evidence, however, supports Rickford's earlier dating. Since emigration to Newfoundland from south-east Ireland and south-west England was largely

complete by 1840, the Newfoundland data strongly suggest that both *do(es) be* and *bees* were transported to the New World well prior to 1800.

24.7.4 The perfect in Newfoundland Irish English

IrEng is well known for its various equivalents to the standard English *have* perfect. These are illustrated below with examples from NfldIrE. In addition to the simple past, these are the *after*-perfect (19a); the medial object or resultative perfect (MOP) (19b); the (present) continuative/‘extended now’ perfect (19c); and the *be*-perfect (19d).

- (19) a. *I’m after making three or four.* (Clarke 2010: 79)
- b. *I have muscles pulled in my back.* (Email to author, 30/7/2020)
- c. *I’m looking* (‘I’ve been looking’) *for a man the whole spring.* (VNL data; AP, Branch)
- d. *But his helmet was fell* (‘had fallen’) *off.* (Clarke 2010: 80)

Harris (1984) is among those who attribute the origin of examples like (19b–d) above to earlier English rather than to an Irish substrate. However, this ‘retentionist’ position has been challenged by, among others, Filppula (1999) and Pietsch (2009). Other studies, such as Hickey (2007), favour a convergence account involving both transfer from Irish and early dialect input from English.

As a region early settled by both the south-east Irish and the south-west English, Newfoundland offers an ideal perspective from which to examine these opposing claims. All of the above perfects are found in both conservative NfldIrE and NfldSWBrE, with two exceptions: (i) evidence clearly suggests that the *after*-perfect was imported into NfldIrE and was transferred to NfldSWBrE only in the twentieth century (Clarke 2012: 114); and (ii) though shared by both, the continuative form is twice as frequent among conservative speakers of Irish origin (Clarke 2012: 118–19). Regarding the latter, the Newfoundland findings challenge the findings of the CORIECOR corpus (McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012: 277), which suggests that the extended *now* perfect came into frequent use in IrEng only since 1840.

Given the very similar semantics and constraints on usage for the MOP and the *be*-perfect in both dialect types (see Clarke 2012 for considerably more detail), the Newfoundland evidence strongly suggests that these ‘Irish’ perfects originate in English rather than Irish models. In addition, Clarke (2012) concludes that the *after*-perfect was brought to Newfoundland with a full range of perfect meanings, not just that of ‘immediate past,’ as is often suggested (cf. McCafferty 2011: 20). This points to a similar broad semantic range for the IrEng *after*-perfect in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (despite the very rare appearance of this form in nineteenth-century letter data; McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012: 281).

24.8 OTHER VERBAL FEATURES

24.8.1 Third-singular *were*

Hickey (2007: 186) points out that in SEIrE, third-singular *there are/were* can occur in echo forms and negative tags, though Moylan (1996: 312) suggests a more generalized use of *there are/were* for *there is/was* in Kilkenny English. Newfoundland findings support the latter. Though third singular *were* is fairly rare, found almost exclusively with *there*, and not restricted to Irish-settled areas, it is much more common among Newfoundlanders of Irish descent. The following examples are drawn from NfldIrE communities represented in either DANL or VNL:

- (20) a. *they* ('there') *were* a sheet of tin (AP, Branch)
 b. *there were* a market; *there were hardly* a Saturday (AO, Tors Cove)
 c. *the wart were* right full of seeds (DANL, Witless Bay)

24.8.2 Counterfactual *had to*

An example of the highly conservative nature of NfldIrE is to be found in its use of counterfactual *had to*. Over the past few years, the present author has collected several dozen contemporary spoken and written examples from Newfoundlanders of Irish ancestry, among them:

- (21) *There are* a number of beautiful trails, of which we walked a couple, and would have walked more if the weather *had to* co-operate ('had cooperated'). (Letter to the editor, *The Telegram*, St John's, 19/8/2014, A7)

The ongoing VNL project confirms that this is by no means a new feature, though it has yielded only one example, from a rural speaker born c.1904:

- (22) *If the tin had to* be ('had been') stronger, the story'd be longer.
 (AP, Branch)

While current scholars of IrEng seem to be largely unfamiliar with the *had to* construction, it has in fact been documented for SEIrE:

- (23) *If he had to* get it ('a blow aimed at him'), he'd have ne'er an eye.
 (i.e. 'if he had got(ten)'; Moylan (1996: 369))
 (24) *If I had to* have it back under me arm, the foot was gone.
 (Henry 1958: 132; Trumera, Co. Laois)

That the construction appears to be in greater use in NfldIrE than in IrEng attests to the conservative nature of the former.

24.8.3 The ‘going V-ing’ construction

A final verbal feature that is extremely rare in the NfldIrE data is the sequence *going* + gerund, found only in one traditional speaker from the north-east coast enclave community of Tilting. She uses several instances of the sequence *going putting*, among them:

(25) *They’re going putting it back in those houses.*

This form is rarely mentioned in the IrEng literature; Henry (1957: 178) includes an example from North Roscommon, without commentary:

(26) *He’s goin’ doin’ it now.*

Ní Mhurchú (2018: 307–8) suggests that this construction is borrowed from Irish, points out that it has largely gone unnoticed by grammarians, traces it to late eighteenth-century Irish, and speculates that it allows the speaker to soften a potentially face-threatening intent. The NfldIrE data do not support this pragmatic meaning, however. Neither does the following Yorkshire example from the television series *Last Tango in Halifax*:¹⁰

(27) *I’m going feeding chickens.*

The fact that *going* + V-ing is maintained in StE to represent leisure activities (e.g. *going shopping/swimming*) suggests that the construction was once considerably more widespread in English.

24.9 LEXICON

While there are few actual records of Irish being spoken in Newfoundland, documents show that some migrants were unilingual Irish speakers¹¹ (Kirwin 1993: 68), and the language is known to have lingered on in a few speakers until the early twentieth century.

¹⁰ This programme was aired on the Maine Public Broadcasting Network (PBS) on 27 September 2020.

¹¹ The hinterland of Waterford was Irish-speaking up to the late 19th century, a fact which supports the claim here [RH].

Despite its demise, Irish has left its mark in the form of hundreds of borrowings used to varying degrees by present-day residents of the province.

Space does not permit discussion here, but many such borrowings (and direct translations from the Irish language) can be found in Story, Kirwin, and Widdowson (1990 [1982]); see also Kirwin (2001), Clarke (2010: sect. 4.3), and the ‘Words’ section of DANL (Clarke, Hiscock, et al. 2013). Among the items that might still be known to younger generations are *sleeveen* ‘rascal’, *streel* ‘slovenly person’, and *be poisoned* (‘be annoyed’). Common in everyday discourse is the pragmatic marker *sure*, as are the address forms *girl* and *b’y* [bar] ‘boy,’ the latter also used as a general emphatic, not necessarily with male reference (e.g. *Yes, b’y!*).

24.10 CONCLUSION

In outlining the main phonetic and morphosyntactic features of NfldIrE, this chapter has pointed to various ways in which this variety can shed light on the English spoken in south-eastern Ireland in earlier centuries. It also raises a number of questions, such as the degree to which the Northern Subject Rule actually characterized vernacular spoken dialects of southern IrEng two or more centuries ago. Further research may well offer more fine-tuned answers than we currently possess.

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CHAPTER 25

IRISH INFLUENCE ON AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

SIMON MUSGRAVE AND KATE BURRIDGE

25.1 IRISH IN AUSTRALIA

THE Irish presence in Australia is substantial and enduring. It has been the subject of two major studies in the last 40 years (O'Farrell 1988; Malcolm and Hall 2018), and the section on the Irish in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People, and their Origins* (Jupp 1988) is 42 pages long (in comparison, the section on the English has 63 pages, that on the Scots has 29 pages, and an important but more recent group, Italians, has 35 pages). Throughout the nineteenth century, people of Irish origin (including those born in Ireland and those born in Australia to Irish parents) were the second largest ethnic group in the Australian population, after those of English origin. Price (1981) estimates that people of Irish ethnicity made up just over a quarter of the population throughout the second half of the century and that this was a stable proportion; his figure for 1861 is 25.5% and for 1891 it is 25.7%. Such numbers suggest that Irish people should have made a substantial contribution to Australian English, but the themes of this chapter will be that in fact the contribution was rather small, and that it is very difficult to establish with any certainty.

The colony at New South Wales was begun in 1788, and despite a huge gender imbalance, the proportion of children in the population increased very rapidly. While the overall population of the colony grew by 58.6% between 1792 and 1800, the population of children grew by 337% in the same period (Kiesling 2004: 419). This rapid growth in a locally born population is the ground for opinions that the phonological basis of Australian English was established by around 1830. Bernard (1981: 19) argues:

It seems likely that a distinctive Australian pronunciation arose very early in the country's history [...] the great likelihood is that it was the children of the

first generation of convicts and colonists generally, taking their speech variety as is normal from the community about them, who generated the first Australian pronunciation.

One of the earliest and most influential scholars of Australian English, Arthur Mitchell, in a lecture in 1995 stated: 'It is a reasonable assumption that Broad Australian had emerged in 1828' (quoted by Leitner 2004), noting that around the time of the end of Macquarie's tenure as Governor of New South Wales (in 1822), there were 'persistent references to [...] a distinctive manner of speaking [...] of the Australian born' (Mitchell 2003: 123–4).¹

If we accept the position suggested above, then the proportion of people of Irish origin in Australia at around 1830 is the most important number for our purposes. The majority of people of Irish origin in Australia to that date were transported as convicts; many served their terms and then remained in Australia. The analysis of Nicholas and Shergold (1988) gives the proportion of convicts in New South Wales who had been tried in Ireland between 1788 and 1868 as 32.7%. This does not include those in Van Diemen's Land, where the proportion was lower (24.9%).² Place of trial does not necessarily give an accurate picture of the origin of convicts: emigration from Ireland to England and Scotland was already significant by the end of the eighteenth century. However, there was also a proportion of transportees convicted in Ireland who were not Irish by birth; these were mainly members of the British occupying army. Nicholas and Shergold also provide a figure for the proportion of convicts born in Ireland. Although this covers a slightly different period (1817–40), the estimate that 33.3% of convicts were born in Ireland is very close to the figure for Irish birth and this suggests that the effects of the two processes, internal migration to Britain and trials of non-Irish convicts that happened in Ireland, balance each other out. This means that we can take a figure of around 30% as a reasonable estimate of the proportion of peoples of Irish origin in the convict population of New South Wales at least.

Immigration of free settlers is not significant in the period before 1830. The relevant section in Jupp's (1988) volume has the title *Irish Immigration 1840–1914* (Fitzpatrick 1988), and Akenson³ is unable to give a figure for the period 1825–30 (1988 Appendix I, see also ABS 2006). The census conducted in New South Wales in 1828 recorded 36,598 inhabitants, of whom 15,728 were convicts and 20,870 were free, mostly emancipists

¹ The published version of that lecture (Mitchell 2003) takes a slightly different position, arguing that 'the date when the native born were approaching half the population would be attractive as setting the emergence of a distinctive and dominant Australian speech. This was 1861 in New South Wales when the native born were 47% of the population' (p. 124).

² It also ignores the small number of Irish convicts sent to Western Australia after initial transportation to New South Wales.

³ Akenson gives a figure of 4,662 emigrants from Ireland to Australasia for the period 1831–40, which represents less than 7% of the increase in the population of Australia over that period (ignoring that some emigrants would have gone to New Zealand) and less than 4% of the total population in 1840 (Akenson 1988: Appendix I; ABS 2006).

(individuals who had served their sentence or been pardoned) (SMH 2007). Religious affiliation as recorded in that census can be taken as a rough proxy for the proportion of people of Irish origin, and the census records 31% of the population as being Roman Catholic (Baines and Quartly 2013, citing Vamplew 1987). Not all Irish were Catholic, and not all Catholics were Irish, but this figure reinforces the argument that a proportion of around 30% is a reasonable estimate of the proportion of the population of Irish origin. However, it is possible that the overall proportion of those of Irish origin was even higher than for the convict population because the proportion of female convicts from Ireland was much higher than for other groups. One-fifth of the Irish born convicts were female, and as a result they made up over half (59%) of the women convicts (Nicholas and Shergold 1988). This figure suggests that children with at least one Irish parent would have been a substantial proportion of those born in Australia in the early days of the colony—those who Bernard saw as central in the development of at least the Australian accent.

In summary, the evidence suggests that we can safely assume that around one third of the population on New South Wales in 1830 were of Irish origin, including those born in Australia to Irish parents. On this basis, we would expect that the language or languages of this group would have made a substantial contribution to the new variety. In order to assess the extent of that contribution, we first must attempt to describe the linguistic background of this population.

25.2 WHAT LINGUISTIC RESOURCES DID THE IRISH BRING TO AUSTRALIA?

Loneragan (2003) cites de Fréine to the effect that 40% of the population of Ireland were monolingual speakers of Irish around the start of the nineteenth century, 30% were monolingual in English, and 30% were bilingual. The monolingual English speakers were geographically concentrated in Dublin and Co. Wexford; we return below to the question of the geographic origins of Irish convicts and its linguistic consequences. The figures given above make it clear that a substantial proportion of Irish convicts would have had some knowledge of Irish, but the evidence concerning the extent that this language continued to be used in Australia is contradictory. On the one hand, O'Farrell notes: 'The first Catholic chaplains in 1820, Fathers Therry and Connolly, sought the recruitment of Irish-speaking priests from home as a preference for the confessional' (O'Farrell 1988: 26). But he also notes that Irish is absent in places where it might have been expected to be used: 'How total the shedding of their language [is] is evident in the proud tombstones of the Australian Irish, where they might proclaim beyond time their origins, identity and allegiance. They are innocent of Gaelic' (O'Farrell 1988: 27). The Irish language was viewed negatively by the authorities in New South Wales because a number of early Irish convicts had been convicted of offences relating to rebellions in

Ireland; this opinion was reinforced when a threatened rebellion in 1800 was dominated by Irishmen. If there is any influence of Irish on Australian English, it is not possible to separate direct influence from influence via Irish English. Loneragan (2003) argues for such influence at the level of lexical borrowing; one case, that of the Australian term *sheila* as a general reference to female people, is persuasive.⁴

The English spoken in Ireland is not homogeneous, and therefore it is important to know something about where in Ireland the convicts came from. As for the overall numbers, we need to allow for internal migration before transportation, and in this case, there is an important effect of this type. Figures for place of trial cover the period 1787–1852 and are by county (Larkin 1988), while figures for place of birth cover the period 1817–40 and are by province (Nicholas and Shergold 1988). Irish convicts born in Leinster made up 41% of the total, those from Munster were 27%, Ulster was the birthplace for 22%, while only 10% of the Irish convicts were born in Connaught. In many respects, the figures for place of trial correspond, but with an important exception. The courts of Dublin supplied 21% of the convicts and those of Cork between 10% and 15%. The courts of Limerick and Tipperary each were responsible for between 5% and 10% of convictions, (London)Derry, Sligo, Donegal, and Antrim had less than 1% of the convictions and the remaining counties were all in the range between 1% and 5%. Both sets of figures show the predominance of convicts from the east coast (Dublin especially) and the south-east. But what is striking here is the disparity between the two views for the north of Ireland. Ulster was the birthplace of over 20% of the convicts, but at most 10% of them were tried there. We should therefore expect that Dublin English should be the most important influence in Australia, with southern and Ulster varieties also important while western varieties are unlikely to have been significant.

25.3 WHAT WAS THE IRISH INPUT TO AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH?

Focusing on the sociolinguistics of globalization and migration, Corrigan (2021) draws on the notion of the ‘feature pool’ to examine the potential contribution of Irish English to the early feature pools of Australia’s multi-ethnic cities, notably nineteenth-century Melbourne. From a demographic, socio-economic, and political perspective,

⁴ The more detailed account of this possibility in Loneragan (2001) makes the case strongly. Notably, no Irish woman convict bore the name *Sheila*, which weakens an alternative account that sees the Australian term as a generalization of a common name, as happened with, e.g. *Mick*. Loneragan (2003) argues in favour of Irish Gaelic origins for other expressions (e.g. *didgeridoo* from Irish *dúdaire* ‘trumpeter or horn-blower’ and Irish and Scots-Gaelic *dubh* ‘black’ and *dúth* ‘native’); while Manns (2020: 90) describes these accounts as ‘less compelling than alternative explanations’, Irish is plausibly part of these etymological stories, given successful forms often involve the amalgamation of a number of coinciding sources (Allan and Burrige 2006).

her findings suggest that the dialects of Irish migrants would have had a significant impact on the English of Australia's major cities at this time. As Corrigan acknowledges, the rub of the issue is pinpointing precisely which phonological, morphosyntactic, and discourse-pragmatic features are involved.

In a study of the presence/absence of 'Irishisms' in the formative years of Australian English, BurrIDGE and Musgrave (2014) examine two sub-corpora of *The Australian National Corpus*: texts written by Australians of Irish origin between 1788 and 1900 in the Corpus of Oz Early English (COOEE), and for comparison, the literary representations of Irish in several nineteenth- and twentieth-century novels of the AustLit corpus. Focusing on grammatical features, this study uncovered little evidence to support transfers from Irish English into the spontaneous writing of early inhabitants of Australia; however, it did support a strong literary tradition and, from an early date, the practice of representing stereotypical aspects of Irish linguistic identity in a consciously stylized fashion.

Over the years, many scholars have drawn up lists of 'Irish' features that are found in Australian English (e.g. Bradley 2003; Trudgill 2004; Kiesling 2004), but determining evidence for their Irish heritage is not straightforward. In the following we examine the case for the second person plural pronoun (2PL) *youse*; the form exists in Vernacular Australian English as both stressed [ju:z] and unstressed [jəz] (Horvath 1985: 36–40). Dictionaries treat this feature as a straightforward 'hand-me-down from Irish English' (Macquarie Dictionary Blog 2013), and most scholars also assume it to be a clear case of Irish English influencing Australian English (see references in Corrigan 2021). We examine some of the complexities involved in establishing the link, even for a case which is taken to be clear-cut. First, we consider some of the available historical evidence for the use of non-standard second-person pronouns in Australia, and then we turn to some questions about the possible Irish origin of this feature in current Australian English.

25.3.1 Historical evidence for *youse*

Our data sources are the Corpus of Oz Early English (COOEE, Fritz 2007), the pre-1940 material from the AustLit database, and the court reports of Charles Corbyn (Corbyn 1854 [1970]). Examples of second-person plural (2PL) pronoun forms (Hickey 2003a) are not common in any of these sources. In part, this is no doubt due to the fact that these forms were not standard and would have been avoided in writing. However, one component of COOEE contains speech-based material, and Corbyn was careful in attempting to reproduce the varieties of English which he heard (BurrIDGE 2010).

We begin this survey with Corbyn's work. There are no examples of 2PL pronouns with plural morphology (*s* or *z*) in the Corbyn text. There are non-standard pronouns *ye* and *yer*, but these do not provide strong evidence either for plural usage or for Irish influence. Firstly (and *pace* BurrIDGE 2010), many of the examples seem to be clearly singular:

- (1) a. Mr. Dowling:—‘Are you afraid of him, that he will do you some bodily harm?’
Paddy M’Grath:—‘Is it fraid ye mane; shore an I’m in a mortal fear. Look at his countenansh; it’s plain to parcave the murderoush intinshins.’ (Corbyn 1854: 7)
- b. Dunn axes how I did, and caught hold of my hand and squeezed it, so he did, and then passes my hand to the other gossoon. ‘It’s mighty free yer making,’ says I. (Corbyn 1854: 13)

Secondly, Corbyn does not depict these non-standard pronouns as exclusively characteristic of speakers of Irish varieties, in fact they have more in common with speakers of Scots varieties (2a), and also with Cockney speakers (2b).

- (2) a. I’m na a natif av Saydnay, and theerfur am unable to gie ye the geographical posithun av Market-lane, but mayhap ye ken the Sheriff, and if ye’ll just gang to him I dinna doot he’ll ensthrect ye as to the desirable spot. (Corbyn 1854: 65)
- b. Police Magistrate—Now, Master Willock, have you any questions to ask the little girl?
Boy (grinning) —I’ve a few. Himpri-miss, is yer sure it vos hi has heaved the stone? (Corbyn 1854: 76)

It is not surprising that Corbyn’s work suggests these non-standard pronouns were not confined to speakers from an Irish background. We would expect dialect-mixing at this stage (Trudgill 2004; Hickey 2003b) and, as we discuss later, his reports generally show mixtures of dialect features. What is more significant is that his work provides no evidence for the use of distinct 2PL pronoun forms in mid nineteenth-century Sydney; if *youse* had been a feature of the vernacular speech of the time, it would have appeared somewhere in these ‘verbatim’ reports.

COOEE also has very limited evidence for 2PL pronoun forms in early Australian English. There is only one instance of *yez* in the collection, and it has singular reference:

- (3) Och, Aunty, jewil, take a sup of this. It’s the real thing, an’ll put fresh spirits into yez. (COOEE 2-026)

It should be noted that this example comes from David Burn’s 1829 play *The Bushrangers*, which exhibits several features of linguistic stereotyping of Irish identity and therefore this evidence must be treated with caution (see discussion in BurrIDGE and Musgrave 2014).

COOEE also has a small number of examples of *yous*; all appear in letters written by people of Irish origin, two identified by Fritz as Northern Irish and two Southern Irish. Again, this data provides little support for the existence of 2PL forms in nineteenth-century Australia; two examples (dated 1858 and 1882 respectively) occur where *yours* might be expected in a standard variety:

- (4) a. I have never had the chance of seeing any aquentance of yous and may be I never shall (COOEE 3-163)
 b. I Must Conclude with fond Love remaining yous truly and Loveing Daughter and Sister for ever (COOEE 4-025)

These forms can be interpreted in various ways. They might be errors on the part of the writer or on the part of the transcriber, but they might also represent an idiosyncratic pronunciation of the possessive form or even the use of possessive 's' attached to a pronoun. There is one example in COOEE of *yous* otherwise (from 1885), and this is another case where it is hard to interpret the reference as plural:

- (5) Susanna: you must be very careful and not catch cold again. You must not get overheated. You must not put your hands in cold water. You must not be out in the night air and yous must take outdoor exercise (COOEE 4-086)

The fact that this example is part of a sequence of consistent standard second person pronouns suggests that a slip of the pen or an error in transcription is again a possibility.

There are more relevant examples in the AustLit data than in the other two sources combined, and they can be interpreted as showing a progression from *yez* to *yous*. There are 109 instances of *yez*, of which all but seven are from two works by a single author (J. R. Houlding) published in 1858 and 1860. These examples are part of the depiction of Irish speech, and they include instances with singular reference (6a) and plural reference (6b):

- (6) a. 'Wisha! wisha! an' is that Teddy himself now? Shure I'm right glad to see yez, honey!' said Bridget (Houlding 1858)
 b. May God bless every sowl of yez; constables an all (Houlding 1868)

Of the remaining examples, six come from a collection of songs published in 1904. It is not clear whether this author intended the use of *yez* to be an Irish characteristic; other parts of the stereotype are not prominent, but context (e.g. references to Home Rule) and names (e.g. Malony) suggest that Irishness may be being evoked (8). However, there is at least one example which has no obvious Irish associations:

- (7) Do yez know Marengo station?
 It's away beyond the Peak,
 Over sixty miles from Birdsville
 As you go to Cooper's Creek (Goodge 1904)

Example (7) is typical of this text in that it is not easy to say whether the reference is singular or plural, but there are examples where singular is at least possible (8).

- (8) Said the agent: 'Pat, ye're voting,
 Ain't ye darlin', for Home Rule?
 The devil a bit
 Ye'd like to split
 The Party?'
 'Will I promise I won't forsake yez.
 Why confound yer polly-ticks!'

The final example in the AustLit data is from a 1936 publication. This instance has clear plural reference. It is possible that this represents Australian speech, but the representation of the word *yourselves* here may indicate Irish speech, as does the high /i/ vowel in the second syllable:

- (9) Then the elder stranger looked genially round the morose little group, the rain dripping from his heavy, reddish moustache. 'Come on up to the house, all of yez, and have a feed and dry yerselves. It's no sort of a day to be sitting out in the scrub like a lot of wet emus!'

Finally, there are five examples of *yous* in AustLit, all from a single text published in 1936. All of these examples are plural; four unequivocally so (10a) and one for which a singular reading is barely plausible (10b):

- (10) a. A man with a gun against twenty of yous, against twenty thousand of yous?
 (Penton 1936)
 b. Cabell glanced round, recognizing some of the men who had been shearing at the Reach for years: Goggs, Wagner, Greasy Bill, and, in the back rank, Berry picking anxiously at his thumbs, and Larry. 'You think so, eh? Well, you're wrong. I pay the same.'
 The disarticulated features of Goggs's mongrel face collapsed in a heap around his mouth. 'What'd I tell you? No use wasting words on a dingo.'

None of the examples from this text suggest any association with Irishness; rather, this is a representation of Australian vernacular. This is also the conclusion of BurrIDGE and Musgrave (2014: 33), and is supported more recently by Mulder and Penry Williams (2020). Their examination of OzCorp (a corpus of around 24 million words of Australian literature from 1788 to 2004) revealed that by the beginning of the twentieth century, authors were employing *youse* 'to capture something unique in Australia or casual ways of speaking' (Mulder and Penry Williams 2014: 67). They point out that *youse* often appeared alongside non-standard spelling and other stigmatized features, including *ain't*; that is, it is no longer part of a suite of stereotypical Irish features.

The data here are limited, but we can make two tentative generalizations from them. First, non-standard second-person pronouns are not consistently used to fill the vacant

plural slot in the standard paradigm until the early twentieth century. Before that, what look like analogical plural formations are commonly used with singular reference. And secondly, the use of such forms can index various linguistic identities, not only Irish, in earlier sources, and they only come to index an Australian identity after the First World War.

25.3.2 The Irish origin of *youse*?

Hickey (2003a) makes a link between second-person plural forms in varieties of English spoken in Ireland and *youse* in Australian English. However, in the same article, there are hints that the link may not be straightforward. Firstly, there is a question about the geographic distribution of the analogical form. Hickey (2003a: 353) states, '*youse* is a regular analogical formation which has its source in those regions of Ireland (south-west, west and north-west of the country) where the Irish language was most robust and where the language shift lasted longest.' Certainly, the form spread across Ireland; in particular, it has become more common in the north than in the south. But both the origin and the pattern of spread in Ireland suggest that speakers using this form would not have been a majority of the Irish population in Australia. As detailed above, the west and the north of Ireland were the source of a small proportion of those who travelled to Australia. The figures, based on place of trial, obscure internal migration before leaving Ireland, but the figures by province of birth show that two-thirds of the Irish convict population originated in the south and the east of the country. It is also suggestive that the west was where language shift lasted longest: although Hickey is not specific about the timing of particular changes, this could be taken to imply that *youse* was only available as an influence in Australia to a limited extent and perhaps only well into the nineteenth century. This position is compatible with the evidence in regard to *youse* discussed above.

That evidence also suggests that forms such as *yez* were present in Australia by the middle of the nineteenth century, although not consistently or exclusively used with plural reference. It is possible that the data overrepresents such forms, as they were an element in the linguistic stereotyping of Irish identity, and in this regard, the lack of such forms in Corbyn's 1854 publication and the extensive set of examples from the two AustLit sources from 1858 and 1860 are important. Corbyn did attempt to accurately record the non-standard speech which he heard, while Houlding was using the representation of non-standard speech as a literary device.

Hickey argues that the worldwide distribution of *youse* as a second-person plural form matches well with patterns of Irish migration (2003a: 352–3). But the wide distribution could also be taken as showing the ease with which the gap in the paradigm can be filled by morphological analogy. On the basis of the evidence presented here, and taking into consideration the various questions raised, we suggest that treating Australian *youse* as a direct influence from Irish English is a plausible account, although possibly the form was only secure quite late in the development of the Australian variety, around

the end of the nineteenth century perhaps. But we think it is equally plausible to suggest that the form was a less direct result of Irish influence. On this account, *yez* was present in Australia from an early period; it has been retained at least as an unstressed form; and its existence motivated the innovation by analogy which resulted in *youse* (though see discussion in section 25.4.1).

25.3.3 Other potential Irish transfers

We now briefly weigh up the potential Irish origin of other features that have been earmarked as possible Irish English contributions. Where possible, we again take into account the historical evidence, though this is especially hard to come by for the phonological features. While Corbyn's police reports provide rare access to the voices of non-elite people and capture an impressive array of features, there are many that could have entered the variety undetected, and our insights are limited by how good Corbyn's ears were—the absence of a feature could mean that the sound didn't occur in the speech of Corbyn's characters or he simply wasn't aware of it (which could well be the case if it occurred in his own speech).⁵ If features were not good social indicators for the time, Corbyn may also not have thought to include them in his true-to-life vignettes of the goings-on in Sydney's Police Office.

25.3.3.1 *T-lenition*

A well-known feature of varieties of Irish English that is very much part of current Australian English is fricated /t/, especially frequent in intervocalic and pre-pausal positions (e.g. *That's a beautiful hat* [hæt̪]; Horvath 1985); Jones and McDougall (2006) point out that auditory analyses of Mitchell and Delbridge's recordings (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965) indicate the presence of fricated /t/ in the Australian English of the 1950s and 1960s.

Corbyn's collection provides some evidence for the occasional fricated /t/ (e.g. *sathiswaxshan* for *satisfaction*), though it is not common. If this feature is attributable to Irish English input, it is not a particularly salient one and could well have slipped into the variety undetected (Australians are still generally unaware of the feature). However, given the frication of plosives is a weakening process attested in many languages, the chances of independent development are also considerable. However, the fact that it is also found in colloquial New Zealand English, which also had considerable Irish input, but not in South Africa, which had no appreciable Irish English input, speaks for a transfer from the speech of nineteenth-century Irish immigrants to Australia and New Zealand.

25.3.3.2 *H-retention*

In Australian English, H-deletion is common in unstressed function words such as *him*; however, in content words such as *husband*, it remains stigmatized and tends to

⁵ Although Corbyn was convicted of robbery and was one of 280 convicts transported on 26 October 1835 (<http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2198686>), he was clearly from a prestigious background (he had been dining with Sir Charles Forbes at the time he stole the gold watches).

occur more at the broad end of the accent spectrum; H-hypercorrection (i.e. the non-etymological insertion of /h/) is absent (Horvath 1985). Irish influence is frequently cited as the reason for survival of /h/ (see Hickey 2004b: 110; Trudgill 2004: 72–7, 116 on H-retention in New Zealand English). Corbyn's police court reports, however, show an abundance of both H-fulness and H-lessness, as well as H-hypercorrection; they include the Irish English transcripts; for example, *couldn't 'urt a vorm* ('couldn't hurt a worm'); *yer an hinnercent gal, Mary Han* ('you're an innocent girl, Mary Anne'). However, the reports show a lot of variation between speakers (even those of similar backgrounds) and within individuals; this presumably reflects the variation that would have been around at that time (as predicted by Trudgill's model).

Both Trudgill (2004) and Britain (2008) argue in favour of demographic factors to explain stable position of /h/ in Australia. The features that emerged triumphant were those variants that were in the majority, and H-fullness was a majority variant in the dialect mixing bowl: Irish, Scottish, Northumbrian, West Country, and East Anglian, among others, were maintaining /h/ at this time. Nonetheless, in the context of long-term changes that were under way, this is a surprising outcome. H-deletion (alongside R-deletion) was part of a long-term trend. Pressure from the system (e.g. the defective distribution of /h/) suggested its days were numbered. With /h/ already gone from all positions except initially in stressed syllables (*hat, behind*), speakers continued the trend, dropping it from the beginning of words—indeed, into the 1700s it was fashionable to do so. Corbyn's H-dropping Irish speakers were following a trend when they were accommodating to the H-droppers of London and elsewhere.

But there would have been other factors at work. According to Hickey (2003a: 219), another nail in the coffin for H-deletion was the fact that it introduces considerable homophony into English. There is also the spelling-obsessed eighteenth century that stigmatized the loss of many consonants, including /h/. H-deletion was branded with the stamp of the 'vulgar', avoided by a population ever attentive to the written word and its best pronunciation (Beal 2004: 159). Support for this also comes from the recommendations of Benjamin Suggitt Nayler's *Commonsense Observations on the Existence of Rules (not yet reduced to System, in any Work extant) regarding the English Language*, a work published in Melbourne in 1869, and intended to assist the 'Schoolmaster (or Mistress) in the Colony' (Nayler 1869: 125). By contrast, R-deletion was able to sneak under this prescriptive radar probably because of the gradual nature of de-rhoticization.⁶ The story of H-retention is clearly a complex one.

⁶ Nayler's (1869) account of the 'rough and smooth sound of r' suggests weakened intermediate rhoticity in postvocalic position and is in keeping with what we now know of the gradual nature of de-rhoticization (Scobbie, Stuart-Smith, and Lawson 2008). He explains that each type of sound 'has its place in the utterance of correct readers and speakers'. He then goes on to point out that 'one of the peculiarities of Irish pronunciation, consists in the prevalence of the rough, harsh sound; while the smooth and almost inarticulate sound, is a conspicuous singularity in the dialect of the commonalty of London, a characteristic of the so-called Cockney-twang' (p. 72).

25.3.3.3 *Schwa in unstressed syllables*

A phonological feature that is often attributed to Irish input is the weak vowel merger, specifically, the loss of the distinction between [ɪ] and [ə] in the unstressed syllables of words such as *rabbit* [ræbət] (e.g. Trudgill 2004: 119; Kiesling 2004: 427; Bradley 2003:143). Evidence for this feature in early Australian English is hard to come by; diverse spellings for unstressed vowels in Corbyn's transcripts could suggest weak vowel differences (e.g. dialect spellings like *pisthill* for *pistol*), but equally the confusion could suggest [ə].

Even so, this is not a clear Irish transfer, and there are undoubtedly multiple motivations involved in the triumph of this variant in Australia. This weak vowel merger represents a shift towards an unmarked variant that was already well under way in lower class speech generally at that time. This is supported again by Nayler's observations (1869: 65):

[...] the Unaccented vowels are heard *purely* from the refined classes alone—the commonality either sinking them into indefiniteness, or, changing them into others sounds; and this defect is grosser and more general in the Provinces than in the Metropolis.

These days speakers from Ireland, East Anglia, the West Country, and the North of England prefer schwa in this position, and Britain (2008: 104–5), citing Wright's 1905 *English Dialect Grammar*, suggests the nineteenth-century regional distribution of [ə] was even wider. As he concludes (p. 4), 'also important are the non-Irish areas of the British Isles that would have brought [ə], including large tracts of the South of England.' With all this support, the triumph of the weak vowel merger in Australia is hardly surprising.

25.3.3.4 *Epistemic must not/mustn't*

Epistemic negative *must* ('it is concluded that [...] not') expresses a conclusion that is based on the speaker's inference. Evidence existed in COOEE; for example, *Either Hitchcock was a very bad shot, or he must not have intended to hit me* (2-083.txt); in Standard English this is normally expressed using *can't/cannot*, e.g. *He can't/cannot have intended to hit me*. The form is widespread in Australian English (Collins 1991 describes it as being at least as common as epistemic *can't*), and the standard view is that it represents Irish input, Trudgill (2004: 19) even arguing it is 'the most striking evidence of Irish English influence'. Even if we accept Irish influence here, it is again not a straightforward transfer; coinciding forces potentially come from natural evolution (subjectification of the root necessity sense of modal *must*), and cross-dialectal presence. Kortmann (2004: 1101) for example, identifies it as 'pervasive' in dialects spoken in the Shetland and Orkney Isles, Scotland, the north of England, but (curiously) only 'attested but not frequently used' in Ireland (and also the south of England).

25.3.3.5 *Clefting*

The focusing device *it*-clefting is widespread in English varieties, including the standard; however, the Irish construction departs from the mainstream, showing a much wider range of topicalization possibilities, including verb phrases and predicative complements (showing functional and structural parallels in Irish; see arguments made in Hickey 2007: 238–40). These different clefts appear in Corbyn's transcripts of the Irish speakers; for example, *Is it funning me you are?* ('Are you really cheating me?'); *a'cos 'tis a taytotaler he is* ('because he really is a teetotaller'); see also example (1a) above.

Spoken Australian English is said to have a higher frequency of clefting than elsewhere (Bradley 2003)—a tenuous influence from Irish English at best, especially as it is not even clear that Irish *it*-clefting has a higher overall frequency of occurrence.⁷ With respect to the more promising feature of manner of clefting, if Australian English did once allow a wider range of highlighted elements (and there is some evidence of this in the corpus examined by Burridge and Musgrave 2014), this is no longer the case. Australian English finished up eliminating this most salient Irish English construction.

25.3.3.6 *Discourse features*

Hickey (2004c: 610) describes final *but*, *now*, and *so* as notable features of Irish English, as well as other varieties in the north of Britain such as Scottish and Tyneside English. Final *but* (*I don't like it but*) is a widespread and growing feature of current-day AusE and one that Horvath (1985: 39) and Trudgill (1986: 140) attribute to Irish influence; Mulder et al. (2009) argue for additional reinforcement from Scots English and north-eastern varieties of English, pointing to its occurrence in other southern hemisphere Englishes (such as New Zealand and Falkland Islands English). There are no examples of final *but* in the COOEE corpus, and even more telling is its absence from the AustLit Corpus. True, as Corrigan (2021) writes, features like final *but* are explicitly tied to spoken rather than written language; however, we would expect sentence-final markers to be part of the stereotypical representation of Irish English if they occurred regularly in the speech of people of Irish origin (as were sentence-initial discourse markers such as *och* and *sure*). You might compare the situation today where, much like *yous(e)*, final *but* has acquired the status of a hyperdialectal marker (i.e. an indicator of solidarity/vernacularity; see section 25.4.1).⁸

Trudgill (2004: 19) argues that final *so* indicates emphatic denial in Australian English (Q: *You didn't?* A: *I did so*), a function that parallels usage in Ireland as well as in Scotland. As in the case of final *but*, however, early evidence of final *so* is thin on the ground, and it is hard to attribute this discourse-pragmatic function to dialect influence.

⁷ There is also little evidence for a higher frequency in spoken AusE; corpus findings in Collins (2009) suggest no difference in relative frequency in clefting for British, American, New Zealand, and Australian English.

⁸ Mulder et al. (2009) describe how contemporary authors use this feature in fictional dialogue to index Australianness, showing the links between vernacularity and national identity (cf. the novels of Kerry Greenwood and Shane Maloney).

25.3.4 In sum

As these examples illustrate, establishing the presence of ‘Irishisms’ in Australian English is not straightforward. Many features are part of spoken rather than written language, and this makes them notoriously difficult to track diachronically; they are unlikely to show up even in diaries or intimate personal correspondence (see also discussions in Britain 2008; Corrigan 2021). A number of variants are found elsewhere in other parts of the British Isles; some are even candidates for ‘vernacular universals’ or ‘angloversals’. Many also coincide with extremely well-trodden paths of change, and may well represent the product of universal processes shaping sound systems and grammatical structures. Final *but* is a paradigm example of grammaticalization, and *youse* a predictable analogical formation that fills a gap in the paradigm—Standard English is typologically aberrant in lacking a number distinction, and different forms have sprouted up in non-standard Englishes around the world (Hickey 2003a).

It is not always easy to untangle these different scenarios, and even in some of the more clear-cut cases we are at best looking at parallel independent developments that have the support of external influences. So if we ask the question, Why these transfers from Irish and not others?, the answer is these are linguistic ‘bitsers’—as in the cases of transfers from the Irish language into Irish English, features with multiple origins (internally and externally motivated) which will have a greater chance of survival.

25.4 THE IRISH CONTRIBUTION TO THE AUSTRALIAN VERNACULAR

Additional reinforcement for these Irish transfers comes from their association with the vernacular. Notably, the Irish traits that did survive in Australian English are colloquial, and this includes other perceived ‘Irishisms’ not discussed here (e.g. vowel epenthesis in words such as *film* [fɪləm]). The Irish had an important part in shaping the Australian self-image, and this image has always been closely linked to the vernacular (see Hickey 2004b; 2019).

The victory of the vernacular ‘down under’ is hardly surprising when we consider the main ingredients of the mixing bowls during those crucial years of dialect formation: the slang and dialect vocabularies of London and the industrial Midlands, Ireland, and Scotland, the cant (or ‘flash’) of convicts, the slang of sailors, whalers, and gold-diggers mingled with features of the emerging standard language (Ramson 1966: 49–50) to produce the new ‘colonial parlance’. Fuelled by anti-authoritarian sentiment, the colloquial part of the language was expanded to become the feature that best distinguished the established citizen (or *old chum*) from the stranger, or *new chum* (convict slang for a newly arrived prisoner but later any newly arrived immigrant). Colonial commentary

makes clear that new chums stood out spectacularly and were the butt of much humour, the label even becoming a term of general abuse; the onus was clearly on new chums to accommodate linguistically (see Burrridge 2020). Once again, the 2PL pronoun *youse* offers a nice illustration.

25.4.1 Singular *youse*

A striking feature of Australian English *youse* is its singular reference; the use has been acknowledged in dictionaries and style guides such as the *Australian National Dictionary* (2016) and *The Cambridge Guide to Australian English Usage* (Peters 2004). When it is important to indicate plurality, additional marking is usually applied: *all youse*; *youse all*, *youse guys*, *youse lot*, and also *youses*. Consider the following incident, reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (column 8, 2016):

Recently my wife and I were waiting in a Newcastle fish shop for someone to emerge to take our order. We were joined by another couple when, a few minutes later, the attractive teenage shop assistant appeared from the kitchen, checked out the two waiting couples, and politely and professionally asked, ‘Which of youses was first?’

The singular use of *youse* fits nicely under the label of ‘hyperdialectalism’, where a local symbol expands to signal vernacular identity (Burrridge and Biewer 2021)—the ‘incorrect’ language of non-standard grammar falls outside what is ‘good and proper’, and forms like *youse* help to define the gang.⁹

Clearly this use has a long history. Recall that the one example of *yez* in COOEE has singular reference (example (3) above). The investigation of OzCorp data by Mulder and Penry Williams also confirms early use of singular *youse*; in fact, 40% of 122 *youse* tokens had singular reference (of which 91 were unambiguously singular). These findings suggest that singular *youse* had from the beginning been evolving in parallel with plural *youse*, which, as they suggest, throws doubt on the original motivation for a distinctive second person plural form: ‘the use of *youse* may have less to do with being able to tell whether one or more than one person is being addressed, and more to do with the social meanings of *youse* and the informality it signals [...] and, via these, potentially indexing solidarity or intimacy’ (Mulder and Penry Williams 2020: 66).

Pronouns can be thick with cultural meaning (to paraphrase Enfield 2002: 3); they encode culture-specific messages and ways of thinking; they ‘carve up people space’ (Mühlhäusler 2012: 110), expressing aspects of the social structure and identity to do with power, distance, and solidarity and, more recently, gender and sexuality. Australian English *youse* very early on in its career had already spread to include singular referents

⁹ Hernández-Campoy (2016: 180) describes hyperdialectalisms as ‘the incorrect extension of vernacular features to linguistic contexts where they are not applicable’—the fall-out of either ‘insufficient knowledge’ or ‘excessive effort in showing vernacular identity’.

for the purpose of expressing solidarity, vernacularity, and membership. This goes against the expected pattern of change for plural pronouns, which is to extend to singular referents for the purpose of expressing distinctions to do with social status, politeness, and social distance (Heine's 'honorification', 2011: 601).

25.5 CONCLUSION

We have presented arguments here in support of three propositions. Firstly, although a number of features in Australian English have been attributed to Irish influence, it is very difficult in most cases to establish a clear relationship and to exclude other contributing influences. Secondly, the result of this is that the unambiguous influence of Irish varieties on Australian English is limited in extent, and that this is surprising given the proportion of people of Irish origin in the population of Australia in the period during which the local variety was being formed. However, it must be remembered that in colonial Australia, the British would have had an obvious advantage and their English would have wielded most clout in the colony. So, thirdly, the relative lack of influence of Irish English can be attributed largely to the lack of prestige of the Irish people in Australia.

As discussed above, the Australian English forms that have parallels in Irish English are characteristic of broader vernacular varieties generally. And it is telling that the colloquial forms that now attract the widest condemnation are also assumed to be Irish, even when there is no established link (it is well recognized that people's pet hates often do not conform to linguistic reality; see Severin and Burrridge 2020).

The pronunciation of the letter name *haitch* in Australia is a clear example. This is a pronunciation that has now become something of a social password. *Aitch* carries the stamp of approval, and aitchers' reactions are often visceral (see for example Enfield 2018). The strong stigma surrounding *haitch* derives from its long association with Irish Catholic education. Despite the anti-British sentiment that was around in early times, there was general antagonism towards the Irish and an accompanying low prestige of Irish varieties (see Kiesling 2004: 422; Hickey 2004b: 110). Irish *haitch* is a widespread popular etymology for this letter name, even though there is no real evidence for it, as lexicographer Sue Butler points out (2014). But shibboleths die hard, as *youse* also illustrates. Like *haitch*, it was part of the early linguistic stereotyping of Irish identity, and the opprobrium around the form would have been, as Mulder and Penry Williams (2020) also argue, 'originally reinforced by associations with Irish people, who were locally stigmatized both linguistically and socially' (p. 59).

Much continues to be made of the Australian affinity for slang (e.g. playful swearing), and the importance of such practices to the collective national identity (Musgrave and Burrridge 2014). True, the current climate of growing informality has seen an increasing informality of English usage worldwide; moreover, the positioning of English as a worldwide lingua franca has also seen non-standard and vernacular features become even more meaningful signals of cultural identity and the expression of the local. Yet,

Australia appears to go well beyond the kinds of colloquial and informal grammar and lexis noted for varieties elsewhere (see discussion in Burridge 2020). The Irish had an important role to play in modern Australia's love-hate relationship with the vernacular, and it is perhaps in that area that we should look for enduring effects of the language of the Irish on the development of English in Australia.

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CHAPTER 26

THE LANGUAGE OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRISH IMMIGRANTS TO NEW ZEALAND

DANIA JOVANNA BONNESS

26.1 INTRODUCTION

IRISH English (IrEng) is not only the oldest overseas variety of English as it developed earlier than any other northern or southern hemisphere Englishes outside Britain, but Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (2004: 1159) also describe it as one of the most non-standard varieties of English worldwide. The main period in which Irish speakers shifted to English, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, also coincides with substantial emigration of Irish people to British colonies around the world (Akenson 1990) and to the US after independence, and Cronin (2002: xi) states that '[t]he Irish diaspora is now integrated into countless nations across the globe'. New Zealand English (NZEng), in contrast, is one of the youngest varieties of English, having only developed after the main European migration to New Zealand from the 1840s onwards. Present-day NZEng is characterized by relatively little regional variation (Gordon and Trudgill 2004: 448), but early NZEng was influenced by a variety of dialects introduced by the early settlers. Looking at their language can tell us a lot about the different dialects that were brought to New Zealand, and that built a melting pot of features from which NZEng developed. Especially the language of the first New Zealand-born children can give us information on which of these features disappeared or prevailed, which features might be colonial innovations, or which were adopted from the indigenous language Māori. By 1890, New Zealand-born Europeans already outnumbered immigrants (Bauer 1994: 386), and Gordon (2012: 319) remarks that this young age of the New Zealand population had a significant influence on early NZEng.

According to the 1871 census, the Irish constituted the third largest group (22%) of the British-born founder population in New Zealand (Phillips and Hearn 2008: 53; settlers of English origin constituted 49.7% and Scottish settlers 27.3%). Nevertheless, only a few characteristic IrEng features seem to have survived in NZEng. Letters that these early settlers sent home to Ireland can provide evidence of variation and change in early stages of this variety. The present chapter will therefore look at the letters of two generations of nineteenth-century Irish immigrants (Bassett et al. 2009),¹ namely James Logan and Hamilton McIlrath and seven of their New Zealand-born children, to investigate how their language changed over time. The McIlrath brothers came from Killinchy, Co. Down, in Ulster and arrived in New Zealand in the early 1860s, when they settled in Killinchy, Canterbury.² As the name suggests, this area was populated by many Co. Down migrants, and the McIlraths, in their letters home, frequently wrote about old acquaintances from Ireland that they met in the colony. By 1871, 19.4% of the Canterbury emigrants were of Irish origin (NZ History 2014a). Dwyer and Fraser (2009: 184) state that the Irish represented a major source in the foundational settler population of Canterbury, and Phillips and Hearn (2008: 122) note that many of those settlers came from Ulster. The typical Irish immigrant to New Zealand was male, single, and in their 20s, such as the McIlrath brothers. The fact that many migrants first started a family in New Zealand meant that the population was extremely young. Hickey (2003: 227) remarks that a large proportion of the Irish population therefore was inevitably exposed to the evolving NZEng variety. Bauer also notes (1994: 386) that after 1890, the language probably reflected New Zealand developments rather than British or Australian influences. New Zealand urgently needed to educate this young generation, and the level of education was high for that time, especially after the Education Act of 1877 introduced free primary education (Gordon et al. 2004: 55). Canterbury, where the McIlraths lived, was ahead of other provinces in offering education (Campbell 1941: 44–5). It is likely that schooling had a significant effect on early NZEng. Firstly, children would have met other children with different dialects (Gordon et al. 2004: 56), and secondly, British language norms still remained influential at that time (Schneider 2007: 130). This is reflected in numerous complaints about children's pronunciation (see e.g. Gordon 2012). The aim was to get children to speak with an educated south-eastern English accent (Gordon 2012: 318), and Gordon (p. 322) notes that it was seen as the teachers' responsibility to teach the pupils 'correct' pronunciation. This attitude is also reflected in one of the few comments on morphosyntactic features in the literature, when a Whanganui school inspector in the annual report of the New Zealand school inspectors complains: 'I have noticed such expressions as "me and 'im" and "I done it" let pass without reproof' (*Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, E-1B, 1885: 13; cited in Gordon 2012: 320). Also in other areas, the New Zealand school system promoted 'a strong English public school culture' (NZ History 2014b). Any discussion of

¹ I am grateful to the Killyleagh Branch of the North of Ireland Family History, and John Bassett in particular, for granting me permission to use the McIlrath letters for my research.

² Hamilton moved on to Kowai Pass, Springfield, Canterbury in the 1870s.

the development of early NZEng has therefore also to be seen in the context of increased schooling.

26.1.1 New dialect formation

The evolution of postcolonial varieties has been investigated from different angles, using different approaches and frameworks, and the label 'new dialect formation' has increasingly been used to refer to this scenario. The literature mainly distinguishes between monogenetic and polygenetic theories. The former assumes that new dialects descend from one linguistic variety, whereas the latter acknowledges the importance of dialect (or language) contact and mixing. Two such polygenetic frameworks are Trudgill's (2004) New Dialect Formation Model (NDF) and Schneider's Dynamic Model (DM), the most prominent models of new dialect formation in the New Zealand context. The NDF is a deterministic model that predicts the outcome of dialect contact based on the number of speakers using a feature, independent of social factors such as prestige or identity (Trudgill et al. 2000; Trudgill 2004: 28). It has been specifically used to explore the formation of nineteenth-century NZEng phonology, but Fritz (2007: 11) states that, although maybe not applicable to all areas of language, there seem to be no objections to applying this framework to lexical and morphosyntactic areas as well (as done by Britain and Trudgill 2005 or Dollinger 2008). Trudgill claims that the formation of a new unitary dialect resulting from dialect-mixing takes approximately 50 years (2004: 23) and can be divided into three stages, represented by three successive generations. The NDF scenario, as envisaged by Trudgill, assumes a *tabula rasa* situation without a 'prior-existing population speaking the language in question' in the vicinity, such as New Zealand (Trudgill 2004: 26). Stage I comprises the original settlers and their various dialects that form a pool of features in a newly settled colony. Trudgill (2004: 110) claims that phonological features that were (quantitatively) weakly represented in this feature pool usually failed to survive in postcolonial varieties. The settlers spent their formative years of language acquisition in their respective home countries, and their dialects were not expected to change greatly. However, these migrants' dialects may also show some rudimentary levelling, in which demographic minority variants would be reduced due to face-to-face contact with speakers of other English dialects. Unmarked variants would be preferred over marked variants, even if they are minority forms (Trudgill 2004: 84–5), though the criteria which determine whether a form is marked or unmarked are not specified. Stage I may therefore see interdialect development, i.e. new forms that were not present in the input dialects (Trudgill 2004: 94), such as intermediate forms between different input variants, simplifications, or hypercorrections (2004: 86–87). In the formation of NZEng, Stage I lasted until approximately 1860 (Trudgill et al. 2000: 304), the time in which the McIlraths arrived in New Zealand.

The second generation (Stage II) consists of the immigrants' children, born in the colony, who play a crucial role in the formation of the new dialect. They have to select linguistic forms from different input varieties, including levelled forms from Stage I,

and consequently show great inter- and intra-individual variability in their dialects (Trudgill 2004: 101). In the newly settled colony, they lack a peer-group dialect to accommodate to (Trudgill 2004: 35). Another phenomenon in Stage II is apparent levelling (Trudgill 2004: 109), which refers to the absence of features in the language of the native-born children that one would expect to find given its geographically widespread use in the input varieties. Trudgill, therefore, concludes that features that are not represented ‘in sufficient quantities’, below a 10% threshold, will not survive in Stage II (2004: 110–11). The outcome of dialect mixing and levelling is ‘koinéisation’, in which the majority variant of a feature wins out over minority variants (Trudgill 2004: 113). The third-generation migrants will develop a stabilized and focused koiné by reducing variation to one variant per function. In cases where more than one variant survive, these will undergo reallocation (Trudgill 2004: 87), i.e. they will get a new diagnostic function in the new variety (usually sociolinguistic). For phonological features of NZEng, Trudgill claims that a focused and stable new dialect was present in the speech of those born around 1890 (2004: 113).³ Bonness (2017) uses Trudgill’s NDF (2004) to investigate intergenerational morphosyntactic variation in the McIlrath letters. Looking at subject–verb agreement in the letters of the McIlrath parents and their New Zealand-born children, Bonness (2017) finds that the Northern Subject Rule (NSR), a characteristic IrEng concord pattern (significantly different from its chronological precedents in Britain), was moving toward a more standard concord pattern faster than the NDF would lead us to expect (from 40% usage in the parent generation to 3% usage among the children). The children seemed to have skipped Stage II, extreme variability, which raises the question whether ‘minority morphosyntactic variants disappear more quickly than phonological variants in the formation of a new dialect’ (Bonness 2017: 146).

A complementary and more holistic model of new dialect formation was proposed by Schneider (2003; 2007). His so-called *Dynamic Model* (DM) sees new dialect formation as a result of five consecutive (and prototypical) phases in the development of all postcolonial Englishes in which speakers (re)construct their social identities and language use (Schneider 2003: 234–5; 2007: 26). It takes into consideration (1) historical and political factors, (2) characteristic identity constructions, (3) sociolinguistic determinants, and (4) linguistic effects in each phase (Schneider 2007: 30–31), and looks at both settler communities and indigenous communities.⁴

The development of postcolonial Englishes starts with the foundation phase, which is characterized by the founding of a settlement or colony. The early settlers see themselves as members of their respective source nations (Schneider 2007: 34), and their different input varieties form a new koiné (this phase coincides with Trudgill’s (2004) NDF).

³ This account of Trudgill’s NDF is based on Bonness (2016: 21–3).

⁴ In this chapter, the focus is on the settler community only.

The next phase Schneider calls 'exonormative stabilisation'. In New Zealand, it starts with the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), a written agreement in which Maori chiefs gave the British sovereignty over their land and in return were promised the queen's protection (Schneider 2007: 128), and which lasted until approximately 1907. The colony had stabilized, but the settlers probably still identified with their home country, though with an additional overseas experience. This is also reflected in James McIlrath's statement that 'it has been the lot of many to fight the world's hard fight far from his native land' (10 January 1868). From a sociolinguistic perspective, educated British English is the accepted linguistic standard (Schneider 2007: 38). This is supported by Hamilton when he notes that 'the two eldest boys [...] are both in the fifth standard and for grammar and arithmetic far before me' (2 May 1886). This statement can be taken to mean that Hamilton noticed that his children's grammar differed from his own, and that he viewed it as more correct. Furthermore, it underlines the importance of schooling for a young population in nineteenth-century New Zealand.

From a linguistic perspective, Bonness (2019) looked at individual language change among nineteenth-century Irish letter-writers in the light of Schneider's model, and found that their letters reflect developments characteristic of the phases of exonormative stabilization (Phase 2) and nativization (Phase 3). According to Schneider (2007: 40; 130), these stages are most noticeably visible in pronunciation and vocabulary, while grammatical innovations will mainly be found in spoken vernaculars and pass relatively unnoticed. Besides lexical borrowings from the indigenous language, Bonness (2019) found new coinages of Māori loanwords with English morphemes (2019: 266), namely the plural form of the word *Māori* itself as in '[t]he Maories in the North Island has been very troublesome lately' (Hamilton, 5 December 1865),⁵ new localized *-isms* such as *tucker* (2019: 271; denoting the food of gold-diggers or station-hands in Australia and New Zealand), or semantic shifts as in the term *station* for *farm* (2019: 266). Another example would be *run*, denoting either a *farm* or a 'greater number of cattle' (see Fritz 2007: 121), as in 'There is no fences here in this run' and the corresponding new compound *run holders* as in 'The run holders has the land from government for about one penny per acre' (James McIlrath, 8 September 1862). Semantic shifts and new compounds are characteristic of nativization (Schneider 2007: 130). According to Schneider (2007: 40), this phase is the most interesting one. The settlers are slowly becoming politically independent of the mother country, and especially the locally born children start creating their own local identity (Schneider 2007: 40–1). Matilda McIlrath's statement, 'People often laugh at me speaking of Home letters (because Ireland was not my home)' (11 December 1910), illustrates the slow process of a new generation developing their own identity. Linguistically, this is for example reflected by lexical borrowing (e.g. new-word-formation processes or new localized phrases), phonological innovations, or morphological and syntactic changes (e.g. varying prepositional usage or innovative verb complementation patterns) (Schneider 2007: 44–6).

⁵ Nouns in Māori are not usually marked for plurality (Bauer 2007: 9).

In the following Phase 4, endonormative stabilization, members of the settler community view themselves as belonging to a new nation. New local language forms are accepted and the variety becomes increasingly homogeneous and focused. This is reflected by the publication of dictionaries and grammars (Schneider 2007: 49–52). In Phase 5, *differentiation*, group-specific varieties such as ethnic, regional, and social dialects emerge. This process is closely linked to the above-mentioned phenomenon of reallocation in Trudgill's NDF (Schneider 2007: 54, 56). In New Zealand, the differentiation phase started in the 1990s.

The present chapter ties in with the studies presented above (Bonness 2017; 2019), and looks at whether the letters of the McIlrath children still show characteristic IrEng features, or whether their written language has become more standard than that of their parents. Secondly, it investigates whether the letters can confirm predictions made by Trudgill (2004) and Schneider (2003; 2007) for the development of NZEng. Special focus will be on the question of whether minority morphosyntactic variants disappear more quickly than phonological variants in the formation of new dialects.

26.2 ANALYSIS

As previously mentioned, Hamilton himself appears to have evaluated his children's grammar as better than his own, and on first sight, the second-generation McIlrath letters indeed appear to be relatively more standard than the letters of their fathers. This was also true for the NSR (Bonness 2017). However, looking more closely at the children's letters reveals that quite a number of non-standard features can still be found in their written language. There are, for example, two instances of the verb *done* instead of the preterite form *did* (examples (1) and (2); see the complaint by a Whanganui school inspector above), which is common in many non-standard varieties of English and can therefore not be seen as a diagnostic of IrEng. Hundt et al. (2004: 562–3) report a more frequent use of irregular past-tense forms such as *dreamt* or *burnt* in present-day NZEng and Australian English than in American English or British English, which they see as a result of colonial lag. In 1908, Jennie McIlrath already shows variability with this feature (3).

- (1) *However, Mother and us done all we could for him* (Emily, 12 August 1915)
- (2) *Years ago he went to the hammer hot springs for it and took a lot of sulphur baths which done him a lot of good* (Jennie, 1 March 1914)
- (3) *It was a grass fire. It burnt 8 different people out. All their feed, sheep and even horses being burnt. [...] All his grass was burned and 700 sheep and 3 horses* (Jennie, 25 January 1908)

In addition, the letters reveal a number of characteristically IrEng features, some of which were also found in the fathers' letters (see Bonness 2019), such as the future

progressive (4) (see McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012) or inverted word order with embedded questions (5) (see Filppula 1999: 167–79). In addition, we find occasional use of unbound reflexive pronouns (6) (see e.g. Sullivan 1980: 200–1; Amador-Moreno 2006: 73–81; Hickey 2007: 243–4), relative clause-marking with *that* (7) or $\emptyset$ relative pronoun (8) instead of *wh*-relative pronouns (see Harris 1993: 148–9; Walshe 2009: 100–1), or the less-studied construction *be + for V-ing* (9). Pietsch describes the latter feature as a prospective (future-oriented) construction and notes that it was used in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century supraregional southern British English as a verbal prospective periphrasis, meaning ‘plan to V’ or ‘intend to V’ (2008: 225). He assumes that this construction had disappeared from written supraregional southern British English by the end of the eighteenth century, but remarks that it may well have been perceived as a ‘characteristic marker of Irish dialectal speech’ (2008: 227).

- (4) *When they return from their honeymoon, they will be living three miles from here* (Emily, 27 December 1914)
- (5) *Father often wonders he hears no word from Uncles William or John and wishes to be remembered to them* (Jennie, 1 March 1914).
- (6) *You may expect a photo of our house & some of ourselves the same time as you get this* (Edith, 23 February 1901)
- (7) *I know such a lot of young fellows that have gone* (Emily, 27 December 1914)
- (8) *There were 3 young ladys $\emptyset$ went from our district in Feb.* (Tilly, 11 December 1910)
- (9) *However, our neighbours, the Alexanders, are for giving me an introduction to Mr Russell first opportunity* (Eva, 24 July 1907)

Although characteristic of IrEng, these features only appear sporadically in the letters, and are unsuitable for a quantitative comparison between the two generations, but they can give an indication that characteristically IrEng features were still present in the language of the McIlraith children. Other features, such as the ‘indefinite anterior perfective’ or non-standard use of the definite article, occur more prominently in the letters and therefore allow a comparative approach.

26.2.1 Perfective aspect

IrEng varies significantly from other varieties of English when it comes to perfective aspect. Harris (1984) refers to four semantic categories in supraregional southern British English that all use the *have*-perfect. These are (a) *Resultative*: ‘past event with a present relevance’, (b) *Indefinite anterior*: ‘event(s) occurring at (an) unspecified point(s) in a period leading up to the present’, (c) *Hot-news past*: events located at a point that is separated from but temporally close to the present’, and (d) *Extended-now*: ‘situation initiated in the past and persisting into the present’ (1984: 308). IrEng, in contrast, has six ways of expressing perfective aspect—the standard *have*-perfect as well as five non-standard constructions—the *after*-perfect (*be + after + ing*), the *medial-object* or

resultative perfect (object + past participle), the extended *now* perfect, the *be*-perfect, and the indefinite anterior perfect (cf. e.g. Filppula 1999: 90–190; Amador-Moreno 2006: 93–112; Hickey 2007: 195–213). Of these, the standard *have*-perfect is clearly the predominant choice in the letters of the McIlrath children. I did not find any instances of the *after*-perfect or the medial-object perfect in their or their fathers' letters (see explanation below). Although not directly comparable, this is broadly in line with Filppula's (1999: 120) findings for these two perfects in his contemporary southern IrEng corpus. He finds that the *after*-perfect and the medial-object/resultative perfect are the least frequent perfective constructions in IrEng. Also Amador-Moreno (2006: 97, 101) finds the former only scarcely represented in the novels of early twentieth-century Ulster writer Patrick MacGill, and the latter is in fact absent in his novels.⁶

It should be kept in mind that both the *after*-perfect and the medial-object/resultative perfect appear to have their origin in Irish (Hickey 2007: 198–200, 210–12). With the latter, this construction can also be found in earlier English texts, but it was already rare by the late sixteenth century (Hickey 2007: 210). Hickey (2007: 211) therefore states that it was unlikely that input varieties of English brought this construction to Ireland during the language shift from Irish to English. The McIlrath family came from Co. Down in Ulster, an area that became English-speaking earlier than most of the rest of Ireland. It is therefore not surprising that the *after*-perfect and the medial-object/resultative perfect are the only two perfect aspects not represented in their letters.

The second-generation letters, however, reveal some instances of the extended *now* perfect (10), the *be*-perfect (11–12), and the indefinite anterior perfect (14–16). The extended *now* perfect typically takes the present form of a verb and always occurs with a time-adverbial expressing duration (Filppula 1999: 123). The *be*-perfect mainly occurs with intransitive verbs of motion or mutation (11),⁷ and the focus is on the result of a prior event (Filppula 1999: 117). McCafferty (2014), however, notes that IrEng extended auxiliary *be* with the transitive verbs *finish* and *do* 'finish' during the nineteenth century (2014: 137), as exemplified in (12). Example (13) indicates possible difficulties in acquiring the standard perfect form, and reveals intravariability, or even hypercorrection. John here uses the present perfect where the preterite form would be required in supraregional southern British English, as the action is already completed at the point of writing. However, this is the only example of perfective aspect in his letter, which makes it impossible to make concrete statements about his usage.

⁶ The McIlrath children, however, include examples that at first sight resemble the medial-object/resultative perfect (e.g. *We never knew you had a sister married until you told us* (Jennie, Sept. 1896), or *The fact of it is I have been waiting to have my photo taken before I would write* (Jennie, 17 Aug. 1897)). Here, the subject is not the agent of the verb phrase, which is characteristic for the medial-object perfect. They may instead be interpreted as 'have-passives', whereby the latter example may even 'entail a second (mostly covert) subject (in form of an agent *by*-phrase)' (see Filppula 1999: 109).

⁷ This example may be interpreted as the spoken phrase *I was long past my babyhood*, but as argued by Kallen (2013: 103) for a similar case, 'the writer's use of *passed* indicates that a perfect verb form is intended'.

- (10) *My husband is quite well also Agnes she is much stronger since coming to us*
(Tilly, 22 April 1914).
- (11) *And that little one was myself and her prayer was answered for when she was called*
home I was long passed my babyhood (Eva, 24 July 1907)
- (12) *We are near finished harvesting* (Jennie, 1 March 1904)
- (13) *Mamma has had bad health this last year, she has been confined to bed often for*
weeks at a time but she is better now (John, 12 August 1881)

The last perfective aspect, the indefinite anterior perfect, refers to '[an] event(s) occurring at (an) unspecified point(s) in a period leading up to the present' (Harris 1984: 308) and frequently occurs with time adverbials such as *ever*, *never*, *often*, *always*, and *since* (Filppula 1999: 93). As with Hamilton and James McIlrath's letters (see Bonness 2019), I exclusively looked at contexts that included these five adverbials in this analysis. Examples may be found in (14–16). Filppula (1999: 95, 120) finds that the indefinite anterior perfect is the most frequently used perfective construction in his corpus. This feature was also used in more than half of all instances by James and Hamilton (Bonness 2019). Their letters combined show 55% (N = 21) use of the indefinite anterior perfect. The letters of the McIlrath children reveal three instances (38%) of this construction. This indicates a decrease in the use of the indefinite anterior perfect from the first to the second generation. Since numbers for the children are low, and the fathers' corpus is more than twice the size of that representing the children, normalized frequencies per 10,000 words were calculated in addition (Nf = 10.1 for the parents and Nf = 3.7 for the children). Also these results point to a clear decrease of the indefinite anterior perfect from one generation to the next. Note that example (16) also includes a standard *have*-construction with the adverbial *yet* in the same sentence. Filppula (1999: 93) points out that sometimes 'it is impossible to tell *ex post facto* whether reference is made to the definite past or to some activity or situation which is assumed to persist up to the moment of speaking', and Amador-Moreno (2006: 111) suggests that this may be a reason why the indefinite anterior perfect has not received as much attention in IrEng as other perfect constructions. Example (17) below illustrates such a case, where it is difficult to determine whether reference is indeed to a situation leading up to the present, or whether it refers to something Eva used to say before she got married. This example has not been counted as an instance of the indefinite anterior perfect.

- (14) *Agnes and I were just wondering the other day if the Killinchy school in Ireland ever*
received the Flag that was sent through Lord Plunkett to them. (Tilly, 22 April 1914)
- (15) *This district is very good for dairying, but we never went in for it, altho' it seems to*
pay well (Emily, 26 May 1914)
- (16) *Cousin Sarah in her letter to Agnes some time ago said she was sending a piece of*
embroidery but I am sorry to say we never received it, and as yet your friend Mr.
Russell has not called (Eva, 24 July 1907)

- (17) *You ask me what about paying Ireland a visit. I should very much like to and would if so much briny ocean did not lie between, Eva always said she was going Home for a trip, but now she is married and settled I do not think she will ever be able to make the journey* (Tilly, 11 December 1910)

The results for perfective aspect, particularly the indefinite anterior perfect, show that the characteristically IrEng variants were decreasing in the language of the children. However, the decrease occurs more slowly than with the NSR (cf. Bonness 2017). Especially interesting is the case of hypercorrection in (13), which indicates potential difficulties in acquiring the standard *have*-perfect. Since the main focus has so far been on the verbal system, the following section will look at variation in the nominal system, more specifically the non-standard use of the definite article.

26.2.2 The definite article

IrEng is known for a tendency to overuse the definite article in contexts where supraregional southern British English would use zero article or an indefinite article (cf. e.g. Henry 1957: 117; Harris 1993: 144–5; Filppula 1999: 56; Amador-Moreno 2006: 62; Hickey 2007: 251). Modern standard English distinguishes between specific and generic use when using articles. The definite article can hereby ensure cohesion and coherence in a text, as it refers ‘to something which can be identified uniquely in the contextual or general knowledge shared by speaker [writer] and hearer [reader]’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 265). The information necessary for identifying the item modified by *the* can either be inferred from the situational context (exophoric reference⁸) or can be found in the text itself (endophoric reference) (Halliday and Hasan 2013: 71). Exophoric reference can refer to an immediate situation, e.g. *The roses are beautiful* (said in a garden), or it can refer to the larger situation, i.e. to knowledge that speaker and hearer share, such as *the sun* (Quirk et al. 1985: 266). Endophoric reference can either be *anaphoric*, meaning it refers to preceding text, or *cataphoric*, referring to the following text (Halliday and Hasan 2013: 33). Example (18) illustrates all three types of reference. In the fourth sentence, the referent *the weather* can be identified exophorically as reference is unique. Endophoric reference refers to textual context as in *the smoke* (anaphoric) in the last sentence, which refers back to the *big bush fire* mentioned in the preceding sentence,⁹ or in *the middle of harvest* (cataphoric) in the second sentence, where ‘what follows the head noun [...] enables us to pinpoint the reference uniquely’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 268). Similarly, *the boys* can be identified anaphorically as the male family members given that they have been

⁸ Other scholars use the term ‘situational reference’ (e.g. Biber et al. 1999: 264; Quirk et al. 1985: 266–7).

⁹ Here, the anaphoric reference is indirect (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 268). The smoke can be taken for granted because a big bush fire has been mentioned earlier, and we know that smoke is a natural part of a fire.

introduced in the wider context. In conclusion, it can be said that the function of the definite article is that of ‘an unmarked or non-selective referential deictic’ in modern standard English (Halliday and Hasan 2013: 74).¹⁰ It is dependent on the context.

- (18) *We have two farms, and we girls are all at home. We are just in the middle of harvest now. We have two reapers and binders going. The weather is terribly dry. Everybody is afraid of big fires starting. Last harvest was very dry too and a big bush fire started a few miles away from our other farm. The smoke was so dense and hot that the boys had to knock off reaping.* (Jennie, 25 January 1908)

In IrEng, the definite article may in addition be found in contexts where supraregional southern British English would use the indirect article or no article. It typically occurs with categories such as activities, generic and impersonal reference, non-count abstract nouns and concrete mass nouns, names of languages, body parts, diseases and ailments, family members, days of the week, months, seasons and occasions, units of measurement, quantifiers, geographical areas and localities, or institutions and buildings (cf. Filppula 1999: 56–64; Amador-Moreno 2006: 62–7; Hickey 2007: 251–2). Sullivan (1980: 201) also mentions a tendency to replace possessive adjectives with *the* in IrEng. Hickey (2007: 253–4) believes that an overuse of the definite article in these contexts can be traced back to substrate influence from Irish. He finds support for this hypothesis in contact Scottish English, which developed from Scottish Gaelic. Both present-day varieties tend to use the definite article in the same contexts as the substrate varieties from which they developed during their respective language shift processes. In fact, as Joyce already states in 1910 (1979 [1910]: 82), Irish only has one article (*an*), which corresponds to the definite article in English. A high use of the definite article has also been attested for nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ulster English (see Biggar 1897: 60–61; cited in Amador-Moreno 2006: 67; Hickey 2007: 253). The substrate explanation is further shared by, for example, Sullivan (1980: 201), Filppula (1999: 64–77) or Filppula et al. (2008: 172, 174). In addition, Amador-Moreno (2006: 62–73) finds close correspondence between the Irish article *an* and use of the definite article in the novels of Patrick MacGill.

Irregular article use is one of the 15 most frequent morphosyntactic features worldwide, having been found in 33/46 (72%) varieties of English (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004: 1155). However, this feature is not listed as a frequent feature in the Pacific region, including regional NZEng (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004: 1157). Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (2004: 1189) find instead that irregular use of articles is pervasive in L2 varieties worldwide. The *Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English* (eWAVE 3.0; Kortmann et al. 2020), an interactive database on morphosyntactic features in 77 varieties of English worldwide, provides a more detailed overview of article use in these

¹⁰ Amador-Moreno (2006: 61–73) uses Halliday and Hasan’s classification of the different types of function of the definite article to compare the use of this form in early 20th-century novels of Donegal writer Patrick MacGill to its use in modern standard English. The same approach has been adopted in this analysis.

varieties. Despite being a frequent feature worldwide, there are only few varieties in which the use of the definite article instead of zero article or the indefinite article is pervasive or obligatory. The former is only pervasive in five varieties, of which two are high-contact (L1) varieties, namely IrEng (Filppula 2020) and Manx English (Draskau 2020), a product of Manx Gaelic and various input varieties of English spoken on the Isle of Man. The use of the definite article where supraregional southern British English has an indefinite article is, according to eWAVE, pervasive or obligatory in 11 English varieties worldwide, of which only three are high-contact (L1) varieties. These are again Manx English (Draskau 2020) and IrEng (Filppula 2020), as well as NZEng (Quinn 2020). However, the informant for NZEng, Heidi Quinn, notes that, to her knowledge, the only pervasive use of *the* in NZEng where supraregional southern British English uses *a* is in the expression *I've got the cold* (personal communication, 13 June 2020). Bauer (2016) also found irregular use of the definite article with place names in New Zealand weather forecasts. The present chapter therefore seeks to investigate how the definite article was used in the letters of nineteenth-century Irish migrants to New Zealand.

26.2.2.1 *First-generation McIlraths*

For the analysis of the definite article, all tokens of *the* were extracted using AntConc 3.5.8 (Anthony 2019), a freeware tool for concordancing and text analysis. The letters of Hamilton and James McIlrath revealed 729 instances of the definite article. Of these, 53 instances (7%) have been analysed as showing a non-standard use of *the*.¹¹ The brothers most frequently use the definite article instead of no article in contexts where supraregional southern British English would use a possessive pronoun (N = 11), e.g. with body parts (N = 4). This is a common context in which IrEng can take the definite article (Filppula 1999: 60–1; Amador-Moreno 2006: 64–5; Hickey 2007: 251–2), and Filppula et al. (2008: 36) point out that Irish has always favoured the definite article ‘to modify the object or thing possessed’. In supraregional southern British English, *the* may replace a possessive pronoun if the ‘personal pronoun or noun referring to the “possessor” of the body is part of the object, and the body part is a prepositional complement’, e.g. *He was hit in the face*. Alternatively, the possessor can be the subject of the clause (Quirk et al. 1985: 271). Neither is the case in the McIlrath letters, where the body part itself is in subject position (19). Also reference to family members and relatives favours a possessive pronoun in supraregional southern British English (Filppula 1999: 61), whereas IrEng often takes the definite article (Ó hÚrdail 1997: 194; Filppula 1999: 61; Hickey 2007: 252) as in (20, N = 4). In this context, Filppula (1999: 63) occasionally found the definite article with names of persons that were qualified by an adjective or a title, and the McIlrath letters reveal one such example, (21), as well. In addition, the letters include three instances of *the* with the noun *family* itself, as exemplified in (22). Here, a possessive pronoun would specify whose family the writer is referring to.

¹¹ As noted by Filppula (1999: 64), it is often difficult to determine the use of the appropriate determiner post hoc, as we do not know what the writer's intentions were. Dubious instances have therefore been discussed qualitatively.

- (19) *The disease in my knee left my joint nearly stiff and when I stand the foot is within three Inches of the ground* (James, 8 August 1892)
- (20) *We got his and the Mrs likenesses and I can tell you they do look well* (Hamilton, 15 July 1878)
- (21) *And John has married to who ever . . . the quiet John* (James, 12 March 1866)
- (22) *I don't think I ever knew William's Mrs nor any of the family* (Hamilton, 1 October 1868)

James and Hamilton further frequently use the definite article with plural count nouns with generic reference (Filppula 1999: 56–7; Hickey 2007: 251) as in (23; N = 11). The noun *emigrants* would not take an article in supraregional southern British English. Example (24) illustrates another use of *the* with generic reference, although Hamilton's intention is difficult to interpret post hoc. Either he used the definite article with a plural count noun with generic reference, or he cut short the closing formulation of his letter, thereby leaving the phrase *the enjoyment* incomplete. The closing phrase characteristic of that time was *as this leaves us in the enjoyment of the same*, thereby showing cataphoric reference. Non-count abstract nouns (25) and concrete mass nouns (26) (Filppula 1999: 57–8; Hickey 2007: 251) were another frequent category (N = 7) with which the definite article occurred in the letters. In supraregional southern British English, non-count abstract nouns usually take no article when used generically (Quirk et al. 1985: 286).

- (23) *the emigrants is coming by thousands* (James, 6 September 1874)
- (24) *I shall write no more now but with kind love to father and mother and you all and hoping that you are in good health as this leaves us in the enjoyment* (Hamilton, 6 January 1875)
- (25) *Were it not the loss of the time we could live here fine* (James, 14 March 1861)
- (26) *We never house the cattle here so there is no trouble with manure* (Hamilton, 22 October 1906)

Another category (N = 4) which can trigger the use of the definite article in IrEng includes days of the week, months, year or festivities and seasons (Filppula 1999: 61–2; Hickey 2007: 252; Amador-Moreno 2006: 61–2). Modern standard English sometimes allows for variation in these contexts, e.g. *in (the) spring* (Quirk et al. 1985: 278–9), but the combination of a preposition + *the* + premodifier as in (27) is not possible.

- (27) *but it is too late this season to plant trees but the first opportunity in the next spring I hope to see some planted* (James, 1 December 1863)

IrEng frequently takes the definite article with geographical areas (28; N = 2), public institutions and buildings (29; N = 1) (cf. Filppula 1999: 60; Hickey 2007: 252), or ailments and diseases (30; N = 1) (cf. Joyce 1979 [1910]: 83; Filppula 1999: 59–60; Amador-Moreno 2006: 63–4; Hickey 2007: 251–2). supraregional southern British English uses no article in these instances (Quirk et al. 1985: 279–80, 293–4), though Quirk et al. state

that the definite article may be used with some well-known infectious diseases in more traditional speech styles (1985: 279).

- (28) *There is two Germans a Co. Derry man a Co. Armagh man a man from the Cottown and us three in one room* (James, December 1860)
- (29) *The order is on the Ulster Bank & Co* (Hamilton, 15 July 1879)
- (30) *he has been very ill with the whooping cough but is getting well again*
(Hamilton, 15 July 1879)

Quantifying expressions such as *most*, *both*, *half*, or *all* also commonly occur with the definite article in IrEng (cf. Henry 1957: 118–19; Harris 1993: 145; Filppula 1999: 58; Hickey 2007: 252). The letters of the McIlrath brothers do not include such instances,¹² but we find two examples of *the* with the numeral *one* as in (31), referring to ‘same’ or ‘one and the same’ (Filppula 1999: 58).

- (31) *The Doctors would not allow us in the one bedroom* [...] (James, 24 February 1891)

Furthermore, the letters included some miscellaneous instances where the definite article was used (32–6). Two instances occur instead of the genitive form *my wife’s name* (32), and two instances could simply be shortened to *named* (33). These examples may fall under what Henry (1957: 117–18) refers to as ‘a tendency to specify by means of the detailed and the concrete’ in IrEng. In (34), the alternative expression *the fault is not mine* leads to the use of *the* instead of a possessive pronoun as in *it is not my fault*, and also example (35) shows an instance in which the possessive pronoun has been replaced by the definite article. Here, the noun *nature* is postmodified by a prepositional phrase that describes the head noun and therefore should use the possessive pronoun *its*. Example (36) illustrates a parallel structure. supraregional southern British English typically omits the article in these contexts, although Quirk et al. (1985: 280) list *from the right to the left* as a possible parallel structure.

- (32) *you asked me the name of my wife* (Hamilton, 15 February 1874)
- (33) *I seen some of them that came with him Mrs Taylor for one and a young man of the name of Frew* (James, 12 March 1866)
- (34) [...] *the fault is not mine* [...] (James, 21 December 1872)
- (35) *We have nature in the purest form* (James, 14 March 1861)
- (36) *For seven months I could not turn to the right side or to the left*
(James, 24 February 1891)

¹² The quantifier *all* occurred with *family* as in *I may say all the family is well* (24 Feb. 1891), but also in instances such as *the Government gave grants of land to all the young men that would volunteer* (Hamilton, 5 Dec. 1863) or [...] *now all the Nations of the Earth almost are having a cut at China* (James, 13 Nov. 1900). The use of *the* may in the latter two examples be justified with cataphoric reference, and these instances clearly differ from the example *they’d be around the house all the night* given by Filppula (1999: 58). Instances such as these have therefore not been counted as non-standard uses in the analysis.

In addition to the use of the definite article instead of no article as described above, James McIlrath's letters also reveal seven instances in which the definite article replaces the indefinite article *a/an*. However, challenges with determining the use of the appropriate determiner post hoc became specifically clear when looking at the use of the definite article in lieu of the indefinite one. This section will therefore discuss the use of *the* in the examples qualitatively.¹³ In contrast to the definite article, which has referential function, the indefinite article in supraregional southern British English is used with singular countable nouns and in cases where the referent has not been mentioned before and is unknown to the hearer (Quirk et al. 1985: 272). Non-standard use of *the* is exemplified in (37) below, where an *account* of the said *passage* has not been mentioned before, and therefore would require an indefinite article in supraregional southern British English. However, James, in the wider context, writes about acquaintances who travelled from Ireland to New Zealand, and it might be argued that the reference therefore is indirectly anaphoric. Interestingly, James uses the indefinite article with *clipping*, which, assuming that the clipping arrived together with the letter in hand, should take the definite article (exophoric reference). Also example (38) illustrates the use of a definite article in a case where the referent (*likeness*) has not been mentioned earlier. James continues explaining that Hamilton does not have an appropriate likeness, and it may be concluded from the context that the mother was indeed referring to a likeness in general, not a specific one. Example (39) could be seen as a result of wordiness, or the tendency to be detailed and concrete (Henry 1957: 117). *The only great difference* would have been sufficient in this context, or, if the whole phrase were included, an indefinite article would be appropriate as in *the only thing that is a great difference*. However, looking at punctuation in the McIlrath brothers' letters indicates a general lack of commas, and it may be possible that the clause *that is the great difference* was originally intended as a comment clause. In modern standard English this would be marked by commas and would indeed require the definite article. Also example (40) illustrates a case where the use of *the* may be discussed. In the wider context of this statement, James writes that he, his family, and old neighbours from Ireland *are well and has done well* and that none of them *has cause to regret leaving home*. It may therefore be argued that *the opportunity* here has indirect anaphoric reference. On the other hand, this phrase can also be interpreted as a general opportunity to succeed in New Zealand, which is the interpretation that has been adopted in this analysis. supraregional southern British English would in this context require the indirect article. In the sentence preceding (41), James writes about using a reaper and a binder for harvesting. Although he admits that this new technology makes work easier, he states that he likes the old way with *the hook*. As the referent has not been mentioned before, the indefinite article would be more appropriate here. Alternatively, it may be argued that there is only one sort of hook, which would make the reference exophoric, or that *the* is indirect anaphoric reference to harvesting. In both cases, the use of the definite article could be justified. Example (42) is another instance where the exact intention of the writer is difficult to determine. In modern standard

¹³ These instances have all been counted as non-standard usage in the analysis.

English, the more common construction would be *for a moment*, including an indefinite article. Alternatively, we could use the definite article with cataphoric reference as in *for the time being*. Lastly, the indefinite article is often also used in complement structures in modern standard English, especially with copular verbs. In these cases the noun phrase may be compared to a predicative adjective (Quirk et al. 1985: 273). James uses *the* in this context (43).

- (37) *You will see by a clipping the account of the passage it was pretty good 83 days*
(James, 11 January 1876)
- (38) *I spoke to Hamilton about Mother wanting the likeness but he said Mother said she wanted to see no rough faces and he could not send what he had* (James, 1 December 1863)
- (39) *the only thing that is the great difference is the want of Ladies* (James, 12 March 1866)
- (40) *So it is here few if any cares for leaving while the opportunity offers of doing well*
(James, 21 December 1872)
- (41) *It is nice to see the sheafs come off bound, but still I think the old harvest with the hook looked merry* (James, 24 February 1891)
- (42) *we almost felt as if we were roaming over Irish soil again and forgot for the time that there is distance between* (James, 30 April 1877)
- (43) *I confess I am too much of the coward* (James, 12 March 1866)

Summing up, the first generation McIlrath immigrants most frequently use *the* in lieu of a possessive pronoun in combination with body parts and family members, followed by the definite article with plural count nouns with generic reference and non-count abstract and mass nouns. These categories also belonged to the most common ones that occurred with *the* in Filppula's corpus (1999: 56–7, 60–1). The rest of the categories show more sporadic use with *the* in the letters. Also noteworthy is James's use of *the* where supraregional southern British English would use an indefinite article. Although it is often challenging to determine his original intention, it is interesting that Hamilton's letters did not include such instances. Bonness (2019: 275) noticed that James generally displays a higher use of non-standard features than his brother.

26.2.2.2 *The second-generation McIlraths*

The McIlrath children's letters include 237 instances of the definite article. Most of these show standard use of *the*. In 19 instances (8%), the use of *the* differs from supraregional southern British English usage.

In alignment with their fathers, the most frequent use of the definite article in the children's letters occurs in contexts where supraregional southern British English would use a possessive pronoun, e.g. with parts of the body (N = 5). Simultaneously, example (44) again illustrates the previously mentioned tendency in IrEng to be detailed and concrete. The syntactically shorter construction *her eyeball* would have sufficed. The definite article may in some cases replace a possessive pronoun in

supraregional southern British English if the ‘possessor’ of the body part is the subject of the clause (Quirk et al 1985: 270–1) as in (45). Here, supraregional southern British English allows for variation between the possessive pronoun and the definite article. Furthermore, Quirk et al. (1985: 271–2) note that *the* is often preferred when reference is to pain. Jennie McIlrath also uses the definite article in this case. Example (46) illustrates an example of *the* with body parts that is not described in grammars of English such as Quirk et al. (1985) or Biber et al. (1999), and it leads to speculations as to whether this is an innovative form of the opposite and more well-known idiom *to pull the rug from under someone’s feet*. Last but not least, the McIlrath children, like their fathers, use the definite article with the noun *family* (47, N = 1). In addition, Jennie McIlrath extends the use of *the* to *neighbours* (48), which arguably is closely related to terms for family members.

- (44) *Aunt Ellen is not in good health she got a stab with a rush, and broke the ball of her eye, when she was stooping for water at a creek* (John, 12 August 1881).
- (45) *She came home as usual from the work on the Friday night and on Saturday morning got up as usual, but was only up for ½ hour when she took violent pains in the sides and the back which the Dr pronounced to be pleurisy* (Jennie, 17 September 1898)
- (46) *No doubt this horse just put the feet under us for these last 5 years he has paid us handsomely* (Eva, 24 July 1907)
- (47) *Our brother Robert was down seeing us last week, he and the family (children too) are to spend Christmas with us* (Agnes, 1 August 1902)
- (48) [...] *we had a nurse to look after her in the day, and the neighbours were all so kind in sitting up at night* (Jennie, 17 September 1898)

Non-count abstract nouns such as *housework* or *sewing* (49, N = 5) can also trigger a definite article in IrEng (cf. Filppula 1999: 57–8; Hickey 2007: 251), whereas example (50) includes the definite article with a plural count noun with generic reference.

- (49) *I expect you do not like the housework so well as the sewing* (Tilly, 11 December 2010)
- (50) *There seems to be great unrest in Ireland at the present times* (Tilly, 22 April 1914)

The letters also reveal one instance of the definite article each with *ailments and diseases* (51), *public institutions* (52), and *festivities* (53), as well as two instances with *days of the week* (54). Note that with ailments and diseases, the same letter writer uses no article with *pleurisy* in (45). This example furthermore includes an instance with and one without *the* when referring to days of the week. Instances like these have here been counted as tokens of non-standard use of *the*. We know from the wider context that Jennie, writing in September 1898, is talking about the ten days before 16 August 1898, the day her sister died. Nevertheless, supraregional southern British English would require postmodification to make reference to those days specifically (Biber et al. 1999: 262).

- (51) *I had a letter from Tilly (Lakeside) saying she had got a letter from home, & that by it she saw that Cousin John had the gastric fever* (Jennie, 17 August 1897)
- (52) *Jim teaches school at the Christchurch Training College* (Jennie, 25 January 1908)
- (53) *If it causes us to think how short our time is, and to prepare ourselves for the Resurrection Morning, then we see that it is a blessing in disguise after all* (Jennie, 17 September 1898)
- (54) *On the Tuesday it had turned to inflammation of the lungs* (Jennie, 17 September 1898)

The McIlrath children further use the definite article with *quantifying expressions* in one instance (55). However, the whole expression is unnecessarily wordy, thus leading to a second definite article in the postmodifying phrase *of the two*. Writing *which one is lovelier* or *which of them is lovelier* would have sufficed. The use of double comparatives and superlatives with adjectives belongs to the most common non-standard morphosyntactic features worldwide (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004: 1154). Interestingly, this feature is neither pervasive nor extremely rare in present-day IrEng (Filppula 2020), but it is pervasive or obligatory in modern NZEng (Quinn 2020). It is difficult to say whether Jennie inherited this structure from IrEng, or whether it is a New Zealand development, but we can state that such double comparisons were not found in the letters of the fathers.

- (55) *Your lovely present came as a great surprise to me, also Minnies to Emy. I do not know which is the more lovelier of the two* (Jennie, 25 January 1908)

In sum, we find 19/237 instances where the definite article is used instead of no article in the McIlrath children's letters. The letters do not reveal instances of a definite article instead of an indefinite one. Looking at normalized frequencies per 10,000 words for the parents ($N_f = 25.5$) and the children ($N_f = 23.5$), we do not find a significant decline of non-standard use of *the* across the two generations, and the order of the different categories does not vary significantly. Both generations use *the* most often instead of possessive pronouns, followed by non-count abstract nouns and mass nouns. However, the children also include examples that deviate from traditional IrEng usage, as illustrated in examples (46) and (55).

26.3 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The letters of two generations of McIlrath provide data for an intergenerational study of language variation and change among nineteenth-century Irish migrants to New Zealand. The results are significant in the light of Trudgill's New Dialect Formation model (2004) and Schneider's Dynamic Model (2003; 2007). From the perspective of Schneider's model (2007: 40–41), letters of the McIlrath children were written in the

transition of Phase 2 (1840–1907) and Phase 3 (1907–1973), namely between 1881 and 1915. Matilda McIlrath's statement that she is being laughed at by others when she speaks of Ireland as her home supports the claim that the locally born children in Phase 3 were starting to create their own identity at the overseas location. Linguistically, morphological changes such as variation between regular and irregular participle forms of *burn*, or innovative expressions such as *this horse just put the feet under us* (Eva, 24 July 1907), may also support the changes happening during the nativization phase.

Bonness (2017) further found that the use of the Northern Subject Rule decreased rapidly from one generation to the other, thereby apparently skipping Stage II in the New Dialect Formation model. The present chapter therefore aimed to investigate whether the second generation's letters still show other characteristic non-standard IrEng features, and whether other minority morphosyntactic features disappeared as quickly as the Northern Subject Rule. The analysis indeed found typical features of IrEng such as the future progressive, inverted word order, or the lesser known *be + for V-ing*. However, these features only occurred sporadically, and were less suited for a comparison between the two generations. They do, however, indicate that the children's language had not yet assimilated completely to a standard grammar system, but still shows variable use of characteristic IrEng features. Perfective aspect constructions and non-standard use of the definite article, both characteristic features of IrEng, occur more frequently in the letters and have therefore been looked at from an intergenerational quantitative perspective. With regard to perfective aspect, only the indefinite anterior perfect was sufficiently represented to allow for a comparison, although the fact that both the extended *now*-perfect and the *be*-perfect were very infrequent in the second generation's letters suggests that IrEng aspect forms were not gaining a foothold in NZEng. This is further supported by the findings for the indefinite anterior perfect, which decreased from the parents to the children. Although the results are based on few tokens, especially in the children's letters, it clearly shows a trend towards more standard perfective usage in early NZEng. However, the decline of the indefinite anterior perfect is not as dramatic as with the Northern Subject Rule (Bonness 2017). The indefinite anterior perfect is a typical IrEng feature that is not frequent among the other two major groups of migrants in Canterbury, the Scots and the English, and it would therefore have been a minority variant. Variability in the use of the indefinite anterior perfect among the second-generation McIlraths is therefore in line with Stage II of the New Dialect Formation model (Trudgill 2004). Of special interest, however, is an instance of possible hypercorrection in John McIlrath's letter. According to Trudgill's deterministic approach to new dialect formation, hypercorrection is not an issue in Stages II and III as it would have been driven by a wish to use more socially prestigious variants (cf. Trudgill 2004: 158). Rather, the numbers of speakers using variants will determine which wins out over others.¹⁴ However, we must not forget the effects of schooling on the language of the locally born migrants, which was probably responsible for the demise of *h*-dropping in

¹⁴ For a critique of this purely deterministic view of New Dialect Formation, see Hickey (2003) or *Language in Society* 37(2).

early NZEng (Gordon 2010: 361). Educated British English (both spoken and written) was still the accepted linguistic variety of that time (Schneider 2007: 38), and this variety would have been taught in schools. Schneider (2007: 98) notes that major external factors can lead to a preference for one element over another, and it could be argued that schooling has to be included as an external factor here. In any case, it is interesting that the indefinite anterior perfect, in contrast to the NSR—a feature that would have been used by a lot more speakers (both Irish, Scottish, and northern English dialect speakers)—changed less quickly, despite having fewer speakers using that variant.

If we look at article use, we find no decline of non-standard usage between the generations. Quite the contrary: we have to keep in mind that the analysis of the parents also included instances of *the* instead of the indefinite article, which was not the case in the children's letters. There was otherwise broad agreement between the categories with which both generations used *the*, specifically instead of possessive pronouns with body parts and family members. With the latter, both generations have extended their use to the noun *family* itself, and the children also use it with *neighbours*. Filppula (1999: 56) states that for present-day IrEng, article use does not belong to the most salient features of the variety, and he suggests that this might be due to greater variation in article usage in several varieties of English. Although this probably would have been a minority variant in nineteenth-century Canterbury, with IrEng and maybe some speakers of northern English dialects (but also L2 speakers) using it, this might be why non-standard use of *the* decreases more slowly than perfective aspect constructions or the NSR. Irregular article use belongs to the 15 most frequent morphosyntactic features of present-day Englishes, and Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (2004: 1154–5) find that almost half of these features are related to the nominal system.

This chapter has investigated language variation and change in a nineteenth-century Irish migrant family to New Zealand in the light of two frameworks for new dialect formation (Trudgill 2004; Schneider 2007). Real-time studies such as this can provide us with a micro-perspective on the stages described in these models, and we can observe how language really varied within single families. Further intergenerational studies could help us investigate early developments of postcolonial varieties of English, but also track how Irish English evolved in the Irish diaspora.

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PART V

THE WIDER
CONTEXT

CHAPTER 27

PERCEPTIONS OF IRISH ENGLISH

STEPHEN LUCEK

27.1 INTRODUCTION

PERCEPTUAL Dialectology has long provided a valuable set of observations and insights into sociolinguistic variation that speaks to the foundational mixed-method approach to language variation and change. As a means of augmenting what we can measure and analyse in various contexts, perceptual dialectology allows us to put a finer point on the *salience* of sociolinguistic variation, which can be a difficult concept in linguistics (see Hickey 2000; Rącz 2013; MacLeod 2015). But are there other complementary types of data that contribute to how a variety of a language is perceived? This chapter presents an experimental rethinking of the interrelatedness of linguists, language users, and the media in creating, curating, and challenging language attitudes and ideologies. By augmenting the language attitudes and ideology paradigm to factor in the influence of traditional media and public perceptions of social media, perceptual dialectology becomes more than a lens through which we can evaluate salience, but rather a focusing device that transcends spoken, written, and broadcast media of all types towards a multifactorial rethinking of social meaning and agency in sociolinguistics. perceptual dialectology offers sociolinguists the chance to test our observable findings in a non-academic setting, though it remains an underrepresented research area while remaining more influential as a methodological tool.

The current chapter seeks to examine the through lines between the observations of linguists, the perceptions of non-linguists, and the ways that writers access and manipulate these data in crafting believable and authentic texts. Through considering the issues around perceptions, attitudes, and media representations, we will see the full picture of what speech sounds mean to speakers of IrEng and how their attitudes and perceptions are activated by media and sometimes reinforced by that same media. The chapter ends with the experimental model of language use, perception, and representation as proposed by the author (see Lucek, forthcoming).

27.2 HOW WE CAN ANALYSE ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE

We can understand language perceptions and language attitudes through a number of different perspectives. Here I would like to briefly discuss some of the larger paradigms that are evident in other chapters in this handbook (see e.g. Hickey and Diskin-Holdaway, Chapters 6 and 28 this volume). The ways in which language attitudes and language perceptions are tested are certainly related, as the latter grew out of the former (see Preston 1999a). Throughout the chapter, I will present these data separately before proposing a possible future research agenda that considers different types of data in forming a working model of language attitudes, performance, and perceptions.

27.2.1 Language attitudes and standard language ideology

Language ideology is overtly concerned with power relationships (see Gal and Irvine 2000 for a comprehensive overview). This concern with power guided some early work in the field of anthropology in the 1970s (see Silverstein 1979). Perceptions around prestige varieties of a language often centre on standard languages and their ideologies. Standard language ideology, inevitably, is a top-down experience of choosing a form of a language that is considered to be linked to official acceptance and ultimately to success in the public sphere. Lippi-Green (1994) defines this phenomenon as ‘a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogeneous spoken language which is imposed from above, and which takes as its model the written language’ (1994: 166). It is an ideology that comes with an inherent power imbalance that does not allow any form of variation (see Milroy and Milroy 1999). Making written forms the standard, these ideologies regard spoken language derisively. Standard language ideology is one way of maintaining a power imbalance in society that links ‘“nonstandard” language and lack of logic and clarity, with blurring of the written/spoken boundaries’ (Lippi-Green 1994: 167). This is a form of the theory of linguistic deficiency that has produced a great number of well-intentioned but ultimately prejudicial studies that, nevertheless, have captured and still capture the public imagination (see Hart and Risley 1995; Honey 2000). It has also been significantly discredited elsewhere, despite its continued popularity (see Kachru 1992; 1994).

Indexing accent to social class as a function of social mobility is the central theme of Mugglestone (1995). Here, Victorian literature offers insights into standardization as a means of establishing a social class rationale for speech types and the rise of standard accents as prestige accents. Attitudes to speech types, particularly to social class-based types, can have far-reaching implications for education (Edwards 1977b; 1979), employment (L. Milroy 2001), and the courts (Lippi-Green 1994).

27.2.2 Perceptual dialectology

Perceptual dialectology is a tool that allows the sociolinguist to see how non-linguists understand language variation and that brings language attitudes into sharper focus through the careful application of certain methodological cues and analytical protocols. As a subfield of dialectology, perceptual dialectology has been showing how physical space relates to language attitudes. By asking their participants to complete specific types of tasks (e.g. draw-a-map; degree of difference judgements; speaker identification) perceptual dialectology researchers have been gathering language attitude data since the 1950s. Early studies in perceptual dialectology are contained in Preston (1999a), with data from the 60 years leading up to its publication. In its introduction, Preston (1999b: xxiii–xxiv) discusses the three approaches to language: what people say; how people react to what is said; and what people say about how they react to it. We might think of these three groupings as ‘language research’, ‘language attitudes’, and ‘linguistic perceptions’. This interrelatedness will be addressed again at the end of this chapter.

More recently, the technology that perceptual dialectology researchers can use to visualize their data has progressed considerably since the advent of the research area as an offshoot of folk linguistics. Aggregating the maps that research participants draw for us has become more impactful as Geographical Information System (GIS) technology has been made affordable (ArcGIS (ESRI 2020)) or freely (QGIS (QGIS Development Team 2020)) available by two of the most powerful platforms. By overlaying scans of the maps that are collected, ‘layers of data can be combined in order to produce composite maps, which is precisely what perceptual dialectologists have strived to do with their map-based data’ (Montgomery and Cramer 2016: 18). We will discuss perceptual dialectology research on IrEng in greater detail below. In the next section, I will discuss how IrEng has been analysed in previous studies of IrEng.

27.3 HOW IRISH ENGLISH VARIATION HAS BEEN ANALYSED

The linguistic history of Ireland might rival that of its political and religious histories. It would certainly be possible to examine IrEng as the first contact variety of English. This contact approach is examined in detail in a number of recent publications (see e.g. Hickey 2005b; 2020; Kallen 1997; 2013) taking into account the internal and external histories of English in Ireland. This is not to say that contact is held up as a determining factor in the realization of IrEng, an argument made by Harris (1984) and subsequently by a great number of other researchers. Indeed, the status of IrEng as a contact and shift variety is a source of considerable debate (see Ronan and van Hattum, Chapters 2 and 4 this volume), as is the case with postcolonial Englishes.

Traditional dialect approaches to differentiation amongst speakers of English on the island of Ireland (see Gregg 1972; Barry 1981b) have done an excellent job of providing the basis for modern approaches to isogloss maps and the question of dialect boundaries. Their work continues to provide the foundation for generations of researchers exploring, in particular, variation in Northern Ireland (e.g. Milroy and Milroy 1985; Hickey 1999; Pietch 2011; Corrigan 2020). In this section, I will examine the different ways in which we can analyse variation on the island of Ireland, as well as some of the linguistically contentious areas that influence perceptions of IrEng and Northern Irish speech.

27.3.1 Linguistic origins of current studies of Irish English

The external and internal history of IrEng has been discussed at length in many previous publications (see e.g. Kallen 1994; Hickey 2007; Mac Mathúna 2020). From a practical point of view, we might take the invasion of English soldiers, and later King Henry II, between 1169 and 1171 as the starting point for language contact between Irish speakers and Anglo-Norman speakers (Kallen 1994: 150–1). (It should be noted that the linguistic situation from which Henry, himself a Norman French speaker, emerged was anything but homogeneous or even represented a codified form of English, Hickey 1997) What is remarkable about the period that followed is that the invaders were ‘completely absorbed by the Irish by the end of the fifteenth century’ (Hickey 2005b: 21) despite numerous attempts to colonize Ireland with English speakers. Crowley (2000) includes very detailed reports of language and settlement histories of sixteenth-century Ireland to the present day. Increased forced settlement of the island of Ireland in the Elizabethan era and subsequent centuries contributes to the impact of external history on linguistic diversity in Ireland. As colonization from the East continued in the seventeenth century, the English crown began to use language as a tool of its expanding empire (Crowley 2005: 122). Extensive plantations in the north, south, and east of the country continued, which led to a *mélange* of English (and non-English, for that matter) dialects arriving along with the planters. This phase of settlement featured speakers of ‘Scots in the north and West/North Midland varieties in the south’ (Hickey 2005b: 21). This continued—and continuous—colonization of Ireland from disparate areas of Britain, one that was amplified and escalated by socio-political decisions, leads historical linguists to the conclusion that by the mid-seventeenth century, the English spoken in Ireland bore little resemblance to that of the earlier colonizers, as well as demonstrating a disconnection from the ever-changing English in England (see Bliss 1972).

A combination of factors leading up to the nineteenth century (e.g. plantations in the north and east of the island; Irish speakers pushed towards the West of Ireland; the Famine; large-scale emigration) contributed to a general loss of Irish as a daily language of the population, culminating in the push towards a renewed interest in the Irish language that continued into the twentieth century (Mac Mathúna 2020: 93–5). One of the

most popular generalizations about English in Ireland is that Irish speakers learning English

interpreted and reproduced the sounds they heard in terms of their own phonemic system, and the resulting pronunciation has been handed down, more or less intact, to the present day. (Bliss 1984: 135)

A great deal of research and a large number of publications have addressed IrEng over the past 30 years. Volumes on the grammar (Filppula 1999), phonology (Hickey 2004a), pragmatics (Barron and Schneider 2005), and lexicon (Dolan 2020) have added significantly to the understanding and codification of IrEng, and cemented its place amongst other varieties of English (see, e.g. Hickey 2007; Chapter 1 this volume; Kallen 2013).

The International Corpus of English component for Ireland (ICE-Ireland) has documented the standard forms of IrEng and has provided the basis for a number of publications by the compilers, Jeffrey Kallen and John Kirk (see e.g. Kallen 2013; Kirk and Kallen 2001; 2006; Kirk et al. 2003). Corpus documentation for IrEng has had considerable consequences for the field. IrEng need not look to outside observers to understand the significance of its internal attitudes and perceptions. How English reached Ireland, how it further evolved in Ireland, how it is politicized in Ireland are issues which do not diminish its role as an area of study both on its own and in the context of varieties of English as a whole.

27.3.2 Attitudes to Irish

Of course, any discussion of language in Ireland would be incomplete without considering Irish. From a purely official language point of view, Irish is the country's first official language and English is its second, co-official language (Bunreacht na hÉireann 1937: art. 8). Its primacy in law is evident in the founding document of the Irish Republic, and the symbolic power of Irish and its place of esteem in Irish society has a long and intricate history.

For centuries, the evolving Irish language was the primary spoken language of the Irish people. Through extensive contact between Celtic languages, invaders from Scandinavia, and written input from medieval Latin-speaking monks, the linguistic ecosystem that Norman soldiers and their English retinue encountered in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a multilingual one with Middle Irish, Old Norse, Latin, and English playing their own roles in society, while the early settlers also brought with them Welsh and some Flemish as well (Kallen 2013: 6–12).

Until the Statutes of Kilkenny of 1366, there was no specific prohibition of the Irish language in Ireland, leading one to believe that a conquest from England had not, in fact taken hold (cf. Martin 1987, who attests that neither a sudden invasion nor a complete conquest had occurred). The need for the Statutes is said to be evidence that '[t]he Anglo-Normans who were the military leaders during the initial settlement had been

completely absorbed by the Irish by the end of the fifteenth century' (Hickey 2016: 21). Irish influence was so substantial that in various quarters, the phrase 'more Irish than the Irish themselves' indicated the level which cultural assimilation had reached amongst the Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland.

The position of Irish, though derided in England, appears to have persevered during the medieval period despite various local prohibitions on Irish culture, the establishment of firm legal control over affairs within the Pale, and the proliferation of walled towns in every part of the country. Thus, a major shift towards direct rule from England comes through passage of the Crown of Ireland Act 1542 which created the title 'King of Ireland' for King Henry VIII. The Act itself was read in the Irish parliament in Irish to a new parliament that included 'Gaelic lords for the first time [. . .] with their Anglo-Irish peers' (Lydon 1972: 278). That this Act was read in Irish to an Irish parliament seems to Kallen (1994; 1997; 2013) to be seen,

not as a utilitarian concession to the loss of English, but as a symbolic, political recognition of the importance of Irish in the attempt to incorporate Gaelic society (including those who wavered between the two societies) into a common political order under English rule. (Kallen 2013: 21–2)

Extensive research on the use of and attitudes to Irish has been conducted by Pádraig Ó Riagáin since the 1980s. This is particularly evident in Ó Riagáin and Gliasáin (1994), where the results of the 1973 CILAR Report on attitudes, ability, and use of Irish (which in 1983 and 1993 were carried out by ÍTE, the Linguistics Institute of Ireland) are discussed. Irish is strongly linked to Irish identity (1973: 56%; 1983: 66%; 1993: 60%), though this is countered by the numbers who agreed that Irish is a dead language, which is an attitude that is starting to fade by 1993 (1973: 42%; 1983: 40%; 1993: 31%). Competence in Irish was seen as increasing, with a generational shift away from the lower end of the ability spectrum in the CILAR survey ('Respondent has no Irish', 1973: 21%; 1983: 16%), though the higher levels of ability are unchanged. Ó Riagáin later attributes the steady rise to the increase in the number of Irish-medium schools, particularly for children from middle-class families (1997). Irish, in this sense, fulfils the role of a language of prestige and advantage for the middle classes, while native speakers of Irish are not in such a position of social advantage (see also Watson and Ní Ghiolla Phádraig 2011). Subsequent surveys that built on the CILAR study deliver results that are not immediately applicable in this context. The All-Island Survey 2000–2001, commissioned by Foras na Gaeilge, asked a similar question about the link between the Irish language and Irish identity, where only 41% agreed that there is a strong link between Irish identity and the Irish language, while 46% believed that Irish was a dead language (Ó Riagáin 2007). Darmody and Daly led the 2013 All-Island survey which showed that 64% of respondents agreed that Irish culture is strongly linked to the Irish language and 30% believed that Irish was a dead language (Darmody and Daly 2015: 79).

Irish today remains as a minority language in Ireland, but one that is important in the administrative functions of the state. Much research into Irish focuses on the new

speaker paradigm (see Walsh 2012). The authority bestowed upon speakers of Irish from traditionally Irish-speaking areas, known collectively as the Gaeltacht, has the unintended outcome of setting boundaries around where Irish belongs, with elements of ghettoizing Irish in these communities (O'Rourke and Walsh 2015). Indeed, it is a major contention for O'Rourke and Walsh that the new speaker, one who did not come from the Gaeltacht but learned Irish through the education system, is necessary for the survival of a language whose native speaking population has borne an imbalanced load of socio-economic depression and emigration. Ó Murchadha and Flynn (2018) are specifically interested in perceptions of varieties of Irish amongst teachers of Irish, and how those who acquire Irish through the education system may have different ideologies when asked their attitudes towards variation in Irish. Participants in this study were able to identify the regions of speakers in recorded speech samples. The issue of perceived authenticity and authority amongst native speakers of Irish from the Gaeltacht (see also, O'Rourke and Walsh 2015) is still present, but recognition of the acceptance of post-Gaeltacht Irish is growing, which may be indicative of a rejection of native-speaker language ideology in certain domains (e.g. when authority and correctness are not central issues).

The new-speaker paradigm presents the growing body of non-Gaeltacht speakers who are not native speakers. Census data show that this is a slowly evolving process where those who answered that they are everyday speakers of Irish numbered only 73,803, though that population is rather young (66% of 17/18 year olds reported knowledge of Irish) and urban (20.2% of daily speakers are from Dublin city and county) (Central Statistics Office, 2017). While the data analysed by Ó Riagáin and subsequently by Darmody and Daly suggest a culture of Irish identity that is primarily learned through the traditional school trajectory, Walsh (2020) focusses on adult learners. Identity continues to play a large part in learner motivation for Irish, and what Walsh describes as 'cultural nationalism' (2020: 29–31). We might read this as an echo of Ó Murchú (1978: 181), who described the function of Irish as serving 'a separatist function for the majority of Irish people' remaining 'a powerful symbol of national identity'.

27.3.3 The Northern Irish border

Another area of political contention concerns the Republic of Ireland's land border with Northern Ireland. If we set aside the political decisions that led to the partition of the 32 counties of Ireland as part of the Anglo-Irish Treaty 1920–21 and turn instead to more focused analyses (see e.g. O'Neill 1946; Lynch 2019), as a linguistic boundary, the border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland is a frequently cited example of a jurisdictional and dialectal Sprachbund ('an area of linguistic convergence'; see generally, Friedman and Joseph 2017 and specifically Hickey 2012) where the firm separation in terms of governance is not particularly coincidental with the more flexible dialect cline of the area. For the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, the area of transition between linguistic areas has been described with a simple exercise:

If you draw two parallel lines across the map, one from Bundoran [in Southern Donegal] to Dundalk [in Northern Louth] and the other from Drogheda [in Southern Louth] to Sligo [Town in Northern Sligo], you will mark off a zone of transition between southern and northern Hiberno-English. (Adams 1977: 56)

This excerpt comes from a series of radio lectures on the topic of English in Ireland (Ó Muirthe 1977) which might help to explain the straightforward nature and visual style of the description. Adams produced one of the first dialect studies of Northern IrEng in 1964, five years after noting ‘the present under-developed state of Anglo-Irish dialectology, which it can be fairly said is about fifty years behind the times’ (1959: 70). Gregg (1972) features one of the most convincing visual examples of dialect and language differences in Ireland. Based on an extensive set of interviews in the early 1960s, the distinctions that Gregg describes are largely due to settlement history, labelling the areas as: Core Ulster Scots, occupying a large portion of northern Antrim, Derry, and east Donegal; Mid-Ulster English, which can be found in all of the counties of Northern Ireland as well as the small strip of northern Leitrim and a larger area of northern Monahan; and South Ulster English, which forms a belt from north-east Leitrim, much of Fermanagh, northern Cavan, mid-Monaghan, South Armagh, and into Louth. South of these areas is simply Southern Irish English, which is not differentiated by Gregg.

What we see in the years that follow is a concerted effort to document dialects of English on the island of Ireland, leading to the start in 1972 of the Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech (TRS), culminating in the 1981 collection edited by Michael V. Barry on the TRS. The TRS is then a test of previous conceptualizations of the border between the dialect areas. Participants were selected from three age groups: 9–11; 35–45; and 65–75. This collection was quite similar to older dialect surveys (e.g. the Survey of English Dialects) in requiring the participants to ‘be natives of the locality under investigation [...] and that shall not have lived away from the locality for more than five years, no absence being acceptable in the case of the child [...] [married participants] should have a spouse from the locality’, using a map of the Irish National Grid and recruiting participants from each 20 km square on the map (Barry 1981a: 63–4). Focusing almost exclusively on phonology,¹ there are no internal distinctions between male and female informants, which allows no scope for analysing variation between sexes, with age chosen as the sole basis for variation (Tilling 1985: 17–18).

Despite the all-island approach to the collection of the TRS, Barry (1981b) addresses Northern Irish speech almost exclusively. In his own paper in the collection, Barry (1981a) examines the border between Northern and Southern Irish English (he uses the older term ‘Hiberno-English’). In describing the boundaries, he also utilizes a novel exercise in describing a border simply because the jurisdictional border is not sufficient.

¹ However, the TRS contains stretches of free recorded speech which can be evaluated for morphosyntactic and lexical features.

An earlier boundary between northern and southern dialects of Irish predates the increased settlement of the island in the seventeenth century from England. This boundary between dialects of Irish ‘survived [. . .] in such a way as to form, for nearly three hundred years, a barrier between the English introduced in the [South] and that introduced in the [North]’ (Barry 1981a: 56). He considers Henry (1958), which contains a number of highly detailed maps establishing three broad divisions: Ulster Lowland (subdivided into Ulster Scots and Mid Ulster); Irish Gaelic on offshore islands and western coastal areas; and British English mixed with Irish, which is the dominant variety on the rest of the island. The Henry distinctions are largely accepted by Barry, while the age investigation revealed that the youngest and oldest groups behave quite similarly (possibly due to childcare responsibilities of the older group for the younger group) with influence from the south (the relatively new availability of Radió Telefís Éireann and Dublin-trained teachers) reflected in the younger group where there was divergence.

More recent work has focussed on the interaction between communities on either side of the border. Using eight variables to test the boundaries of speech groups on the island, Kallen (2000: 32) is emphatic:

while there is ample evidence for a broad north/south divide in Irish and English, this division does not follow the political border, nor is the north/south border the only geographical division that is significant for the dialectology of the two languages.’

Kallen’s paper makes it clear that to understand linguistic diversity on this island, we must consider data from both Irish—which has been mapped admirably by Wagner (1958) and later by Hickey (2011)—and English, which does not have such a systematic mapping (cf. Hickey 2007 and section 27.4.2 below).

Religious affiliation and attitudes to the Good Friday Agreement play major roles in Zwickl (2002), which reports on fieldwork on both sides of the border between Armagh and Monaghan. Minority groups in each location (i.e. Catholics in Armagh and Protestants in Monaghan) had the most favourable attitudes to general questions such as ‘Do you like the way people talk here?’ while majority groups are more neutral in their attitudes. It is Zwickl’s contention that her results suggest an application of Social Identity Theory (see generally Tajfel 1974; Tajfel and Turner 1979) in seeking social cohesion. Similarly, attitudes to the Good Friday Agreement are mentioned specifically as another indicator of positive attitudes to local speech types.

Kallen (2014) returns to the border, but through the lens of linguistic landscapes (see Hickey 2021). Linguistic landscapes can provide a valuable set of data to perceptual dialectologists, as they constitute an outward expression of attitudes and ideology about languages, allowing perceptual dialectologists to ground their research in the public environment of human artefacts. Kallen’s study takes as its starting point three towns on each side of the border: in Northern Ireland, Warrenpoint, Newry (both Co. Down) and Armagh; and in the Republic of Ireland, Carrickmacross and Monaghan (both Co. Monaghan) and Dundalk (Co. Louth). In these eastern border towns, there are no signs

‘welcoming’ motorists to a new jurisdiction. While bilingual street signage shows official language policy, the signs on shops on each side of the border suggest a solidarity with the minority language (Irish). Even the celticized fonts on pubs and shops indicate cultural attachment.

Perceptions of Northern Irish identity are directly under discussion in Garnett and Lucek (2022), in which a large majority (19/25) of participants identified Northern Ireland as being a distinct linguistic area on the island. The same number of participants identified Donegal as a distinct variety, not one that is (as Gregg 1972 would have it) part of the Ulster dialect continuum. These participants described Northern Irish speakers as ‘sexy’ and ‘friendly’ on one hand, but also ‘harsh’ and ‘hard’ on the other hand (Garnett and Lucek 2022). The participants for this study were largely from the Republic of Ireland, which suggests that their perceptions of a Northern Irish identity (for the former) and Northern Irish speech (for the latter) are easily accessible to non-linguists.

The future of the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland arises as a new source of contention in Dunlevy (2022). The border now forms a barrier between the European Union and the United Kingdom given Britain’s departure from the European Union. Coupled with political stagnation in the Northern Ireland government, the inertia of potentially serious ramifications is evident in a careful examination of the linguistic landscape of the M1/A1, the main Dublin to Belfast road. There appears to be ‘an aspirational political stance’ (226) in the lack of a ‘Welcome to the Republic of Ireland’ sign, driving south from Northern Ireland, despite a ‘Welcome to Northern Ireland’ sign (one that is often the source of ‘transgressive acts’ of politically motivated vandalism) facing drivers travelling in the opposite direction on the same road.

In summary, the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland has at various times been a reflection of a boundary between linguistic inputs in the English transported to the island in the seventeenth century; a source of opposition and resistance to partition; and a blurred entity whose openness facilitated cross-border influence in the landscape.

27.4 HOW IRISH ENGLISH ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED

The ways in which speakers of IrEng perceive themselves and those around them have received a considerable amount of attention over the past 15 years (see Hickey 2004a; Corrigan, Edge, and Loneragan 2012; Lucek and Garnett 2020) and is the central theme of Hickey and Amador-Moreno (2020). A number of these recent studies have relied on the perceptual dialectology approach to eliciting linguistic differentiation amongst non-linguists. Data surrounding the perceptions of language users is often tied up with their perceptions of language itself.

27.4.1 Attitudes to English in Ireland

For hundreds of years, Ireland has been subjected to what Crowley calls ‘a particularly irritating nuisance known to historians as the cultural observer’ (2000: 13). In the years following the proclamation of Henry VIII as king of Ireland, St Leger (as cited in Kallen 1994: 153) describes the son of an Irish lord as ‘speaking good [English]’. A more focused observer, and perhaps one who was not intent on damning with faint praise, was Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223), who described the Irish as lazy, corrupt, and prone to various forms of sexual perversion. Not only are the Irish engaged in these proclivities, but ‘even strangers who land here from other countries become generally imbued with this national crime, which seems to be innate and very contagious’ (Cambrensis 1863 [1188]: 137–8, as quoted in Crowley 2000: 13). This mindset affected official relations with Ireland, influencing the types of legislation that was enacted with regards to Ireland and, perhaps by extension, helped to colour opinions of Irish people. This naturally stops just short of constituting linguistic perception, admittedly, but it helps to frame attitudes to Irish people (and Irishness) in an explicit manner.

A different example of these types of perception of language in Ireland is contained in Edgeworth and Edgeworth (1802), authors whose own work brought them acclaim in science and letters. They described the linguistic situation in Ireland at the turn of the nineteenth century, where ‘many of the poorest labourers and cottagers do not understand English, they speak only Irish [...] but amongst those who do speak English we find fewer vulgarisms, than amongst the same rank of persons in England’ (1802: 199). The Edgeworths go on to suggest that the English they encountered in Ireland was noticeably similar to that of Shakespearean times, and most likely what we might describe today as a conservative (if archaic) variety of English (see e.g. Chambers 1998; Hickey 2004a; Dollinger 2015).

Prior to its formal coalescence with perceptual dialectology research, attitudinal research was concerned with the evaluation of personality using quite similar metrics, such as trustworthiness or intelligence (see e.g. Lambert et al. 1960; Giles 1970). Within this earlier framework, Edwards (1977a) evaluates the perceptions of 178 Dublin-born secondary school students in relation to five recordings made by the same actor using guises for different locations in Ireland—Galway, Cork, Cavan, Dublin, and Donegal—as well as four ‘filler voices’ that were not evaluated by the author. The students judged the Dublin voice the least favourably and the Donegal voice the most favourably (1977a: 286), while there was statistical significance across 7 of the 9 variables tested. In comparing the participant groups along the (un)important and (un)intelligent dyads, where the private boys school in the study gave responses closer to the upper and lower ends of the Likert-style scales, for the most part, the cohort behaved in a similar manner. This led Edwards to note: ‘this finding indicates that the reactions to regional accents appear largely consistent across the social strata of Dublin schoolchildren represented here’ (Edwards 1977a: 284). However, to return to stereotypes of regions in Ireland, the finding that the Donegal accent is rated most favourably on what Lambert calls the

'competence' dimension (along with 'social attractiveness' and 'personal integrity' in this study, see also Lambert 1967),

appears to validate the popular stereotypic view of northerners in general [...] an ambitious and business-like demeanour associated with northern people [...] not only related to the greater force of the industrial revolution had in the northern part of the island, but may also be related to much more distant historical phenomena. (Edwards 1977a: 284)

Edwards proceeds to recount some traditional views of northern populations as the holders of knowledge, along with the perception of the strong commercial interests of settlers in the North.

Contemporaneously, Edwards (1977b) took recordings made by an equal number of working-class (20) and middle-class (20) schoolboys in Dublin schools at early primary and late secondary levels and played them for evaluators to judge their views on the schoolboys' accents along the following dimensions: intelligence, fluency of expression, vocabulary, general voice quality, and ability to communicate the story the schoolboys were asked to retell in the recordings. On each of these five metrics, the disadvantaged school students were rated significantly lower than the students at the non-disadvantaged school. Edwards suggests that these results can be interpreted in two ways. First, the metalinguistic analysis of the schoolboys' speech shows that perhaps the evaluations of the adult participants is merely reflective of lower levels of language use. More tellingly, the second way of viewing these results is that 'the lower ratings given to the [disadvantaged] group on the dimension of general voice quality may, at least in part, reflect current social prejudices against certain speech styles and may have serious consequences' (Edwards 1977b: 70). Edwards also goes on to note that teachers need to be aware of social stigma against students from lower socio-economic communities, as the existing stereotypes about them is amplified once they begin to speak.

In a modern test of the Edwards (1977a) attitudinal survey, Hickey (2005a: 92–100) includes an accent attitudes test, where 111 respondents were played 6 sample recordings of speakers from London, Minnesota, North Antrim, Dublin 4, local Dublin, and rural Cork to evaluate attitudes along three categories on a 3-point scale: important, intelligent; pleasant, friendly; educated. Dublin 4 was rated nearly as highly as Received Pronunciation (73/111–72/111) and well-educated (69/111–57/111) by Dubliners, while the rural Cork accent was rated as the friendliest of all accents (67/111). However, local Dublin received the lowest ratings for important, intelligent (21/111), and well-educated (14/111). The Ulster Scots speaker is not rated highly for important/intelligent (41/111) nor for well-educated (34/111), which might add some contrastive data to the Donegal finding in Edwards (1977a).

Hickey (2009) returns to attitudes to IrEng, this time without the assistance of a matched-guise test. An astounding 1,086 surveys were returned (247 from Northern Ireland, 839 from the Republic of Ireland), and analysed for acceptability judgements, as well as including similar questions to those asked in the CILAR surveys on Irish (see Ó

Riagáin 1997, et seq. and section 27.3.2 above). Here, Hickey notes that Irish society has not properly afforded a place for vernacular IrEng, which allows a dismissive attitude to pervade the language attitudes of Irish people toward the English spoken in Ireland. The analysis was conducted by looking at the first tranche of responses (427) as indicative of the entire dataset. When asked if strong local accents in IrEng were pleasant, nearly as many respondents replied that it was pleasant (179) as said that it 'doesn't matter' (227), and only 20 described this as unacceptable. While this survey is primarily concerned with attitudes to Irish, Hickey notes that his initial hypothesis that attitudes to English and Irish are linked was 'overwhelmingly confirmed by the survey' (Hickey 2009: 70).

What Hickey (2005a) shows us is that the same stereotypes that Edwards (1977a) presented as long-standing are still very much a part of the language attitudes observed nearly 30 years later. We can also observe more healthy internal views of acceptability of IrEng as distinct from British English (Hickey 2009), which could point towards a rejection of the conservative nature of IrEng (Hickey 2004a). It also indicates that language attitudes can be quite rigid, and that our cultural stereotypes very much feed into our language attitudes.

We shall now turn our attention to the focused collection of dialect perceptions of IrEng in recent studies. These studies complement the attitudinal research and reinforce perceptions of IrEng.

27.4.2 Recent perceptual dialectology studies

Interest in perceptual dialectology in IrEng research has been experiencing something of a renaissance over the past 15 years. Hickey (2005a: 100–7) conducted a large-scale investigation of dialect perceptions in 300 maps that were returned to him. Of those 300, 207 were deemed acceptable for research, though it should be noted, as the author does, that a large number of responses (138) came from Dublin. Groupings according to sex (male and female) and origin (Dublin and non-Dublin) were made amongst the respondents, with some surface generalization. First, there is a divide between Dubliners and non-Dubliners when we look at the number of distinct varieties of IrEng. Secondly, a vast swathe in the middle of the Republic of Ireland is labelled as the 'Midlands' by a majority of participants, who described the accent as 'flat'. Third, more Dubliners than non-Dubliners identified the western coastal areas as the 'West' with what are described as geographical rather than dialectal divisions, possibly due to a lack of exposure to people from this region. Fourth, Cork is identified as having a distinct accent by more than half of the respondents, with dialect features such as phonological realization of *Cork* as [kark]. Fifth, there is a noticeable lack of an east coast dialect area, though Wexford and Waterford were mentioned by some participants as being distinct. Finally, Donegal was identified by a large number of participants, particularly both groups of males and all of the non-Dublin group. From a qualitative point of view, attitudes to non-Dublin speakers as speaking with a 'culchie' accent were quite common, while

Dublin respondents were generally more likely to offer derogatory comments about other speakers.

In White (2006) we can see a coming together of standard language ideology and perceptual dialectology in a study based on completion of a map task by secondary school students in Cork. Participants were asked (amongst other tasks) to identify the 'best variety of English', which returned a variety of responses: 'Dublin, but it's RTE, Dublin suburbs [...] not DART speak; the West, with an Irish flavour; Galway City; Dun Laoghaire; cultured Cork; the Gaeltachts where English was learnt as a second language; a vaguely northern [accent]' (White 2006: 226–7). Significantly, none of the participants identified any variety of British English as being the best variety of English. At issue here is how IrEng speakers view the 'correctness' of their own variety: in comparison to British English or as a fully autonomous variety of English. White argues that Irish Standard English exists and should stand as a marker of Irish Identity.

In another recent perceptual dialectology study, Lonergan (2016) evaluates Dubliners' awareness of linguistic areas within their own city, in its own way testing Hickey's (2005a) findings about the number of varieties in Dublin. However, by focussing exclusively on Dublin through a draw-a-map task, most of Lonergan's 73 participants identified between 2 and 6 varieties in their maps where the most frequently identified areas were the 'north, inner city, southwest and a long band along the southeast coast' (Hickey 2005a: 238). Lonergan notes that these areas are distinguishable due to their socio-economic indexing of working class (inner city), settled middle class (north and south-west), and generational upper middle class (south-east), which is reflected in the adjectives that participants chose to describe those areas. These perceptions are echoed in the pleasantness/good English metrics in a 5-point Likert scale question also found in the questionnaire Lonergan employed. However, in follow-up interviews, respondents from the inner city identified their own working-class speech as a strong marker of in-group dynamics, though this is less salient than the stigma attached to working-class speech in general, confirming a Hickey finding (2005a: 69) that the avoidance of certain features of Dublin speech is a motivating factor for language change.

A small qualitative study in Lucek and Garnett (2020) takes a network approach to attitudes to local features characteristics of Dublin and Cork, while a later publication (Garnett and Lucek 2022) utilizes GIS technology to demonstrate the highly nuanced perceptions of the border. Both publications are based on a data-gathering event that asked for perceptions of IrEng speech. Participants were asked to draw boundaries around the different dialects in Ireland, to label those areas, offer some descriptions of the people and accents of those people, and identify any typical words from each area. Participants were also asked to indicate on the map where they came from themselves, completing the major tasks ascribed to draw-a-map exercises. Like Lonergan (2016), we also found that the most-mentioned areas of Dublin were South Dublin, North Dublin, West Dublin, Inner-City Dublin, and D4, which are also indexed in the same way according to the perceived socio-economic class of the areas. In Garnett and Lucek (2022), we see 9 distinct dialect areas (cf. Hickey 2005a). The participants' perceptions of Northern Ireland speech areas bear resemblance to the earlier mapping work in

Gregg (1972) and publications that followed (see Harris 1984; Hickey 2007). Hand-drawn maps in this study are perhaps indicative of supraregional dynamics (see e.g. Hickey 1999) in perceptions of Northern Ireland and Cork. Finally, attitudes to Brexit (see Dunlevy 2022) also appear to have been evident in descriptions of the people in Northern Ireland as well as their language ('hard' and 'harsh', respectively).

27.4.3 How Irish English is represented in media

A final area rich in representation of IrEng speech is literature and media produced for and by an Irish audience and transported all over the world. Research on media representations of Irish have also seen a significant uptake over the past 20 years. These studies examine how linguistic differentiation and description is exploited by fiction writers (see Amador-Moreno 2012; Amador-Moreno and Terrazas-Calero 2017), comedy writers (see Murphy and Palma-Fahey 2018; Vaughan and Moriarty 2018), radio advertisers (see Kelly-Holmes 2019; O'Sullivan and Kelly-Holmes 2017), and tourism merchants (Moriarty 2014; Ronan 2022) in reinforcing the notion of Irishness—and more to the point, specific types of Irishness—through sound and vision. The influence of mass media on sociolinguistic variation is a growing field, which will no doubt continue to bring researchers together (see e.g. Sayers 2014).

More to the point, with a lack of explicitly perceptual accounts of earlier varieties of IrEng, it is possible to allow literary portrayals to fill in the gaps in how IrEng was perceived by writers of yore. Indeed, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 'the development of prose work in English and Irish, generated material which gives us glimpses into the perceptions of IrEng speech by outsiders and, at times, offers the first-hand voice of native Irish writers portraying IrEng speech' (Kallen 2013: 220). These portrayals of IrEng (rather than strict adherence to standards as authorial voice) cannot be taken as representing faithfulness to authenticity, but contribute to our understanding of how language varieties are perceived, albeit through a lens of adaptability to the other demands of storytelling.

Reading perceptions of IrEng in literature is not just a modern turn in understanding language attitudes and perceptions (see discussion of impressions of language use and language users in the nineteenth century, section 27.4.1 above). Victorian literature from Ireland written in English is sometimes seen as tragic, ironic, and inevitable (Gilmartin 2004: 2). Considering the significant decline in the use of Irish during the nineteenth century until independence in 1921 (see e.g. Mac Mathuna 2020; Hickey 2005b), coupled with the above discussion of strict language policy in Ireland from the seventeenth century, it should come as no surprise (as language commodification research has shown, see Heller 2002) that English was the language of literature during the Victorian era. Hickey (2010a) examines how the language used by writers from earlier eras become quite nuanced during the early nineteenth century, indexing social class. Importantly for our current purposes, such literature can offer a source of satire, particularly in relation to IrEng. Restoration drama of the 1660s gives us our first look at the Stage Irishman

(see Hickey 2010b). This character features in a high number of British dramas at the time as a buffoon and a source of ridicule (see Duggan 1969). Irish writers of the Irish literary revival of the nineteenth century like Synge, Gregory, and Yeats 'made conscious use of language based on that of rural speakers from districts only then undergoing Anglicisation', while O'Casey and Joyce were raising the level of 'Dublin vernacular and more general Irish English' (Kallen 1994: 187).

Walshe (2012) looks at the language of *Father Ted* as it marks IrEng identity through the presence of IrEng features in the dialogue. Using Filppula (1999) and Hickey (2004b: 121–32) as guides, Walshe demonstrates that Graham Linehan makes extensive use of a number of IrEng features in his writing (e.g. medial-object, resultative perfect; unbounded reflexive pronouns; non-inverted word order questions). While not presenting the full array of IrEng features, *Father Ted* 'better mirrors reality than using features so frequently that they become overbearing or seem forced' (Walshe 2012: 144).

Modern fiction is also of concern in Terrazas-Calero (2020), where authenticity of accents calls into question major issues of identity. Like Amador-Moreno (2016), Terrazas-Calero assesses identity in modern IrEng fiction through the lens of enregisterment, 'processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms' (Agha 2003: 231). Thus, literary dialect can be full of many enregistered elements such as quotative *like* in the Ross O'Carroll-Kelly novels by Paul Howard. Terrazas-Calero makes the point that while Irish fiction took on its own persona during the Celtic Tiger years (shedding the 'Paddy' stereotype), the economic depression of 2008–14 has left Irish identity in an in-between phase. The self-confident, ambitious Ireland of the Celtic Tiger years was full of brashness, exemplified by *Ross O'Carroll-Kelly*. The language of fiction is indeed reflective of language use. Authors seem to be aware of this, and present their perceptions of IrEng through the characters they create.

Most recently, the effects of media representations on perceptions of IrEng is the focus of Lucek (forthcoming). The data for this study involved a map task followed by focus group interviews with 55 secondary-school students in a variety of Dublin neighbourhoods, balanced for social deprivation. While there were not statistically significant differences between schools in the number of areas identified by the students, there was a divide in how students approached the notion of who were the 'best speakers of English' in Dublin. Lucek began by looking at the performances at school level. Students from more affluent areas identified areas of low social deprivation as having the best speakers (the south-east coast, well-known suburbs along the coast on the north side of the city (e.g. Clontarf, Howth). Students at schools with very high social deprivation, however, identified either their own area, another area of high social deprivation, or the city centre as having the best speakers. Looking deeper into social factors, the females, even those in high social deprivation areas, tended to identify 'posh' areas as having the best speakers and 'common' areas as having the worst, when they offered these attitudes. Males were more likely to identify areas that they had labelled as 'common' as having the best speakers. This seems to confirm the finding in Lonergan (2016) that Dubliners from poorer areas hold their own accents in high

regard. The influence of media could not be discounted in this study, though. When asked if they heard their own accents on Irish television or in Irish movies, the students in high social deprivation were less likely to hear themselves than those in low social deprivation areas (the ‘representation quantity problem’); and when the students in high social deprivation areas hear people who sound like them, they are overwhelmingly representative of criminal elements in society (e.g. drug dealers, thieves, murderers), whereas students in low social deprivation areas hear characters who are esteemed members of society (e.g. doctors, lawyers, ‘businesspeople with a good job and nice house’). We are calling this second phenomenon the ‘representation quality problem’. In a working model of media and perception, I have proposed that there is a relationship between language users, creatives (writers, directors, producers, actors), and the broadcast media that serve to reinforce language attitudes by reflecting stereotypes that are prevalent in society (see Lucek, forthcoming).

This final type of perception is by far the most prevalent in IrEng studies at present. With its roots in British drama of the middle of the last millennium, the Irish voice has been exploited in a number of different ways over the years, not the least by Irish people themselves.

27.5 CONCLUSIONS

When viewed from outside, language use in Ireland (and, by extension, Irish people) have not always been viewed favourably. As an antagonizing force, use of Irish has been viewed negatively, while use of English, particularly from the seventeenth century onwards, has been viewed more positively, strengthening its position as the language for official public usage. It is highly doubtful that when St Leger or the Edgeworths observed and commented on a high level of English use amongst Irish nobility, they were grading this language use on a local scale. Their notions of good language use were those which emulated their own language as Anglo-Irish or British English speakers. As we moved into the twentieth century, we see agency from language users within Ireland. Viewed from within, the Irish influence on English is laudable, worth of literary dialect. As Irish culture flourished in the mid- to late twentieth century, this ownership of IrEng is felt strongly in the literature written in Ireland and perceived from the outside as well. As this confidence grew, internal structures became more and more evident in how different types of IrEng speakers are viewed and graded.

The working model described (Lucek, forthcoming) points towards possible future strands of research in IrEng and beyond. By considering all the different types of perceptions and attitudes that exist in a society, it is possible to conduct something resembling an ethnography of perceptions. We can see a fuller picture of what creatives think about when they are writing, directing, producing, or acting. The language displayed on screen and on the page is itself an attitude or a perception of the person who would be saying or writing these words if it were not fiction.

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CHAPTER 28

ACQUISITION OF IRISH ENGLISH BY RECENT MIGRANTS

CHLOÉ DISKIN-HOLDAWAY

28.1 INTRODUCTION

THE Republic of Ireland has long been known as a country of large-scale outward migration, with a significant global Irish diaspora. However, since the economic boom or ‘Celtic Tiger’ years of the late 1990s and early 2000s, there has been a reversal in these trends, with the country bearing witness to sizeable inward migration, particularly during the period 2006–2012, when there was a 143% increase in the number of migrants (CSO 2012: 7). While this growth has reached a plateau over the past five years, the 17.3% of the population that are currently classed as ‘non-Irish’ (CSO 2016: 46) has led to a shift in the nation’s identity from a country that was predominantly monocultural to one that is multicultural and more multilingual than ever before.

Sociolinguistic approaches to second language acquisition (SLA) diverge from traditional SLA by investigating the acquisition and replication of variation (see Bayley and Preston 1996; Geeslin and Long 2014), as well as the role of identity, attitudes, and ideologies in this process. There has been a surge of recent work into the acquisition of Irish English (IrEng) by recently arrived migrants to the Republic of Ireland. This started primarily as a result of an Irish Research Council (formerly the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences) grant entitled ‘Second Language Acquisition and Native Language Maintenance in the Polish Diaspora in Ireland and France’ (2006–9), which culminated in an edited volume (Singleton et al. 2013) and provided an impetus for the work of a next generation of scholars. Some years later, a grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funded a project entitled ‘Múin

Béarla do na Leanbháin/Teach the Children English: Migration as a Prism for Viewing Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Northern Ireland' (2013–15), which also culminated in similar research in a Northern Ireland context, most notably Corrigan and Diskin (2020) and Corrigan (2020).

This chapter will give an overview of the relatively recent but burgeoning research into the acquisition of IrEng by recent migrants. It will be divided into three sections, focusing on acquisition of lexis and phonology; acquisition of discourse-pragmatic features; and attitudes toward IrEng by migrants. The chapter finishes with a concluding discussion, including reflections on future research directions.

28.2 ACQUISITION OF IRISH ENGLISH: LEXIS AND PHONOLOGY

There has been little research into the lexical acquisition of IrEng by migrants, with the exception of Walsh and Singleton (2013), who compare lexical acquisition by two age-matched groups of children: nine L1 speakers of IrEng (monolinguals) and nine L1 speakers of Polish residing in Ireland (sequential bilinguals). This study focuses on vocabulary acquisition in English more generally, rather than of lexis specific to IrEng. The vocabulary of the children was tested on two occasions over a period of six months. Scores from expressive vocabulary among the bilingual cohort were lower as compared to the IrEng monolingual cohort. The bilingual children provided fewer synonyms and hierarchical relations for words than their monolingual peers, and were more likely to rely on word associations (*green* for *tree*) rather than hierarchical relations, such as *plant*. However, the rate of acquisition of new lexical items in the bilingual cohort was higher across the six-month period.

Acquisition of phonology by adult Polish migrants was investigated by Kobińska (2016) in a sociophonetic analysis of the acquisition of the unsplit FOOT–STRUT lexical sets, which is a feature typically found in local Dublin English (Hickey 2005: 35–8; Loneragan 2015). The study found that socio-demographic categories, such as gender, were significant predictors of the presence of the merger in spontaneous speech, but only in interaction with a factor of social identity, namely, whether migrants were working in jobs commensurate with the level of education they attained prior to migrating. 'Status inconsistent' Polish males in particular were the least likely to adopt the high back realization for the STRUT vowel. The lack of a high back realization for the STRUT vowel did not mean that the Polish migrants necessarily had a 'heavy' Polish accent. The [ʊ] vowel in STRUT is only found in the north of England (Hickey 2015: 8–13) and local Dublin English. These varieties are notably different from Southern British English or American English, which are commonly taught as the 'standard' in pedagogical settings worldwide. The lack of acquisition of this feature by 'status inconsistent' migrants signalled a

failure or reluctance to acquire a distinctly ‘local’, but stigmatized, way of speaking. This is despite the fact that a number of them had consciously noticed this particular feature (see also Diskin and Regan 2017). This effect of status (in)consistency on acquisition of a local feature was a more significant predictor than proficiency in English. The broader study shows, through analysis of interview data with the migrants, that status inconsistency can result in increased feelings of isolation and decreased feelings of self-worth (see also Kobiałka 2015).

An experimental study by Kopečková (2013) examined Polish migrants’ completion of a perceptual assimilation and intelligibility judgement task with IrEng vowels as stimuli, as well as a delayed repetition (production) task. The aim was to investigate age-related effects in the acquisition of L2 phonology among migrants: an adult cohort (who had been residing in Ireland for three years) and a child cohort. Results showed children to be more successful in their native-like acquisition of L2 segments. This aligns with literature such as Baker et al. (2002), which states that children’s superior ability to discriminate contrasts results in their ability to produce native-like sounds in an L2. Among the adults, success in cross-language perception correlated with increased naturalistic input from IrEng.

28.3 DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC ACQUISITION OF IRISH ENGLISH

The acquisition of discourse-pragmatic features has received considerable scholarly attention and is currently the most active field of inquiry in the acquisition of IrEng by L2 speakers. This is likely related to the strong interest in the pragmatics of IrEng, including a number of edited volumes (see Barron and Schneider 2005; Migge and Ní Chiosáin 2012; Amador-Moreno et al. 2015) that have arisen from the successful ‘New Perspectives on Irish English’ conference series and regular special sessions on IrEng at the biennial Sociolinguistics Symposium. This section will provide an overview of research into acquisition of discourse-pragmatic features of IrEng, focusing on the discourse-pragmatic markers *now*, *like*, *you know*, and quotatives.

28.3.1 Acquisition of discourse-pragmatic *now*

Migge (2015) conducted a quantitative and qualitative study of the acquisition of *now* by 59 recently arrived migrants to Ireland. *Now* is a ‘high frequency linguistic variable’ that is highly salient and also perceived as ‘emblematic’ of IrEng (Migge 2015: 390). As a consequence, it may function as an ‘easy target for acquisition or rejection’ (Migge 2015: 390). Three main uses of *now* were found in the data: temporal *now* (1); discourse *now* (2); and pragmatic *now* (3):

- (1) *I started in reservations just like everybody else and now I am in hotel coordination* (US participant: Migge 2015: 401)
- (2) *Now I think the main thing of this organisation is that, first of all its technical students and the main activity are summer courses* (Slovenian participant: Migge 2015: 402)
- (3) *I think so yes. I think like I am kind of happy kind of here now at the moment like and I would be pretty gutted now like if I was going to lose my job* (UK participant: Migge 2015: 403).

The quantitative analysis (via frequency distribution) of 1,870 tokens of *now* showed that proportions of pragmatic *now* were much lower (4%) than found previously among native IrEng speakers, where 28% of uses of *now* were pragmatic (Clancy and Vaughan 2012), especially in utterance-final position such as *There you are now* or *Good-bye now*. Considering the fact that Migge's sample included both L1 and L2 speakers of English, these figures confirm that pragmatic uses of *now* appear to be primarily restricted to native speakers of IrEng, whereas temporal and discourse uses are part of the repertoire of speakers of other varieties of English and are easily accessible to L2 speakers. The paper concludes that accommodation to this particular feature of IrEng was weak, despite salience, and attributed this to lack of contact with native speakers of IrEng, which many of the participants reported. Others stated that they actively avoided pragmatic *now*, as they felt it to be at odds with their linguistic identity, and they feared they would be mocked for using it.

28.3.2 Acquisition of discourse-pragmatic *like*

A number of studies, outlined below, analysed the frequency and position of *like* among a group of Polish migrants in the urban setting of Dublin and the rural setting of Co. Mayo in the west of Ireland. In all cases, the use of *like* was used as a measure of integration into the local community (see also Sankoff et al. 1997), with qualitative analyses linking the use of *like* with the social identities of the migrants.

In Nestor et al. (2012), eight adult Polish migrants were found to be broadly following predicted native IrEng patterns in the use of *like*, but there was a high degree of interspeaker variation. Participants most likely to identify with local culture were using dialectal IrEng variants of *like* in clause-final or clause-marginal position (clause-initial and clause-final combined), which was also more frequently used by native speakers in the rural setting rather than the urban setting.

Nonetheless, distributional frequency analysis showed that, overall, speakers had a preference for *like* in clause-marginal positions, with participants in Dublin not mirroring predicted trends in urban Dublin English, where clause-medial *like* is on the rise (see Amador-Moreno 2012, although this is based on findings from popular literature). Drawing on qualitative data extrapolated from semi-structured interviews, the authors hypothesized that the variable use of *like* in different clausal positions was a

powerful tool in the ‘identikits’ of the migrants, who were accommodating to the socio-linguistic patterning of their new community. They suggest that the use of clause-final *like* indexes alignment with a ‘local’ identity; whereas clause-medial *like* indexes an upwardly-mobile, youthful, cosmopolitan identity, which also aligns with a predominance for clause-medial *like* in other varieties of English around the world, including Canadian English (see e.g. Tagliamonte 2012; D’Arcy 2017).

Nestor (2013) conducted a similar quantitative study of *like*, drawing on a case study of six of the younger participants from the broader study first outlined in Nestor et al. (2012). The participants were aged 9–19 at the time of recording and were all in full-time education in Ireland, although they were all born in Poland. They thus had markedly different life trajectories and experiences with (Irish) English as compared to adult migrants. The study analysed the frequency and positional distribution of 690 tokens of *like*. It was found that *like* featured prominently in the speech of these young Poles, with the author concluding that they were adopting trends of the wider L1 community. However, there were high degrees of interspeaker variation, reminiscent of the ‘extreme variation’ between speakers found in a similar study of L2 speakers in Canada (Sankoff et al. 1997: 202). Approximately half of the participants favoured clause-marginal positions of *like*; the other half displayed a preference for clause-medial positions of *like*. Examples of both positions of *like* are shown in (4), where *like* is frequently used as stalling device, or in reformulations and self-corrections.

- (4) *Yeah and if, em, I will be done dancing, just, I will be never, like, go to Warsaw or Gdańsk. That’s—I was two three times in Warsaw, one time in Gdańsk. That’s like—We will be never, like, with my family go, like* (Polish participant: Nestor 2013: 55).

Some differences were found for gender and location, where female speakers and one of the male speakers living in an urban area (Dublin) were using more clause-medial *like*. However, the author cautioned that these findings were preliminary, also concluding that social networks, which were not discussed in the paper, could have been a contributory factor.

Nestor and Regan (2015) draw on the same broader study of Polish migrants in Ireland, but here they include 16 participants: adults and young people residing either in Dublin or Co. Mayo. There were equal proportions of adults and young people; urban and rural; and male and female speakers. This sampling permitted the authors to focus on age and place of residence as factors influencing the acquisition and usage of native-like patterns of *like*. Findings showed distributional differences, in terms of raw figures, by place of residence, with speakers in Dublin using more clause-medial *like* and speakers in County Mayo favouring clause-marginal *like*. However, statistical tests confirmed that these differences were not significant. Indeed, high degrees of interspeaker variation resulted in some individuals with high uses of *like* skewing the figures. Such interspeaker variation is very common in sociolinguistic studies of L2 speakers (see Adamson and Regan 1991; Sankoff et al. 1997). Speaker age emerged as a more important factor, with young people in both urban and rural locations favouring

clause-medial *like*, and adult participants in both locations favouring clause-marginal *like*. The authors put forward that ‘younger speakers are moving away from the local IrEng pattern [...] to a more global pattern for this feature’ (Nestor and Regan 2015: 411). An important conclusion was that in both the urban and rural setting, Polish migrants were mirroring the predicted frequencies of *like* as used by native IrEng speakers.

A PhD project on the acquisition of *like* and other discourse-pragmatic markers by Polish and Chinese migrants (see Diskin 2015) was first reported in Diskin (2013), which is a preliminary case study focusing on one Polish and one Chinese migrant. More in-depth accounts of this work, with more participants, are provided in Diskin and Regan (2015), Diskin (2017), Diskin and Levey (2019), Corrigan and Diskin (2020), and Diskin-Holdaway (2021; 2022). Qualitative aspects relating to identity and acquisition of IrEng are reported in Diskin-Holdaway (forthcoming), Diskin and Regan (2017), and Diskin (2016). These will be discussed in turn in the relevant thematic sections that follow.

Diskin and Regan (2015) examined the acquisition of *like* by 41 Polish and Chinese migrants and 7 IrEng native speakers, along with an analysis of the acquisition of *you know*, *I mean*, and other collocations (discussed in section 28.3.3). The paper was published in an edited volume entitled *Cultural Migrants and Optimal Language Acquisition* (Forsberg, Lundell, and Bartning 2015), and centred on the theme of motivations for migration, termed ‘migratory experience’ in the paper. The reason for this focus is provided in the introduction:

migration studies have become more complex and the conventional vision of the ‘immigrant’ has evolved from an individual who makes a more or less permanent move from one setting to another, to an active agent who moves more fluidly across boundaries. These movements are based on decisions which can be of an economic, personal or cultural nature. (Diskin and Regan 2015: 137).

Based on this rationale, the authors, drawing on a detailed content analysis of semi-structured interviews with all migrant participants, which included the question ‘What was your reason for coming to Ireland?’, divided the participants into four groups or types: ‘academic’ (enrolled in full-time higher education; $n = 13$); ‘chain’ (accompanying or joining a relative or friend; $n = 10$); ‘cultural’ (interest in learning about another culture and language; $n = 6$); ‘economic’ (seeking employment, a better salary, and/or a higher standard of living; $n = 12$). When the frequency of *like* per 1,000 words was analysed, the Irish had the highest numbers at 21.5 per 1,000 words, although this was not a significant difference as compared to the frequencies among the migrants. However, once the Irish were excluded from the analysis, and the migrants were analysed as a group, an ANOVA test found near-significance ($F = 2.66$, $p = 0.06$) for cultural migrants to have higher frequencies of *like* (32.8 per 1,000 words) as compared to other types of migrant.

A further ANOVA test found that migrants who had been in Ireland for four years had significantly higher frequencies of *like* (27.1 per 1,000 words; $F = 5.86$, $p < 0.02$). However, no linear correlation was found between frequency of *like* and length of residence. Migrants who had been in Ireland for more than five years in fact had lower

frequencies of *like* than those at the four-year mark (17.4 per 1,000 words at 5 years; 25.1 per 1,000 words at 6 years or more). This led the authors to conclude that while a minimum amount of exposure to IrEng is needed in order for migrants to acquire *like*, there is a plateau effect around the four-year mark. The study shows that other aspects of the migratory experience, particularly motivations for migration, can be more important in the acquisition of these vernacular aspects of speech.

Diskin (2017) examined a subset of the data from Diskin and Regan (2015). The study investigated 34 Polish and Chinese migrants' acquisition of *like*, finding that migrants began to use *like* at similar frequencies (measured per 1,000 words) to six native IrEng speakers after three years' residence in Ireland. This quantitative study investigated 926 tokens of *like*, and used fixed and mixed effects regression models to determine the significance of the findings. When the migrants' proficiency in English (self-reported scores using the Common European Framework of Reference for Language (CEFR)—Council of Europe 2001) was included in the analysis, it was not found to have a significant effect on the acquisition of *like*. This provides further evidence that length of residence, and thus length of exposure to IrEng, is more important when it comes to the acquisition of features that are part of the everyday vernacular. The study also examined the function of the 926 tokens of *like*, finding that it fulfilled six main functions in discourse (listed in Diskin 2017: 149): illustrator (5), exemplifier (6), filler (7), approximative adverb (8), self-corrector (9), mitigator/hedge (10).

- (5) *Well when I was like child I don't—I didn't played with that kind of insect*
(Chinese L1)
- (6) *Every vegetables, lots of different, like potatoes, tomatoes, cucumbers* (Chinese L1)
- (7) *Just like um so I don't really know...* (IrEng L1)
- (8) *As a cleaner she has to get home like four five o'clock in the morning* (Chinese L1)
- (9) *And uh I Skype them every day... Like well maybe not every day but... like*
(Polish L1)
- (10) *I need to go and see this guy, yeah? F**k me, I don't want to speak with him like*
(Polish L1)

All migrants used functions (5)–(9) regularly and at similar rates to L1 speakers. The hedging/mitigating function was the only one that displayed differences. Overall, it constituted on average 3.69% of the total use of *like* across all the speakers; however, when broken down, it constituted 7.39% of the L1 speakers' use of *like*, but just 2.65% of the L2 speakers' use of *like*, and this was restricted to select speakers. These differences were significant, indicating that the migrants did not exploit the full functional range of *like* as often as L1 speakers.

The study also examined the clausal positioning of *like*, categorized as 'clause-initial' (28.62% of the dataset), 'clause-medial' (59.72%), 'clause-final' (10.69%), and 'clause-between' (0.97%). No significant differences were found between the L1 and L2 speakers' positioning of *like*, except clause-final *like*, which was used significantly more by the L1 speakers (27.18% of the time) as compared to the L2 speakers (5.97%). Use of *like* as

a hedge/mitigator was most often used in clause-final position, so it is logical that both clause-final *like* and its function as a hedge/mitigator would be similarly disfavoured by the L2 speakers. The paper discusses how clause-final *like*, particularly when used as a hedge/mitigator, is an emblematic feature of IrEng conversational style and aligns with politeness conventions that favour indirectness, often in combination with other clause-final hedges or mitigators, such as clause-final *now* (Migge 2015) or *so* (Binchy 2005). The reason why clause-final *like* appears to present difficulty for L2 speakers, despite its importance as a feature of IrEng, is explained in the paper as follows:

Its specific structure indicates that its acquisition requires a high level of linguistic, phonological and socio-pragmatic awareness, and constructions involving an interaction between syntactic and pragmatic information are claimed to be particularly susceptible to instability and incomplete acquisition (Sorace 2004). (Diskin 2017: 155)

Corrigan and Diskin (2019) was a collaborative project by the authors, bringing together work by Corrigan (see Corrigan 2020) on adolescent migrants in Armagh (Northern Ireland) and Diskin's work with adult migrants in Dublin. They conducted a comparative, quantitative sociolinguistic investigation of the adoption of *like* by 17 young Polish and Lithuanian migrants in Armagh, and 36 Polish and Chinese migrants in Dublin. They examined the acquisition of *like* by the migrant groups in both cities, and also included samples of native speakers for the purpose of comparison. The study thus also provided important data on native (L1) dialectal differences between Armagh English and Dublin English in terms of *like*.

The study focused on the frequency and positional distribution of *like*. In terms of overall frequency of *like*, the authors found striking consistency across and between L1 and L2 groups, suggesting that in both urban locations, the L2 speakers have adopted the frequency of usage typical of their respective community norms. This mirrors similar findings from Nestor et al. (2012) and Diskin (2017), whereby the feature itself appeared to be acquired relatively unproblematically among L2 speakers, but the clausal positioning presented differences. In Armagh, L1 speakers had a far higher proportion of clause-final *like* (33.43% of all their uses of *like*) than the L1 speakers in Dublin (16.42%). In both locations, the L2 speakers deviated considerably from the L1 trends, displaying low proportions (between 4.62 and 6%) in the use of clause-final *like* and, as a consequence, higher rates of clause-initial and clause-medial *like*. It is of note that in both locations, the Polish migrants had higher proportions of clause-final *like* than their Lithuanian counterparts (in Armagh) or Chinese counterparts (in Dublin).

There was an effect of proficiency in English in Armagh, whereby speakers who were assessed by their teachers as B1 according to the CEFR (Council of Europe 2001) had higher proportions of clause-final *like* than those assessed as lower proficiency, A2 or A2B1. However, there was no effect of proficiency among the L2 speakers in Dublin. Length of residence also had no effect in either location, probably due to fossilization in language acquisition.

The study also focused on a number of language-internal factors affecting the distribution of *like*, which previously had only been analysed with regards to L1 speakers. Firstly, it examined the extent to which *like* was likely to precede items that were new to the discourse (11), rather than previously mentioned items, or knowledge that is commonly known (see Cheshire 2005), as in (12).

(11) *He'd asked me to draw like a shark face* (Polish L1, Armagh)

(12) *You could spot my mum from like a mile away* (Polish L1, Armagh)

Overall, it was found that there was a tendency for *like* to precede discourse-new items, and that this pattern was being replicated relatively unproblematically by the L2 speakers.

A further language-internal factor that was examined was the Principle of Lexical Attraction, first put forward by Andersen (2001), which states that *like* more readily precedes noun phrases (NPs) and verb phrases (VPs), rather than prepositional (PPs) or adjectival phrases (APs). The analysis showed that the items most likely to follow *like* were nouns/NPs, pronouns, and verbs/VPs in Armagh; and pronouns, determiners/DPs, and nouns/NPs in Dublin. The high number of pronouns following *like* could be explained by the fact that clause-initial *like*, often at the head of a complementizer phrase, was included in this analysis, unlike Andersen (2001), which only focused on clause-medial *like*. This preliminary analysis showed that the Principle of Lexical Attraction held in both locales, in the sense that the overall pattern was [NP, VP] > [PP, AP]. While less elucidatory in terms of questions of L2 acquisition, the analysis showed some noteworthy dialectal differences; namely that *like* was more likely to precede DPs in Dublin than it was in Armagh, where there was a preference for *like* to precede NPs. This lends some support to D'Arcy's (2008) claim that part of the grammaticalization of *like* is generalization from the higher, functional projection (e.g. the DP) to the lower, lexical one (the NP). Considering the fact that the Armagh speakers were younger than those in Dublin, this sign of later-stage development supports broader principles in sociolinguistics that younger speakers, especially teenagers and young adults, will be at the forefront of linguistic change (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2009).

28.3.3 Acquisition of discourse-pragmatic *you know*

Diskin (2015) included a comprehensive analysis of discourse-pragmatic *you know* and *I mean*, as well as *like*, among Polish and Chinese migrants in Dublin. This is reported in preliminary format in Diskin and Regan (2015), where it was found that *you know* was significantly more likely to be employed by the Polish migrants than by the Chinese migrants and the native IrEng speakers. Cultural migrants were found to be using

higher frequencies of *you know*; and those educated to postgraduate level, as compared to undergraduate level, were found to be the least likely to use *you know*, perhaps due to its association with a lack of articulateness.

A more comprehensive analysis of *you know*, drawing on data from Diskin (2015), is provided in Diskin-Holdaway (2022). This study also incorporated an analysis of the distribution of *you know* in Australian English in comparison with IrEng, drawing on a larger project by the author which involves sociolinguistic interviews collected in Melbourne in 2017. The paper provides a quantitative analysis of the frequency and function of a total of 1,511 tokens of *you know* across two L1 (IrEng and Australian English) and two L2 varieties of English (Polish and Chinese migrants in Ireland), encompassing a total of 59 speakers. Findings for frequency showed that the Polish migrants in Dublin had the highest rates of *you know* as compared to the other L1 and L2 groups. There were no outliers, but there was notable inter-speaker variation within the Polish group. Diskin-Holdaway (2021) also investigates the frequency of *you know* in these same L1 and L2 groups. The study finds the same trend for the Polish group to prefer *you know* as compared to the other L1 and L2 groups, but also finds that both L1 groups (Irish and Australian) have similar rates of *you know*, as do both Chinese groups in Dublin ($n = 20$) and Melbourne ($n = 14$). The study also included an analysis of social network among the Chinese in Melbourne, showing no effect of either a mostly Chinese or mostly Australian social network on the rate of use of *you know*.

An effect of level of education that originally emerged in Diskin and Regan (2015) for *you know* was replicated in Diskin-Holdaway (2022), where migrants, whose highest level of education was secondary school, used higher rates of *you know* as compared to those educated to tertiary level. Length of residence and proficiency were not found to have any significant effect. The predominance of *you know* in the speech of the Polish L1 group was argued to be partly the effect of positive transfer, since Polish has a discourse-pragmatic marker that could be considered, in both its core semantic meaning and its discourse-pragmatic functions, to be synonymous with *you know* (Polish *wiesz*), whereas in Chinese, there is no such equivalent.

Diskin-Holdaway (2022) contributes to the acquisition of discourse-pragmatic aspects of IrEng by L2 speakers by also providing an analysis of the functions of *you know*. The study classified all tokens of *you know* as belonging to two broad functional categories (see House 2009): ‘coherence’ functions (including the sub-functions of illustrator, filler, and exemplifier) and ‘interpersonal’ functions (including the sub-functions of invite response and refer to shared knowledge). A mixed effects regression analysis (with speaker as a random effect) found near significance ($p = 0.05$) for the L2 speakers to favour *you know* for coherence functions; and for the IrEng speakers to favour it for interpersonal functions. These echo the findings of House (2009), and also of Diskin (2017), which argue that, while discourse-pragmatic markers as surface forms may be easily acquired by L2 speakers, specific usage requiring localized pragmatic knowledge presents additional challenges.

28.3.4 Acquisition of quotatives in Irish English

Diskin and Levey (2019) provide a comprehensive study of the acquisition of quotatives by Polish migrants in Dublin, drawing on native IrEng (Dublin) data (see Diskin 2015) and Canadian English data recorded in Ottawa in 2014. They also compare this data with the International Corpus of English–Ireland (ICE–Ireland, see Kallen and Kirk 2012), which comprises data from the 1990s and early 2000s. The study analyses the variable distribution of four quotative variants: quotative *be like* (13), quotative *say* (14), quotative *go* (15), and the zero quotative (16). The frequency of these quotatives was investigated, along with language-internal constraints on its usage. These language-internal constraints included content of the quote (whether the speaker was reporting speech or inner thoughts); grammatical person (whether the variant was used with the third or the first person); and tense (whether the variant was used for the past or the historical present—see Buchstaller and D’Arcy 2009; Tagliamonte 2012).

- (13) *I’d be like, ‘Mum, you don’t say that, please!’* (IrEng)
- (14) *Because he said, ‘No, it just sounds slow because you don’t like listening to your own voice!’* (IrEng)
- (15) *He’s kind of had his fingers in his ears going ‘La la la la la’ for the last month since he bought it!* (IrEng)
- (16) *Ø ‘Oh I don’t like that now’* (IrEng)

A systematic variationist analysis of the quotative system among the L1 speakers finds that *be like* is the lead variant in the quotative system used by young IrEng speakers and is advancing along a ‘similar, though not identical’ cline of grammaticalization to Canadian English (Diskin and Levey 2019: 53). When the L2 speakers were checked against the L1 benchmark, it was found that proficiency plays a role. The Polish L2 speakers who were assigned the highest Cumulative Proficiency Index emerged as the most likely to mirror distributional patterns of quotatives as used by IrEng (and Canadian English) speakers, with a preference for the *be like* variant. Furthermore, the high-proficiency speakers replicated some (but not all) of the language-internal constraints that emerged in the IrEng cohort, with *be like* favoured in first-person contexts, for example.

Lower-proficiency speakers had very low rates of quotative *be like* and instead displayed a preference for the zero quotative. The authors hypothesize that level of English language proficiency is a ‘key predictor of L2 speakers’ ability to master target-language patterns of variation and change’, but also caution that the differences in the linguistic-internal conditioning of the variation mean that acquisition of native-like patterns of quotative variation and change by L2 speakers is a ‘protracted process which remains incomplete’, even among high-proficiency speakers (Diskin and Levey 2019: 73–4).

28.4 ATTITUDES OF RECENT MIGRANTS TOWARDS IRISH ENGLISH AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACQUISITION

Attitudes and ideologies towards IrEng, and their implications for its acquisition, were investigated by Debaene and Harris (2013). Drawing on the theory of speech accommodation (Sachdev and Giles 2004), the authors investigated whether Polish migrants aim to ‘pass’ as a native speaker by converging to IrEng. Through a qualitative analysis of interviews, they found that Polish migrants have a portfolio of speech strategies for convergence to IrEng at their disposal, making use of phonology and prosody, such as accent, word stress, speech rate, utterance length, and pauses, along with some discourse-pragmatic features. However, the analysis showed that, particularly among ‘Generation Zero’ Polish migrants to Ireland—the most recent arrivals of the late 1990s/early 2000s, and whose adulthood coincided with the fall of the Iron Curtain and of the Berlin Wall—passing as a native speaker of IrEng was considered to be a betrayal of one’s national identity. The study found that Polish migrants tend to be at ease with their migrant status in Ireland, particularly because they are part of a relatively large and visible community and thus have little motivation to sound like native speakers.

In a study of 73 migrants from different backgrounds residing in Ireland (Migge 2012: 315; 2015), via semi-guided audio-recorded interviews, found that most newcomers had very little or no precise knowledge of Irish varieties of English when they arrived in Ireland. This is despite the fact that many of the migrants in this study either were speakers of other L1 varieties of English (e.g. UK or US English) or had had extensive schooling in English as a foreign language. Many reported a shock upon arrival in Ireland, see (17), and reported a mismatch between their prior sense of proficiency in English and their encounter with IrEng.

- (17) *I thought I had English when I came here but like I said it was really a small disaster, my ears were really big for a good few weeks* (Polish participant, Migge 2012: 316)

Many reported IrEng as being difficult to understand, particularly when they first arrived. They reported that this had acted as a barrier to integration, in some cases requiring a broker (Migge 2012: 316). The newcomers identified the English spoken in Cork, Donegal, and the North of Ireland as the most difficult to understand, but also cited the English spoken in Kerry, Sligo, Galway, and north Dublin (Migge 2012: 318). However, these are not dissimilar to the accents typically cited as ‘strong’ and difficult to understand by native IrEng speakers.

While the majority of the newcomers reported having become used to IrEng over time, they still found that conversations with IrEng speakers presented a challenge. Furthermore, while they reported that IrEng speakers were generally quite forgiving

and accommodating to such difficulties, they were less willing to concede that these difficulties were due to the 'divergent character of (some) varieties of English' (Migge 2012: 316), as in (18).

- (18) [...] *when they [Irish people] don't understand it means that there is something wrong with the person but when I don't understand there is something wrong with my English, so that is a little bit frustrating* (Polish participant, Migge 2012: 316)

The newcomers tended to think that IrEng might not be suitable for use by an L2 speaker, although it was deemed more acceptable for use by children, the linguistically 'naive', and for those adopting a 'hybrid' identity. One UK participant had quite negative views about IrEng, describing it as a low-status or restricted code, as in (19).

- (19) *They just speak so fast, and they jumble all their words together and to tell you the truth, I think they have a very limited vocabulary* (UK participant, Migge 2012: 321)

Migrants from the UK in Migge's study tended to find it somewhat disconcerting that they may have unwillingly or unconsciously adopted features of IrEng, although they did not display openly negative views about IrEng or Ireland (Migge 2012: 322). One interviewee suggested that adopting an Irish accent would undermine her English identity.

The migrants in Migge (2012) also revealed a fine-grained sociolinguistic awareness of IrEng, associating particular varieties with particular groups of speakers, such as working-class occupations, teenagers, or those living in inner-city housing. These sociolects were typically cited as the most difficult to understand; whereas the English spoken by 'professionals' was cited as easier to understand (Migge 2012: 318). This shows that the migrants were adept at recognizing local sociolinguistic norms, but were also likely to make their own connections between 'standardness' and prestige in making these judgements. Nonetheless, they often had difficulty in citing specific linguistic differences between IrEng and other varieties of English that they were more familiar with. Despite having quite positive views towards IrEng as a variety overall, many were reluctant to use some of its more emblematic features, for fear of coming across as 'fake' or 'put on'.

Diskin (2016) investigates the existence of a standard language ideology among three Polish migrants, two Chinese migrants, and two native IrEng (Dublin) speakers, drawing on the broader study in Diskin (2015). Through a qualitative discourse analysis of semi-structured interview data, it emerged that the migrants did not tend to view IrEng as a 'standard' variety. They viewed it instead as having a different status from other 'Inner Circle' varieties (see Kachru 1985), such as British or American English. The study framed the findings in the context of Bourdieu's concept of linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991). For the migrants, an unmarked, unaccented 'lingua franca'-style English emerged as having the most currency on the linguistic marketplace; whereas for native speakers, class-based, vernacular varieties of Dublin English had their own form

of local capital, but with a more general, supraregional IrEng emerging as desirable (see Hickey 2012). This aligns with the migrants' identities as fluid, hybrid, and transnational, where there is a need for their linguistic resources to be internationally recognized and transferable. For the native speakers, it remains important to retain an authentic and legitimate Irish identity, of which IrEng remains a distinctive part.

Diskin (forthcoming) has conducted a discourse analysis of semi-structured interviews with 11 Polish and Chinese migrants, drawing on the broader study in Diskin (2015). The study is set in the context of global cities and pluricentricity, as this is the topic of the edited volume in which it is to appear. It focuses on the degree to which, as part of their process of acquisition, L2 speakers reflect and refract local sociolinguistic ideologies. The study shows that migrants can be finely attuned to local language ideologies, replicating and projecting binary oppositions within IrEng such as an awareness of an urban/rural divide, or the division of Dublin's neighbourhoods into stigmatized, desirable, or 'posh'. However, the findings also show that, by virtue of their limited and truncated experience with IrEng (see Blommaert 2010: 8 on a 'truncated repertoire'), L2 speakers do not have access to the same social meaning or indexicality of local sociolinguistic variation (Eckert 2008) as L1 speakers.

Diskin and Regan (2017) report on the attitudes of Polish migrants to IrEng. The paper is a case study of six such migrants from the broader study in Diskin (2015), and provides an analysis of language attitudes and ideologies as they emerged throughout semi-structured interviews. In particular, the paper focuses on the migrants' metalinguistic discourse, both as it emerged naturally and in response to the specific question 'Do you think that the way we speak English here is different to the way you learnt English in school?' There was a focus on the concept of markedness or 'hierarchical structuring of difference' from Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 372), whereby the degree to which a variety or features of a variety are noticed or salient ('marked'), and the degree to which this is desirable, are situated along a continuum.

The migrants' discourse about IrEng was grouped into three attitudinal groups: positive, negative, and ambivalent. Those with positive and negative attitudes had relatively high proficiency in English, ranging from B2 to C1 according to the CEFR (Council of Europe 2001). One of the migrants who viewed IrEng positively prided himself on his ability not just to speak English, but to sound local, and viewed himself as having successfully integrated into life in Ireland. Another with positive attitudes was proud of his Polish accent and viewed the Polish influence on his (Irish) English as an indicator of his new, hybrid identity as a migrant in Ireland.

Two migrants with negative attitudes reported 'shock' encounters with IrEng, and reported feelings of mismatch or dissonance between their prior confidence in their English ability and the experience of having to 'start all over again' in Ireland. One, who had worked as a primary school teacher in Poland, explicitly compared IrEng to British English, which she viewed as more 'standard' and desirable, as this is taken as the pedagogical benchmark in Poland. Nonetheless, she had accepted that her child now spoke with an Irish accent, and that she too had unconsciously acquired some Irish influence on her accent in English.

The two migrants with ambivalent attitudes had a lower average proficiency in English, ranging from B1 to B2 according to the CEFR (Council of Europe 2001). They had a lower level of sociolinguistic awareness than the others, and tended to speak about English in general, rather than IrEng. They too had 'shock' experiences upon arrival in Ireland, but for one of the migrants in particular, this was clouded by an overall lack of comprehension, rather than motivated by any particular language ideology. The other migrant with ambivalent attitudes had a fondness for Celtic nations, and had spent much of his initial formative experiences with English living in Scotland and Wales. He did not view the Englishes of these nations as being dramatically different from one another, and for him, these varieties were the 'normal' or 'standard' way to speak.

The study concludes that for positive and negative attitudes to emerge, the degree to which a variety, or features of a variety, are noticeable or 'marked' must be high. This means that the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence (see Geeslin and Long 2014) can in fact be inhibited by standard language ideologies, in that L2 speakers may resist accommodation to local or vernacular features, for fear of speaking 'incorrectly'. Speakers with lower proficiency may not notice as many differences between varieties, and as a consequence be more open to adopting these varieties as their own.

28.5 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

While the field of inquiry into the acquisition of IrEng is still relatively young, it opens up many promising avenues that intersect with other areas of sociolinguistics, social psychology, language development, and SLA (see Geeslin and Long 2014). In the area of lexis, for example, the study by Walsh and Singleton (2013) makes a contribution to studies into bilingual development with a hitherto understudied population: Polish-English bilinguals residing in Ireland. Their work also opens up opportunities for further study into e.g. second dialect acquisition by children who have moved to Ireland from other English-speaking countries (see e.g. Chambers 1992).

In the area of phonology, the work of Kobiałka (2016) reveals potential avenues for future research by integrating the socio-psychological effects of status inconsistency with issues of sociolinguistic integration. Kopečková (2013) also sheds important light on phonological acquisition of IrEng from the perspective of perception, and finds a significant and recurring effect of length of residence over proficiency. This indicates that it is through sustained contact with native speakers that acquisition of fine-grained, local features is most likely to occur. Overall, there remain many opportunities for the investigation of phonetic and phonological aspects of production and perception of IrEng by migrants, particularly from migrant backgrounds other than Polish or Chinese, which to date are the populations that have received almost exclusive attention. Work in the area of acquisition of discourse-pragmatic features has shown the utility of

incorporating extralinguistic factors, such as motivations for migration (e.g. Diskin and Regan 2015), as well as language-internal factors commonly only examined among L1 speakers, such as content of the quote and tense/grammatical constraints on quotative *be like* (Diskin and Levey 2019), or discourse newness and the Principle of Lexical Attraction for discourse-pragmatic *like* (Corrigan and Diskin 2020).

Research focusing on the relative frequency of discourse-pragmatic features shows that migrants acquire them relatively unproblematically, but with a minimum amount of exposure to L1 speakers required (Diskin and Regan 2015; Diskin 2017). However, when it comes to the clausal positioning of these features, differences emerge due to their interaction with complex pragmatic aspects, such as mitigating/hedging for clause-final *like* (Diskin 2017) or due to their different social meanings and associated identities (Nestor et al. 2012; Nestor 2013; Nestor and Regan 2015). Work remains to be done on the importance of social networks, although it is discussed briefly in Diskin-Holdaway (2021).

The research conducted on the role of language attitudes and ideologies has revealed important findings surrounding the legitimacy and ownership of IrEng (Migge 2012), which may not be accessible to L2 speakers of English in the same way that British or American English, for instance, have come to represent the two main global varieties which function as a lingua franca (Diskin 2016). These findings have implications for further work into the sociolinguistic status of IrEng and the impact this has on integration of migrants in Ireland. Furthermore, Diskin-Holdaway (forthcoming) attempts to show how this has implications for global cities, where inward (and outward) migration are the norm. The extent to which language contact and language variation and change on a local level will be increasingly influenced by the presence of speakers with multifaceted sociolinguistic backgrounds and experiences remains a topic for future in-depth research.

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CHAPTER 29

LANGUAGE AND IRISH TRAVELLERS

BRIAN CLANCY

29.1 INTRODUCTION

ALTHOUGH the first studies of the language of Irish Travellers occurred in Ireland, Britain, and the United States in the late 1800s (see e.g. Leland 1882; Meyer 1891), Irish Traveller English remains one of the less-studied Englishes in the Irish context. This is, in a sense, unsurprising: according to the Irish Central Statistics Office (2020), there are approximately 31,000 Travellers living in Ireland, accounting for just over 0.7% of the population. The history of Irish Travellers is largely unrecorded due, in part, to the difficulties associated with tracing the origins of any nomadic grouping with an oral tradition. However, the first mention of Travellers refers to their occupation as whitesmiths in the fifth century (see MacLaughlin 1995: 13–22 for a full discussion of the debate surrounding the origins of Irish Travellers). Irish Travellers have cultural values that differ fundamentally from those of the ‘mainstream’, settled Irish community, and this culture is reflected in the manner in which they use language. Despite a sustained campaign by Irish Travellers to have their unique culture, heritage, and identity formally recognized by the Irish state, the Traveller Community was not formally recognized as a distinct Irish ethnic grouping until 2017.

Nomadism, religion, and the family are core values of Traveller culture. As a result of this nomadic tradition, Travellers have what has been described as a highly developed ‘geographical imagination’ (MacLaughlin 1995: 16), where place is determined by social interactions, regardless of geographical location (Massey 1994; Kendall 1997). Therefore, Travellers do not identify with geographical notions of place such as ‘parish’ or ‘district’, but instead orient themselves by family groupings. The family is the basic structural unit

in Traveller society, as well as the primary unit of production and consumption (Gmelch 1989), and is seen as the locus of traveller identity (Kendall 1997). Traveller households in general tend to be larger than settled ones, with 25% of households containing six or more people as opposed to 5% of the general population (Central Statistics Office 2020). The centrality of the family and its key role in Traveller society (and indeed society at large) is reflected in this chapter through the choice of family discourse as the focus of an exploration of the language in use of the Traveller community. Much of Traveller language 'is face-to-face language whose speakers are in intimate contact with one another for much of their daily lives, where the immediate context, tone, gestures and facial expression can carry supplementary information' (Binchy 2008: 262). Bellah et al. (1985) note that families are bound together in 'communities of memory' through a repertoire of shared prior texts (see also Becker 1994). This results in unique features of family discourse, such as a reduced frequency of interactional features (see e.g. the discussion of vocatives in this chapter), allowing them to concentrate on more transactional matters, and a reduced need for elaboration or accuracy in narratives, given that many narratives are part of a family's bank of shared background knowledge (Clancy 2016). In addition, in relation to pragmatics more generally, public discourse, such as the classroom or the workplace, has been prioritized over private discourse in many of its core fields. Jucker (2012: 431) highlights the implications of this for our understanding of pragmatic systems. He maintains that, specifically in the case of linguistic politeness, 'all the evidence [...] comes from contexts and situations that can be described as public. It may well be that these forms are much less appropriate and less frequent in private situations.'

Previous studies of the language of Irish Travellers have predominantly focused on Traveller Cant, a jargon used exclusively by this minority group in Ireland. In addition to the study of Cant, the academic cognate of which is *Shelta*, these studies of the linguistic characteristics of the Irish Traveller community have, in the main, concentrated on phonological, syntactic, and lexical differences between both Cant and Irish Traveller English on the one hand and, on the other, the Irish English used by mainstream, settled Irish communities. This chapter surveys these previous studies and their accompanying research methodologies, primarily ethnographies and sociolinguistic interviews. It then offers, as a point of contrast, and cognizant of the pragmatic turn in Irish English initiated by Barron and Schneider (2005), an analysis of some of the linguistic features of an Irish Traveller family through the lens of a corpus-pragmatic approach. Rather than concentrate on how pragmatic features prevalent in Traveller language are distinct from those in the settled community, the chapter also seeks to emphasize similarities between the two communities, given that the two cultures live in close proximity to one another and share a common language variety. This emphasis on similarity is important, as Irish Travellers have been subjected to historical social and structural neglect by mainstream Irish society. It is hoped that commonalities, rather than differences, in everyday language in use may highlight that

Travellers are not quite the cultural and linguistic outsiders they are so often portrayed as being.

29.2 IRISH TRAVELLER LANGUAGE: PREVIOUS STUDIES

Traditionally, both Cant and Irish Traveller English (ITE) have been primarily characterized in relation to their phonological, syntactic, and lexical properties. The phonology of Irish Traveller English differs from general Irish English in two respects—it retains features that are becoming recessive in general Irish English and is characterized by a Cant underlay (Ní Shuinéar 1994; Ó Baoill 1994; Rieder 2015). The Cant underlay accounts for the metathesis of the sonorants /n/ for /m/ and vice versa, which greatly exceed the scope of this phenomenon in general Irish English (Hickey, Chapter 7 this volume). This metathesis is illustrated in the three variant Cant words for ‘spoon’, *mústóg/múscóg/núspóg*. These derive from the Gaelic word *spúnóg*, itself a derivation from English with an added *-óg* ending. Other Cant traces account for the devoicing of /b/, /d/, and /g/ to /p/, /t/, and /k/ in word-final position and the voicing of consonants in intervocalic position (Ó Baoill 1994). Irish Traveller English has also only partially adopted processes associated with various vowel changes in southern British English (Rieder 2015). For example, it is distinguished by the monophthongal quality of vowels in FACE and GOAT, the low starting point of the diphthong in CHOICE, and the central-to-front onset of the diphthong in MOUTH. Features such as these, in combination with an intonation pattern with a very high starting point falling to a lower level, is what gives Traveller English ‘a distinctive and unique rhythm and sound quality’ (Rieder 2015: 85). A number of grammatical features that characterize Irish Traveller English have also been proposed. Among these are the interchangeability of *many* and *much*, the use of the definite article with non-countable, concrete nouns (e.g. *the dinner*), and the replacement of the *of* preposition with days of the week (for example, *of a Tuesday*) (see O’Sullivan 2008; Rieder 2015). It should be stressed, however, that these and other features are by no means exclusive to Irish Traveller English.

Many of the studies surveyed here make use of methodological approaches such as the sociolinguistic interview (Binchy 1994; O’Sullivan 2008) and approaches rooted in ethnography such as participant observation and folk linguistics (Rieder 2015). There is at present, therefore, little quantitative evidence to support distinctive phonological and syntactic differences between Irish Traveller English and more general, supraregional forms of Irish English.

While shared aspects of the grammatical system of Irish Traveller English might be attributed to the ongoing interaction between Traveller and settled communities, it is

Cant which has emerged as a distinct marker of ethnicity for the Traveller community. In common with Irish Traveller English, some aspects of Cant are, broadly speaking, similar to English. In terms of morphosyntax, Cant nouns are pluralized using the English plural morphemes (*cullen* ‘potato’, *cullens* ‘potatoes’). Similarly, the system of verb morphology in Cant is recognizably English: *It is olomi now and I am missling to li* ‘It is night now and I am **going** to bed’. From a grammatical point of view, the English definite and indefinite articles both feature, as does the pronominal system. In contrast to similarities between the morphosyntax and grammar of Cant and Irish English, the Cant lexicon has been shown to be substantially different (see e.g. Binchy 1994; Ó Baoill 1994). Therefore, it is this lexicon that has become the strongest symbol of linguistic identity for the Traveller Community (Rieder 2018). It is also the Cant lexicon that has received most attention from scholars. Meyer (1909) maintains that Traveller Cant was once the language of Irish poets and scholars because there are elements to the language, such as borrowings from Greek and Hebrew, that only scholars could have introduced. However, there are many words that cannot be etymologized from Irish (Macalister 1937). It has been suggested that some Cant words may have been the result of a collaborative process between Travellers and other outsiders such as monks displaced by the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII (Meyer 1891; Sampson 1891). Often, Cant words are simple borrowings of the Irish or English word with the first or sometimes first and last letters altered to some degree by the application of phonological devices such as metathesis, *cailín* (Gaeilge) → *laicin* (Cant) ‘girl’, *amárach* → *acharam* ‘tomorrow’, affixing, *obair* → *gruber* ‘work’, and substitution, *hata* → *grata* ‘hat’ (Harper and Hudson 1971). These linguistic processes link Cant to other argots such as Verlan or Polari (Baker 2002).

The use of Cant has often been viewed negatively in mainstream Irish culture because of a history of mistrust between the settled and Traveller communities. It has been described as a secret language (Cleeve 1983) and one of exclusion (Hancock 1984; Gmelch 1989). However, Ó Donnabháin (2007) argues that the existence of elements of Cant, such as the application of metathesis or substitution to lexical items, should be perceived as a reflection of the richness and antiquity of the language, rather than as an attempt to conceal meaning (see also Ó hAodha 2002). Similarly, Binchy (2008) stresses that the Traveller community are motivated to use Cant for reasons of privacy rather than secrecy in public settings involving the settled community, for example when disciplining their children or seeking solidarity from other Travellers. Somewhat ironically given the secrecy argument, several Cant nouns are frequently used in the everyday Irish English lexicon, for example, *gaff* ‘house’, *feen* ‘man’, *sheids* (pronounced *shades*) ‘police’, or *lush* ‘drinker’. According to Harper and Hudson (1971), Cant words in active usage among Travellers suffered an 80% reduction in the 80 years between the years 1890 and 1970, leading to fears that the variety might completely disappear. Binchy (2008) estimates that Traveller adults use between 200–300 Cant words in their everyday spoken language, and argues that, although this might appear to represent a significant reduction in the lexicon, it is arguably sufficient given the unique characteristics of the community.

29.3 CORPUS PRAGMATICS AND IRISH TRAVELLER ENGLISH

In terms of the pragmatic language characteristics of the Traveller community, little evidence has emerged from previous studies. However, since 2005, in Irish English more generally, there has been a marked shift towards describing its pragmatic characteristics (see e.g. Barron and Schneider 2005; Vaughan and Clancy 2011; Amador-Moreno et al. 2015). The use of a corpus-linguistic methodology to study the language of Irish Travellers—a departure from more traditional research methods such as ethnographies or sociolinguistic interviews—has coincided with this focus on the pragmatics of Irish English. Corpus pragmatics is a fast-emerging field of research at the intersection of pragmatics and corpus linguistics (O’Keeffe et al. 2020). A *corpus* is a principled collection of texts stored on a computer for electronic analysis using specifically designed software (Kennedy 1998; Baker 2006; McEnery and Hardie 2012). Corpus pragmatics, then, is concerned with the use of this corpus software to identify patterns of language in use in a corpus. When studying two different communities, such as settled and Traveller, it is reasonable to expect differences at a pragmatic level. The corpus evidence, however, reveals, in addition to linguistic variation, a number of shared patterns in the language use of the two communities, in particular in relation to pragmatic markers, vocatives, and, finally—through an illustration of the corpus-pragmatic process—pronouns in the Traveller and settled communities. The emergent pragmatic patterning is attributed to a number of macro- and micro-linguistic factors characteristic of the Traveller and settled communities such as age, ethnicity, or social roles.

Two corpora of family discourse form the heart of this section. One corpus comes from a family from the Traveller community (referred to as TravCorp) and one from the ‘mainstream’ settled community (SettCorp). At the corpus design stage, prior to the transcription process and subsequent creation of these corpora, it was decided that the researcher should not form part of the data. Therefore, the families, once they had agreed to participate, were invited to record themselves. The idea was that the data be as natural, spontaneous, uncensored, and unencumbered by accommodation strategies as possible. This, again, marked a departure from the more traditional, researcher-centred methodologies previously employed to study the Traveller community. Furthermore, the settled family had not previously been subject to the research gaze. However, some members of the Traveller family who were approached had previously participated in research projects. This caused some initial confusion on the part of the Traveller family, as their first recordings featured music and songs (the focus of the previous research), as opposed to spoken language. However, once it was explained what was expected, the returned recordings allowed a glimpse into a world rarely encountered by outsiders. Data such as family discourse has traditionally proved difficult to access in general, and it is all the more so in closed minority groups such as the Traveller community. The Traveller corpus, TravCorp, features eight speakers—a father, mother, and six children—and the settled corpus, SettCorp, six—a father, mother, and four children.

The majority of the extracts of spoken language used to illustrate the pragmatic features discussed in this chapter are taken from TravCorp.

The primary focus in the remainder of the chapter is on high-frequency pragmatic items, as illustrated in Table 29.1, such as pragmatic markers, vocatives, and personal pronouns. The focus on these items demonstrates the benefits of using smaller, domain-specific corpora in pragmatic research (Vaughan and Clancy 2013). Given that Biber (1990; 1993) contends that a sample of 1,000 words may be sufficient to examine a number of past and present tense verbs in English, small corpora allow us to reliably represent the pragmatic characteristics of the corpus based on high-frequency items such as personal pronouns. In addition, in a small corpus it is possible to maintain a close connection between the item under investigation and the context(s) in which it is used. Corpus word-frequency lists generally appear visually as a list of all the types in a corpus (highest frequency first), coupled with their number of occurrences. Table 29.1 presents the counts for the top 20 most frequently occurring words which were generated for both TravCorp and SettCorp using Wordsmith Tools (Scott 2017).

Table 29.1 Top 20 most frequent words in SettCorp and TravCorp

N	SettCorp		TravCorp	
	Word	Freq.	Word	Freq.
1	<i>the</i>	494	<i>you</i>	121
2	<i>you</i>	346	<i>the</i>	120
3	<i>it</i>	339	<i>go</i>	79
4	<i>I</i>	252	<i>it</i>	66
5	<i>to</i>	233	<i>to</i>	64
6	<i>a</i>	227	<i>on</i>	52
7	<i>and</i>	194	<i>a</i>	50
8	<i>of</i>	168	<i>now</i>	48
9	<i>that</i>	162	<i>out</i>	46
10	<i>in</i>	153	<i>I</i>	45
11	<i>is</i>	152	<i>no</i>	43
12	<i>yeah</i>	146	<i>and</i>	41
13	<i>no</i>	143	<i>there</i>	37
14	<i>it's</i>	134	<i>get</i>	36
15	<i>on</i>	124	<i>me</i>	34
16	<i>what</i>	111	<i>in</i>	32
17	<i>do</i>	110	<i>that</i>	32
18	<i>we</i>	103	<i>here</i>	30
19	<i>now</i>	98	<i>I'm</i>	29
20	<i>was</i>	95	<i>daddy</i>	28

These lists feature some of the items, marked in bold, that are further explored in this chapter, such as *now* as a pragmatic marker in family discourse (in position 8 in TravCorp and position 19 in SettCorp), the vocative use of *daddy* (in position 20 in TravCorp), and instances of personal pronouns such as *I* (positions 4 and 10 in SettCorp and TravCorp, respectively) and *you* (position 2 in SettCorp and 1 in TravCorp).

29.4 PRAGMATIC MARKERS

Broadly speaking, pragmatic markers (PMs) are ubiquitous linguistic items that operate outside the structural limits of the clause and encode both intentional and interpersonal meaning (Carter and McCarthy 2006). PMs can be either single items, such as *like*, *so*, *now*, or *well*, or strings of words such as *I think*, *you know*, or *do you know what I mean?*. Clancy (2011a; 2011b) has demonstrated how both settled and Traveller families are characterized by low levels of pragmatic marking, at least in the form of canonical markers such as *I think*, *I mean*, or *well*. Pragmatic markers are, more generally, part of the politeness system, and Blum-Kulka (1997) highlights the existence of a familial politeness system that gives licence to members to be more direct with one another. An example of this mitigated directness is evident in extract (1).

- | | |
|------------|--|
| <Mother> | Mary Mary Mary come in. |
| <Daughter> | What? Yeah yeah yeah. |
| <Baby> | Mary get it. |
| <Mother> | <shouting> C'mon d'you know what I mean? |
| <Baby> | Oh mammy. |
| <Mother> | What time is it? What do you want Mary? What time is it? |
| <Baby> | Mammy it's all over me now mammy. |
| <Father> | Right you stay in daddy's room will ya? |
| <Mother> | They're mad to get off to this place. |

EXTRACT (1) TravCorp

The mother is telling her daughter *Mary* to come inside and the daughter signals that she will, saying *yeah yeah yeah*. However, when the baby wants the daughter to get something for him, she does not appear to be in the caravan—at which point the mother loses patience and shouts at the daughter in order to hurry her inside. The utterance *C'mon d'you know what I mean?* is marked prosodically by a raised voice and contains an imperative command. However, both are softened by the presence of the PM. The relatively low levels of pragmatic markers in both Traveller and settled discourse does not mean that families are less polite than, say, friendship groups, rather that politeness is conveyed in different ways through, for example, the use of markers such as *now* or *shure* (Clancy and Vaughan 2012; Clancy 2016 and 2018; Vaughan et al. 2017).

Although infrequent in family discourse in general, canonical PMs are used more frequently in the settled family than in the Traveller one. This is due to the macro-social factors of ethnicity and socio-economic status. Travellers place family at the centre of their society, and maintaining ties with extended family is a defining characteristic of their culture. In contrast, many settled families, including the one represented in this chapter, are characterized by high levels of social mobility and educational achievement. Clancy (2011a; 2011b) argues that it is these defining features which account for the presence of PMs such as *like*, *I think*, *you know*, and *actually* in the speech of the settled family, and their absence in the Traveller family. These PMs are acquired by the family in the wider social world of work and education, realms with which Travellers have far less interaction.

29.5 VOCATIVES

Previous studies of form and function of the vocative have explored the connection between patterns of vocative use and identity (Brown and Gilman 1960; Wilson and Zeitlyn 1995; Kiesling 2004; Wilson 2010). Vocatives, a subset of the more general classification ‘address terms’, share many of the properties of canonical PMs given that they are syntactically and semantically peripheral elements in spoken language (Leech 1999; Clancy 2015). In terms of form, a vocative can manifest itself in a number of different ways: for example, in family discourse, a vocative can take the form of an endearment (*hun*, *pet*, etc.), a full first name (*Richard*, *Geraldine*, etc.), a first name familiarized (*Dick*, *Ger*, etc.), or a kin title (*mammy*, *dad*, etc.). Clancy (2015), using corpus-appropriate software, sought to show that the frequency of different vocative forms in both settled and family discourse, in comparison to other pragmatic markers, makes them key, or statistically significant, in family discourse. Although vocatives are key in both corpora, there are differences between the use of vocative forms in the two communities. In SettCorp the use of kin titles is confined to *mam* and *dad*; at no stage are they used to refer to the children (consistent with Wilson and Zeitlyn 1995). However, TravCorp yields a much wider, reciprocal selection including *dad*, *daddy*, *mam*, *mammy*, *mamma*, *son*, *baby son*, *boy(s)*, and *children*, as is evident in extract (2).

<Father>	C'mon eat the breakfast baby .
<Son>	How you doin Johnny?
<Baby>	They're daddy's shoes.
<Father>	They're daddy's shoes are they son ?

EXTRACT (2) TravCorp

The presence of child-specific kin titles such as *baby* and *son* downplays the value of autonomy evident in a full first name, and instead places the emphasis on belonging and interdependence. This pragmatic variation between the two families is evidence of the influence of the macro-social factor of ethnicity. The reciprocal use of kin titles in the Traveller family indicates the presence of the family at the core of the

Traveller value system. This Traveller kinship system is constructed around a family and extended family, and in this kinship culture the importance of the family unit, and the individual's position in it, is reinforced by the use of these kin titles. On the other hand, the full first name is the most common vocative in SettCorp, where there are no kin titles used to refer to the children. This shows that the settled community possibly places more value on the child's individuality. At this point it should be noted that these findings are based on a comparison of one family from each of the Traveller and settled communities; more research is necessary in the area in order to fully test the validity of these claims. However, Blum-Kulka (1997) has demonstrated similar patterns in contrasting naming practices in native Israeli, Jewish American, and American Israeli families. Native Israeli families emphasize involvement and interdependence, whereas Jewish American and American Israeli parents use vocatives to show deference to the child's individuality.

In terms of vocative function, mitigation, the use of vocatives to soften a potential threat to face (Brown and Levinson 1987), was shown to be the most frequent function. This use of a mitigating vocative can be seen in extract (3).

- <Father> Paddy ate the breakfast stop that **Paddy** I'm gonna throw you out.
 <Baby> You're not sendin me out alright daddy you're not sendin me out.
 <Son> I'll beat you and daddy off one another.

Extract (3) TravCorp

Here, as in extract (2), we see the father's continued attempts to get his young son to eat his breakfast; the importance of *breakfast* signalled in both (2) and (3) by the use of the definite pronoun *the* instead of the personal possessive *your*. This use of *the* to foreground something as important in the discourse context has been noted as a feature of IrEng in general (see Kallen 2013: 122–5). The father also issues a parental directive, *Stop that*, mitigated by the use of the first name familiarized, *Paddy*. This functional profile of the frequent use of vocatives as mitigators can be attributed to macro- and micro-social factors. For example, in terms of social roles, family discourse is characterized by an asymmetrical speaker relationship—the parents hold more conversational power than the children (Clancy 2005). Therefore, a high frequency of mitigating vocatives reflects the need for a balance between parental involvement and maintaining family harmony previously shown in extract (1). Interestingly, relational vocatives, those that function to establish and/or maintain social relations (McCarthy and O'Keeffe 2003), occur with approximately half the frequency of mitigators. Speaker relationships in the family are fixed and pre-established, for example, mother, father, eldest sibling or youngest sibling; therefore the maintenance function is not as essential as in other speech situations. A recurring theme in this chapter is that in the family, some features of language common in other types of discourse context, for example phatic talk, have only a small part to play in family discourse. Phatic talk serves to 'establish bonds of personal union between people brought together by the mere need of companionship' (Malinowski 1972: 151). However, in the family these bonds are already present between all family members. Families can therefore start a conversation less ceremoniously and

get straight to the point because they know each other’s background and personality due to a large body of shared knowledge between members over a long period of time (see also Ventola 1979). Also, their relationship is one of kinship, making bonding at this level superfluous.

This corpus research into both pragmatic markers and vocatives highlights the importance of high-frequency items to different pragmatic systems. The final section of this chapter illustrates the corpus-pragmatic process employed to investigate one of the most frequent items in conversation across many contexts—personal pronouns.

29.6 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Table 29.1 brings into focus many of the notable elements of the use of personal pronouns in the family. Firstly, it is evident that there are both similarities and differences between the use of personal pronouns in the two corpora. In both corpora, the second person pronoun *you* is more frequent than first person *I*. This finding is in contrast to many spoken corpora, where as a rule *I* is more frequent than *you*. In addition, the first-person plural pronoun *we* appears in position 18 in the SettCorp list, but does not feature in the top 20 most frequent words in TravCorp. In order to more closely examine these frequency results, Figure 29.1 compares the frequency of the lemmatized pronouns *I*, *you*, and *we* in TravCorp and SettCorp. The personal pronoun lemmas contain the following forms: *I* includes *I* and *me*; *you* includes *you*, *ya*, and *ye*; *we* includes *we* and *us*. The process of the normalization of frequencies involves a simple calculation that allows for results from corpora of different sizes to be directly compared (Biber 1988).

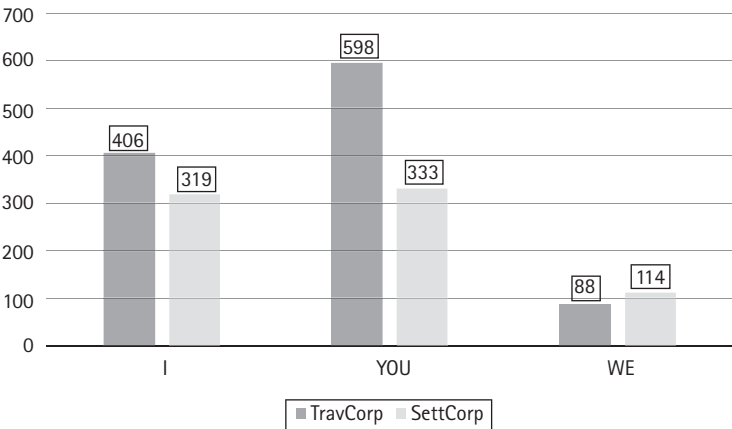


FIGURE 29.1 Distribution of personal pronouns across TravCorp and SettCorp (normalized per 10,000 words)

The personal pronouns *I* and *you* play a large part in constructing the deictic centre among participants in conversation (Levinson 1983). *YOU* is more frequent than *I* in both TravCorp and SettCorp, perhaps marking this as a feature of the pragmatic system of the family as opposed to casual conversation in general. One of the reasons for this can be found in studies examining the interaction of adults and children from the perspective of *motherese*, the language used by parents to talk to toddlers or infants. In everyday casual conversation, the Sender category, of which *I* is part, dominates (cf. Rühlemann 2007). However, the Receiver category, featuring *YOU*, is dominant in *motherese* (Wells 1981). This is a reflection of the fact that the child is the centre of attention in the family. This runs contrary to the assertion that our system of reference is organized from an egocentric viewpoint (Levinson 1983), and points towards the possibility of child-centredness in the pragmatic systems of these families. This child-centred system is evident in extract (4), where the father is in the family home with four of his children. The children want to go out and play but it is raining outside.

- <Baby> Mm. I'm goin out.
 <Father> You're goin out with John are ye?
 <Baby> Yeah.
 <Father> Watch the motor cars won't you? Where d'you think your man is gone boys and ye can go out play.
 <Baby> I can go out.
 <Father> Yeah but we can't leave ye out now cos it's rainin outside and ye'll get drenched wet. No don't go out in the rain ye'll get drowned wet. In here boys look watch the TV.
 <Baby> Yeah.
 <Father> Look at the television sit down Paddy Michael Gerard sit down there good boys can you see all of the television son?
 <Baby> Yeah.
 <Father> That's the good boy yeah now don't go out in the rain sure ye won't.
 <Son> I can't.
 <Father> Ye'd get drowned wet out there in the rain ye would.
 <Son> Hurry sit down sit down Paddy.
 <Father> Yes and mama'd be givin out then ye're wet.

EXTRACT (4) TravCorp

In this extract, the father uses the second person singular *you*, and its Irish English plural equivalent *ye*, on 12 occasions. However, he never uses *I*, which is invoked only by his children. This non-usage of *I* by a speaker over a number of turns is unusual in casual conversation. The father is faced with, on the one hand, being a parent and protecting the children from getting wet and, on the other, enjoying his time with the children; he does not want them to become upset if they are unable to go outside and play. At the beginning of the extract, the father immediately slips into his caretaker role with the utterance *Watch the motor cars won't you?*, and, although the utterance has an imperative form which signals a power manoeuvre, it features baby talk, *motor cars*, combined with *you* in order to allow the father to shift his perspective to that of his baby son, thereby

lessening the impact of the command. The father also uses the plural form *ye* in the utterance *Yeah but we can't leave ye out now cos it's rainin outside and ye'll get drenched wet. No don't go out in the rain ye'll get drowned wet*. Here he is fulfilling his caretaker and socializing roles using the plural to appeal to all the children together as a group, thereby building solidarity between them by avoiding the targeting of one particular child. Finally, his last move *Yes and mama'd be givin out then ye're wet*, he again addresses the children in the plural with a connection manoeuvre in that it is to the benefit of the entire family that the mother does not come home to a group of soaking children.

Figure 29.1 also demonstrates that *WE* is marginally more frequent in *SettCorp* than in *TravCorp*. At a fundamental level, *WE* can be used to create a perspective of both inclusivity (*I* the speaker + *you* the addressee in the immediate context) and exclusivity (*I* the speaker + someone else not in the immediate context). This notion of inclusive and exclusive *WE*, when applied to both corpora as illustrated in Table 29.2, yields insight into the nature of language in use in the Traveller community.

Table 29.2 Frequency counts for inclusive and exclusive WE in TravCorp and SettCorp (normalized per 10,000 words)			
TravCorp		SettCorp	
No. of occurrences of WE = 88		No. of occurrences of WE = 114	
inclusive WE	exclusive WE	inclusive WE	exclusive WE
88	0	100	14

An example of inclusive *we* (marked in bold) is evident in extract (5). In this extract, the father is standing at the door of the family home.

<Father> Yeah go on so boys go on down to the Ryan's. John's down there. Won't you go down to the Ryan's now? John is near. Run. [Conversation continues outside the home]
 Good afternoon to ye the lads looks like **we** got a shower of rain.

Extract (5) TravCorp

Initially in the extract the father is talking to his sons. Due to the unique home environment of the Traveller community, the father is then able to change his point of reference from the immediate family group to one involving other people on the halting site. Traveller family discourse is punctuated by reference to events occurring outside the immediate home environment. Therefore, this occurrence of *we* is not a variation within this context. In fact, it represents a more fluid interpretation of the notion of inclusive *we*, where *we* means *the people on the halting site* and this includes the Traveller family. This shared cultural knowledge allows the father to utilize more flexible personal and spatial boundaries. As many halting sites are populated by members of the same extended family, the use of an inclusive *we*, especially in extract (5), could be seen as an example of the nature of identity in the Traveller community. While the settled community identify family

as consisting of the traditional parent(s) + sibling(s) model, Travellers view family as an extended, inclusive notion, incorporating other participants, through the prism of pro-nominal reference, that may or may not be involved in the immediate, everyday discourse.

Both TravCorp and SettCorp are similar in that they both primarily orient themselves towards participants in the immediate context. However, Table 29.2 also shows that in TravCorp, out of 88 occurrences of *WE* per 10,000 words, exclusive *we* (*I*, the speaker + someone else not in the immediate context) does not feature. In contrast, exclusive *we* accounts for 13 of 114 instances in SettCorp, thereby accounting for 12% of instances. A figure of 12% is not very notable in itself; however, the settled family, in moving outside the context, evidenced through the use of an exclusive *WE*, points toward fundamental macro-social differences between the settled and Traveller communities. Exclusive *we* in SettCorp refers to a range of out-groups, such as in extract (6), where *we* refers to the daughter's programme at university.

<Son> Are you doin corpus stuff?
<Daughter> Ah *we* hit at it last semester like.

EXTRACT 29.6. SettCorp

In SettCorp, exclusive *we* reflects many of the aspects of the family's everyday life. At various points, individuals within the settled family invoke membership of social groupings such as their friends, their co-workers, their fellow students, and their city in their utterances. This use of exclusive *we* could be evidence of an important cultural difference between the Traveller and settled communities. Exclusive *we* demonstrates that the family in SettCorp, in addition to identifying themselves as members of their family, also identify themselves as members of a wider Irish society, thereby indicating differences in the macro-social factors of socio-economic status and educational background. In contrast, the absence of exclusive *WE* in TravCorp might signal the more closed nature of Traveller society, within which Travellers establish both their social and work identities. This finding may also indicate the nature of the different identities around which members of the families can construct their reference system. The settled family has several pivots around which to organize reference, for example family, friends, the workplace, or education. However, it appears that the Traveller family ultimately pivots around the family itself.

29.7 CONCLUSION

The study of phonological, syntactic, and lexical features of both Irish Traveller English and Cant has a long tradition, stretching back over a 130-year period, admittedly with large gaps within this period. These studies are buttressed by established linguistic perspectives such as ethnography and sociolinguistics. Corpus linguistics is a relatively new approach to language in comparison; however, new approaches often offer new insights. Corpus-linguistic studies have concentrated primarily on Traveller language

from the point of view of examining the community's language in use or pragmatic system (see e.g. Clancy 2011a; 2015; 2020). In addition, the focus of many previous ethnographic or sociolinguistic studies has generally been on linguistic differences between the Irish Traveller and settled communities. However, both the Traveller and settled communities also have a number of factors in common. This chapter has focused particularly on the centrality of the family in both communities as a primary unit of organization. Within both Traveller and settled family units, children are disciplined by parents; conflicts arise and need to be resolved (or not), and generally this is done through the constant maintenance and nourishing of familial role relationships. The business of 'being a family' is fertile ground for pragmatic research, and provides a unique opportunity to highlight linguistic ties that bind communities in Ireland together and underscores similarities rather than differences.

In terms of the pragmatic features of the Traveller and settled families featured in TravCorp and SettCorp, in both families a sense of belonging and interdependence was shown to be fostered through the use of kinship vocatives and personal pronouns such as *you* and inclusive *we*. These characteristics were amplified in the Traveller family through the use of a reciprocal kin title system and the non-use of exclusive *we*. In his conclusion, Ó Baoill (1994) argues that it is not the origins of Cant that should be of importance, but its 'FUTURE' (his emphasis). The fundamental values of belonging and interdependence to the identity of Travellers, allied to the positive attitude of younger Travellers towards Cant due to its usefulness in providing privacy (Rieder 2018) and the formal recognition of Travellers as a distinct ethnic group, provide a strong foundation for the survival of Cant. In addition, initiatives that result in publications such as *Can't lose Cant* (2003)—a book aimed at children and designed to promote Cant as a marker of identity and group solidarity—have emerged in an effort to preserve the language. However, differences between the two families were also highlighted, most obviously in the form and frequency of pragmatic markers used in the two communities. Although less frequent than in other context types, the settled family employed a range of canonical pragmatic markers such as *I think*, *just*, or *well* that did not appear with any great frequency in the speech of the Traveller family. If, as hypothesized, these markers are acquired in contexts outside the family such as the classroom or the workplace, then the chapter offers evidence of the ongoing inequalities between the Traveller and settled communities in Ireland. There is evidence to suggest that the cultural and linguistic future of the Traveller community might be secure. However, long-standing sociocultural and economic issues such as educational attainment, living conditions, and health-related matters have yet to be resolved.

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CHAPTER 30

IRISH SIGN LANGUAGE

Ireland's Third Language

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30.1 INTRODUCTION

IRISH Sign Language (ISL) is the third official language of Ireland.¹ While formal recognition is a recent phenomenon (Irish Sign Language Act 2017), reference to signing in Ireland can be traced back to at least the eighteenth century. Thus, it is not a 'new' language.

Many myths exist around sign languages. One prevalent myth is that they were invented by hearing people to educate deaf people. This is untrue. From what we can tell, as long as there have been deaf people around, there has been some form of visual-spatial communication (McBurney 2012; Bakken Jepsen et al. 2015).

Furthermore, it is often assumed that there is a single international sign language, which there is not (although there does exist a lingua franca known as International Sign, which requires its users to engage in trans-languaging, Adam 2012). When ISL is referenced, people often assume that the language is a version of Gaeilge (Irish) on the hands, which it is not. In fact, despite its physical proximity to Irish, it is not influenced by the language in any way. This is, in great part, because deaf children from Irish-speaking families were traditionally sent to boarding school in Dublin, and deaf pupils were exempted from Irish (e.g. see Department of Education 1994; Leeson 2005).

In contrast, ISL has much closer contact with Irish English (IrEng), but should not be mistaken for a manual version of it. That is, while some elements of IrEng have arguably influenced the form of contemporary ISL, particularly in terms of fingerspelling and what is referred to as 'mouthing', as we shall see, the languages diverge typologically.

¹ Note that all information provided here refers to the Republic of Ireland. The situation in Northern Ireland is intricate and remains relatively unexplored. It is not taken into account here.

However, the relationship between ISL and IrEng concerning grammatical structures, vocabulary items, etc. is wholly under-studied—no work has focused on this to date.

In addition to English, ISL has borrowed from other languages that it has come in contact with, including French Sign Language (LSF), British Sign Language (BSL), American Sign Language (ASL), and French. But ISL has also travelled. Leeson and Saeed (2012: 2) report that Irish religious orders and some lay teachers, engaged in deaf education, travelled to Australia and South Africa. The variety of ISL that they used has left its mark on some varieties of Australian Sign Language (Auslan), particularly the variant used by Catholics (Adam 2014); and South African Sign Language (SASL), most notably the Cape Town variety of SASL, which Irish deaf visitors report as reminiscent of ‘old’ female-variant ISL (see also section 30.2.2; Aarons and Reynolds 2003; Leeson and Saeed 2012). In part, we can trace this back to the fact that the first principal of the school for the deaf was a deaf Irish woman, Bridget Lynne, who travelled to the Cape of Good Hope in 1873 and ran the school until 1886 or 1887 (Leeson and Saeed 2012).

In this chapter, we draw on a range of data sources including the Signs of Ireland Corpus (SOI), a digital, annotated set of monologues from 40 ISL signers from across the Republic of Ireland (Leeson et al. 2006; Leeson 2008) who attended either St Joseph’s or St Mary’s school for deaf children and were (at time of filming) based in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Galway, or Wexford. The main aim of this chapter is to present a portrait of language variation and change with regard to ISL, and in the process we touch upon the history and typology of the language (section 30.2), linguistic lenses for analysing sign languages, and in particular ISL (section 30.3), attitudes towards and ideologies of the language (section 30.4), as well as language contact (section 30.5).

30.2 HISTORY AND TYPOLOGY OF IRISH SIGN LANGUAGE

The history and development of ISL are closely entwined with its typology, which we turn to here. Figure 30.1 presents a summary overview of the milestone influences on ISL.

30.2.1 Where does Irish Sign Language begin?

When considering the transmission of sign languages, schools for the deaf are considered key (Matthews 1996; Ladd 2003). The number of deaf children who acquire a sign language from deaf, signing parents is very low, with estimates assuming 5–10%. The remaining 90–95% of deaf children are typically born to hearing parents who cannot sign (Mitchell and Karchmer 2004; Chen-Pichler 2012). Thus, schools for the deaf traditionally served as key sites for sign language transmission everywhere.

In the Irish context, the first school for the deaf was established in 1816 (McDonnell 1979). The absence of any formal educational system prior to this time should not presuppose the absence of any sign language usage in Ireland (Leeson and Saeed 2012). Leonard and Conama (2020: 1) argue: '[the] history of Irish signed language(s) used by Deaf people is neither the story of signing systems invented by hearing people, nor of a single genesis leading in a straight line to modern ISL—but a layered and diverse account of social, historical, educational and language change.' They present a range of evidence drawing on fragmentary sources that point to sign language use across both the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Ireland by deaf people. Their dataset includes newspaper reports of court proceedings and census data, providing a tantalizing, incomplete, window onto use of 'natural signs' (the term used in many documents they found). Census data allowed for the tracing of family groupings of deaf people (e.g. deaf people married to other deaf people, or families with several deaf siblings). In such cases, where deaf children grew up with hearing families, the presence of home-signing systems is also highly likely (Leeson and Saeed 2012; Leonard and Conama 2020).

A total of nine educational institutes dedicated to deaf education were established between 1816 and 1849 (McDonnell 1979; Pollard 2006), with the Dublin-based Claremont Institute a key point of reference. There, the original headmaster was an alumnus of the famous Edinburgh-based Braidwood school (established in the late eighteenth century), who must have known British Sign Language (BSL) (Woll and Sutton-Spence 2007). Into the 1970s, Claremont Institute alumni used the two-handed BSL alphabet, and many contemporary ISL signs can be traced back to BSL-influenced signs from this period, e.g. ISL signs for PROFESSIONAL, MEMBER, GUINNESS all take initialized handshapes that come from the BSL manual alphabet, but none of these signs are the BSL signs for these concepts (Leeson and Saeed 2012). The sign GUINNESS is exemplified in Figure 30.2.

From its establishment, Claremont served as the main school for the deaf in Dublin. The Claremont admission books reveal that many of the children are reported to have had 'signs' on arrival (Pollard 2006). Leonard and Conama (2020: 8) observe that the second school for the deaf (the Cork Day School) was not established until 1822:

deaf children in Ireland would not have been exposed to any other standardised form of signed language used in Deaf education, other than Claremont Sign. It is possible that some applicants had already been educated privately or abroad, but given the high cost of these options, and the fact that Claremont was primarily intended as a school for the poorer classes, this seems a highly unlikely possibility.

Yet between 1816 and 1922, some 50% of the children admitted to Claremont were recorded as having 'signs' (Leonard and Conama 2020: 8). Thus, we know that there was an 'Old ISL' in existence prior to this time (Leeson and Saeed 2012; Leeson, Saeed, and Grehan 2015), confirmed also by historical documentation reporting the participation of deaf people as signing witnesses in court cases dating back to the late 1700s (Leonard and Conama 2020).

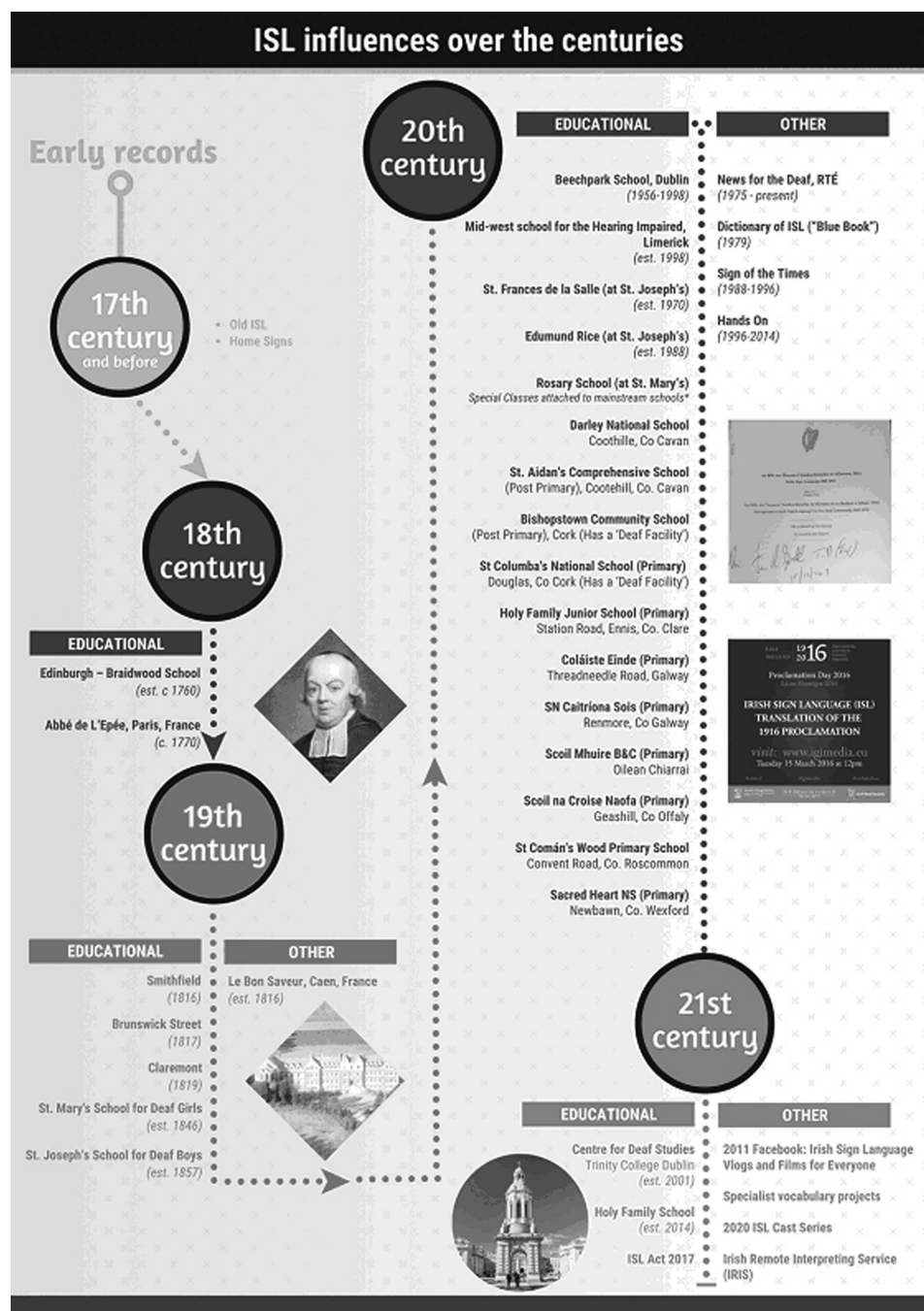


FIGURE 30.1 Influences on ISL typology and variation: seventeenth to twenty-first centuries



FIGURE 30.2 GUINNESS: the handshape captured here is the BSL G handshape (Eilish (Dublin), SOI, personal stories 10)

While most of the children registered at Claremont were Catholic, a Protestant doctrine was taught (Pollard 2006; Woll and Sutton-Spence 2007). This concerned the Catholic Church. Father Thomas McNamara, a Vincentian who, fearing ‘whole-sale proselytism’ (McDonnell 1979: 13), visited Caen to experience how Catholic education was being delivered in France, and went on to contribute to the establishment of the Catholic Institution for the Deaf and Dumb (as it was then; now Reach Deaf Services) in 1846. Critical to the story of contemporary ISL, the Dominican Sisters, who managed and ran St Mary’s School for Deaf Girls, sent two of their nuns and two young deaf girls (Agnes Beedan, aged 8, and Mary Ann Dougherty, aged 9) to Le Bon Sauveur school in Caen for a six-month stay. Here, a form of signed French² was used in teaching, though it is fair to speculate that amongst themselves, the deaf children used contemporary *Langue des Signes Française* (LSF) (Leeson and Saeed 2012). This French connection thus built on and integrated with whatever form of ‘Old ISL’ was in existence (the Claremont variety, homesign systems, and other varieties that may have been in use). We must also remember that the Dominican Sisters sought to modify the form of signed French that they learned in Caen to map onto the grammar of English so that they could teach through a form of signed English (Foran 1994; McDonnell

² Signed French was a methodical system developed to represent the morphology and syntax of written French, just as signed English sought to represent the properties of written English. This manifested, for example, in the creation of initialized signs and signs to mark morphological endings like -ING, -ION, -s (plural) and -s (present tense, added to verbs).

1997). As a result, there are French and English influences on the forms of ISL signs that are observable via the extent of initialization in the language. This can be seen in signs like MOTHER, which takes an ISL M handshape, and FATHER, which takes an ISL F handshape. Some LSF signs were borrowed into ISL; for example, there is a traditionally female variant for FRIDAY that is articulated with a V handshape at the chin, maintaining the connection to the French *Vendredi* (Matthews 1996); and see Figure 30.4). There are also BSL borrowings—some more recent, and many of which also face some resistance from language users who may consider them as not quite ISL, e.g. one variant of HAVE is borrowed from BSL,³ widely used and sometimes contested. Two-handed HAVE was first described in 1847 with direct links to LSF (Foran 1994: 53). While this variant appears to be less widely used now than the BSL-influenced variant, it is firmly considered as an ISL lexical item (see Figure 30.3).

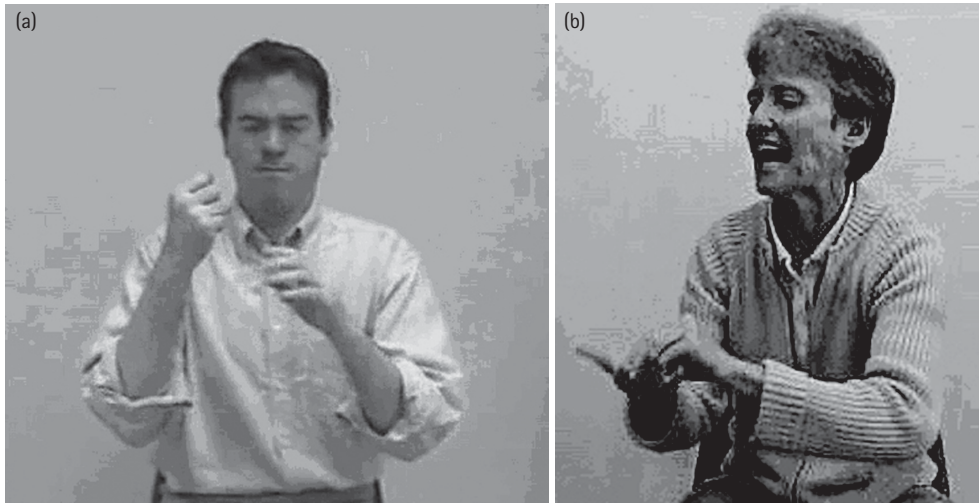


FIGURE 30.3 HAVE (BSL-influenced) and HAVE (LSF-influenced)

St Joseph's School for Deaf Boys was established in Dublin in 1857. Situated approximately one mile down the road from St Mary's, the schools became de facto language islands (Grehan 2008): the Christian Brothers made alterations to the form of many signs that the Dominican Sisters had introduced in St Mary's, and it has been suggested that they drew on published references to ASL (Crean 1997). Folk belief suggests that the Christian Brothers wished to make the signs they learned from the Dominican Sisters less feminine and more masculine so as to be appropriate to the teaching of young boys (Leeson and Grehan 2004). Whatever the motivation, the outcome of this deliberate modification of the signing systems used, coupled with the relative isolation of the girls

³ See <https://bslsignbank.ucl.ac.uk/dictionary/words/have-1.html> for the BSL dictionary entry for HAVE.

from the boys, served to support the development of a significant gendered generational variant (e.g. LeMaster 1990). In the late 1970s, efforts to 'unify' the contemporary language to support ease of learning for hearing people led to what the Deaf community called 'New ISL' (see S. Foran's Foreword in National Association for the Deaf 1979 for discussion).

30.2.2 The introduction of oralism and its consequences

Claremont report moving from signed instruction to an oral system, i.e. spoken instruction, in 1887 (McDonnell 1979). The time-frame is noteworthy, as it is within a decade of the Congress of Milan (1880), a key milestone in deaf history. The Congress, attended by mostly hearing educators of the deaf, declared the superiority of speech over sign and set deaf education on a course to pursue a 'pure' oral approach. Over time, this contributed to significant suppression of sign languages across the western world, the punishment of children for using sign language in educational spheres, and significant consequences for language transmission and usage as signing went 'underground' to survive (McDonnell and Saunders 1993; Leeson and Grehan 2004; Coogan and O'Leary 2019). While Claremont was an 'early adopter' of oralism, the Irish Catholic Schools did not make the shift to oralism until the mid-twentieth century (Griffey 1994; Crean 1997). This shift is important because it led to the physical segregation of deaf children who were sign language users (so called 'oral failures') from those who were educated through speech only (so called 'oral successes') (Griffey 1994; Crean 1997; Grehan 2008). This, in turn, led to an increased level of variation, emerging from the within-school cohorts, strengthening the female and male variants (Leeson and Grehan 2004), and further facilitating generational variational divergence. A very simple example of this can be seen in the gendered variants for days of the week, which include documentation of the now extinct female variant (reported by Marian Moloney). Today, the female variant appears most widely used, though older, and mostly male, signers continue to use the male-variant signs shown in Figure 30.4.

The consequences of the shift to a strict oralist regime have been well documented (e.g. Griffey 1994; Crean 1997; O'Connell 2013). At the same time, oral instruction (i.e. the inclusion of some speech training rather than a rigidly enforced oralist approach that had no place for sign language) was not considered problematic by Irish Deaf community members in the 1940s. Rather, the oral language policy that was enforced, which rigidly suppressed use of sign language, was highly problematic (Leeson and Saeed 2012).

A consequence of the implementation of oralism was the difficulty students encountered in accessing the curriculum: they could not understand what their teachers were saying. Further, sign language use was actively suppressed. Students were forced to sit on their hands, confess signing as a sin, and give up sign language for Lent (McDonnell and Saunders 1993; Leeson and Grehan 2004). Students who signed were physically segregated from those who spoke (Grehan 2008). This led to a school-wide

DAYS OF THE WEEK	FEMALE VARIANT	MALE VARIANT	OBSOLETE FEMALE VARIANT (ST. MARY'S SCHOOL FOR DEAF GIRLS)
MONDAY			 WASH
TUESDAY			 HANG-CLOTHES-TO-DRY
WEDNESDAY			 IRONING
THURSDAY			 COOKING
FRIDAY			 FISH (ONE HANDED)
SATURDAY	 [ONSET]	 [ONSET]	 WASH -HAIR
	 [OFFSET]	 [OFFSET]	

FIGURE 30.4 Gendered variants for days of the week in ISL

hierarchy which (falsely) considered those who spoke to be more intelligent than those who signed. Indeed, for many years, only those who were considered ‘oral successes’ could sit state examinations. This policy of strict segregation was effectively ratified by the 1972 Advisory Committee on the Education of the Deaf and Hard of Hearing, which saw sign language as a last resort for children with ‘additional handicaps’, whom the authors perceived as ‘not capable of making adequate progress when taught by oral methods alone’ (Department of Education 1972: 69–70). Parents—both hearing and deaf—were advised against signing to their deaf children. Deaf siblings were told they could not sign to each other. This created several generations of Irish Deaf people who could not effectively communicate with their parents, and whose English language literacy skills were significantly behind that of their hearing peers (James, O’Neill, and Smyth 1990; Mathews and O’Donnell 2018). In recent years the situation has shifted, with increasing recognition of sign languages internationally and nationally (e.g. NCSE 2011).

A myriad of social-emotional and educational issues arose from this context—but our focus here is on the linguistic, which we turn to next.

30.3 LINGUISTIC LENSES

For a significant period, the study of sign languages was informed by spoken-language linguistics, which sought to apply theoretical frameworks suited to the analysis of languages in the oral–aural modality but inadequate for the analysis of languages expressed in the visual–gestural modality. This is a problem also encountered in the beginning of the study of non-Indo-European languages, for instance in Africa, which did not neatly fit into traditional grammatical categories based on Latin or Ancient Greek. Ultimately, this leads to epistemological biases and restricts our knowledge and understanding of lesser studied languages and their structures. That is why we feel the need to comment on this issue here. Vermeerbergen and Leeson (2011) point to the fact that two distinct traditions can be identified in European sign linguistics work in the 1980s and 1990s that impact on approaches to the description of sign languages. They follow Karlsson’s (1984) approach, labelling these the ‘oral language compatibility view’ and the ‘sign language differential view’.⁴

The oral language compatibility view presupposes that most of what comprises signed language structure is in line with what is typically described for spoken languages (i.e. oral languages), which means that while signed languages are expressed in a different modality, they have a great deal of structural commonality with spoken languages. The differential view suggests that signed languages are so

⁴ See also Woll (2003) for a discussion of modern and postmodern approaches to sign linguistics.

unique in structure that their description should not be modelled on spoken language analogies (Vermeerbergen and Leeson 2011: 270).

The majority of researchers, taking an ‘oral language compatibility view’ that would be outdated today, emphasized underlying commonalities across spoken and signed languages, adopting theories, methodologies, categories, and terminologies typically used in describing spoken languages. At the same time, characteristics that differentiate sign languages from spoken languages (e.g. non-manual features that function grammatically and the use of simultaneous constructions) often went undescribed or were minimized during this period. A major driver of this approach was the desire to clearly demonstrate that sign languages are natural languages (Vermeerbergen and Leeson 2011). In recent decades, this clear-cut distinction has blurred, with greater recognition attributed to modality differences. Some of the nuance comes from an increase in cross-linguistic work, made possible by the development of digital corpora of sign languages (Fenlon and Hochgesang 2022), including the Signs of Ireland Corpus (Leeson and Saeed 2012). This chapter emphasizes the increased overlap of the two views, showcasing some of the unique features of ISL, while at the same time demonstrating commonalities of ISL and IrEng, as well as influences from IrEng on ISL.

While many have suggested that sign languages appear to be more similar to one another than are spoken languages, Woll (2003: 25) challenges us to explore the reasons why this might be the case. She suggests five possible reasons:

1. the relative youth of signed languages (including creolization);
2. iconicity;
3. a link between sign languages and gesture;
4. linear syntax intrinsically creates greater differences than spatial syntax;
5. differences are there but researchers have not noticed them.

Considering these points, Vermeerbergen and Leeson (2011) present an overview of a sample of characteristics that illustrate similarity across European sign languages, including the use of space to track reference, simultaneity, non-manual marking (e.g. used for marking *wh*-questions, topic-comment, negation, and conditionals), and the use of ‘classifier constructions’⁵ (though they note that the handshapes that are used to represent concepts such as ‘whole entities’ like vehicles vary across sign languages).

The use of simultaneous constructions employing multiple articulators (including the hands, torso, eyes, and mouth) to present a range of different types of information patterns is similar across European sign languages too. Simultaneity can be described as occurring in three general ways: (i) manual simultaneity, (ii) manual–oral simultaneity, and (iii) multi-channel simultaneity involving non-manual articulators other than the mouth.

⁵ We note that the use of such terminology has been contested. See Schembri (2003) for an excellent overview.

This may involve the simultaneous production of different complete signs. Another possibility is that one hand holds the end-state of a sign while the other hand continues to produce one or more signs. This allows for a referent to be visibly maintained while something is predicated of it or a (spatial) relationship to the first entity is introduced via the signs produced by the other hand. This can be seen in the example from ISL shown in Figure 30.5, where the signer is recounting a version of the *Frog, Where Are You?* story (Mayer 1969). Here, Fergus D. recounts how a little boy, whose pet frog has escaped during the night, opens a sash window and his dog (with his head stuck in the glass jar that the pet frog had previously been in) jumps out of the open window. In (E), (F), and (G) we see Fergus D. use his non-dominant hand to hold the backgrounded position of the window sill that the dog, presented via a classifier handshape that is commonly labelled ‘CL-LEGS’, jumps over. Also codified here is relative height: From (D) we see that the signer’s eyegaze is downward, towards the ground; in (E), (F), and (G), we see the dog jump from a location that is commensurate with the windowsill (E), into the air (F) and downwards, towards the ground below (G). Across this transition from one space to the other, the signer’s eyegaze remains focused down towards the end-point of the dog’s movement. All of this information is packaged via a synergy of manual–non-manual simultaneity.

			
A. PUSH-UP WINDOW	B. WINDOW	C. (DOG)-HEAD-STUCK-IN-NECK-OF-JAR	D. PAWS-IN-FRONT
			
E. DOG-JUMP-UP-AND-OVER (starting point)	F. DOG-JUMP-UP-AND-OVER (mid point)	G. DOG-JUMP-UP-AND-OVER (end point)	

FIGURE 30.5 Signs of Ireland Corpus: Frog story. Translation: ‘(The boy) opened the window. The dog, with his head stuck in the jar, peered out of the window and jumped’ (simultaneous constructions, Fergus D. (Dublin))

In classifier constructions like this example of CL-LEGS, the handshape can be thought of as phonemic but at the same time meaning-bearing (referring to the dog) in a particular context. This complicates the distinction of word classes in sign languages because of the lack of a clear-cut definition of the morpheme unit (Schwager and Zeshan 2008), especially in iconic signs where formational and functional parameters overlap. In sign languages, additional modality-specific features like mouth actions may therefore support word-class distinctions. In her analysis of word classes in ISL, Mohr (2014) takes this specific criterion into account. She finds that while there is no direct correlation between different types of mouth actions⁶ and word classes, a general co-occurrence of morphologically simpler signs with English-derived mouthings and morphologically complex signs with ISL-inherent mouth gestures can be observed (Mohr 2014: 148).

Another aspect of Mohr's investigation which aims at an analysis less informed by spoken language is her overall distinction of word classes. While word classes are considered to be a central trait of human cognition (Rijkhoff 2007; Mohr 2014) and some classes are probably universal, there are considerable cross-linguistic differences concerning their number and character (Sasse 1993). However, given the above-mentioned problems concerning the determination of morphemes in sign languages, in-depth analyses of word classes in sign languages remain few and far between (Schwager and Zeshan 2008). Most studies assume a rather traditional distinction between nouns, verbs, adjectives, and various functional classes. This distinction is problematic, specifically with regard to the verb/adjective distinction: sign languages do not usually have a copula, and property denoting signs like GOOD or HAPPY can be used in the predicate slot of a sentence, thus fulfilling predicative function (Mohr 2014: 134–7), as shown in example (1).

- (1) GIRL HAPPY (ISL)
 girl be.happy
 'The girl is happy/A happy girl'

These signs do not, however, take person or direction of movement markers, which is why Mohr (2014: 138) defines this syntactic category as 'bare predicates'. Two lexical classes⁷ can fill the bare predicate slot in ISL sentences, according to Mohr (2014: 144): aktionsart verbs and multifunctional signs. The first are signs like CRY, which can be marked for different aktionsarten like intensive or iterative, the latter are signs like HEARING and DEAF, which can also be marked for person, direction of movement but, as opposed to Aktionsart verbs, can also occur as referential phrases, see example (2).

⁶ These are discussed in more detail in section 30.5.1.

⁷ Mohr distinguishes between syntactic categories and lexical classes, in line with most typological approaches to word class research (see Sasse 1993).

- (2) a. BOY HEARING (ISL)
boy be.hearing
‘The boy is hearing/A hearing boy’
b. HEARING TALK (ISL)
hearing talk
‘The hearing[person] is talking.’

The word classes of ISL as outlined here are certainly not in line with traditional Greek-based distinctions. However, this approach takes the communicative modality of sign languages into account by considering issues such as Aktionsart marking for intensive, iterative, or distributive, as well as marking for person and direction of movement on verbs. In this way, the distinction at least attempts an independent analysis of ISL, more suited to the visual-gestural modality of the language. Irrespective of whether this distinction is most applicable or not, we argue that more attempts at such epistemologically unbiased approaches to sign language analysis are required.

30.4 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS IRISH SIGN LANGUAGE, ENGLISH, AND OTHER FORMS OF SIGNING

Language ideologies have been defined as ‘sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use’ (Silverstein 1979: 193). In this way, they mediate between the social practice of language and the socio-economic and political structures within which language(s) occur (Cavanaugh 2020: 52). This tenet is based on the assumption that language is an enactment of a collective order (e.g. Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). In this vein, language ideology functions as a critical point of departure for understanding the intersection between language and various forms of inequality (Cavanaugh 2020: 51), which play a central role in sign language research as well.

Ideologies are closely linked to the study of language attitudes. While there has been considerable debate about the definition of the term ‘attitude’, particularly with respect to its impact on behaviour, there is general consensus that, in general, an attitude is ‘a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects’ (Sarnoff 1970: 279). Much language attitude research has focused on multilingual environments, often including minority languages (see e.g. Baker 1985; Giles, Leets, and Coupland 1990), and postcolonial contexts (see e.g. Kamwangamalu and Tovares 2016).

There is also some literature on language attitudes towards sign languages (e.g. Lucas and Valli 1991). While there has been some work on ISL as well (Matthews 1996; Burns, Matthews, and Nolan-Conroy 2001; European Union of the Deaf 2001; Grehan 2008;

Leeson and Sheikh 2010; Feeney 2015), there is certainly scope for in-depth work. In this section, we aim at contributing a few recent insights to this field of study.

Generally, language attitudes towards sign languages are similar to spoken (minority language) attitudes (Burns et al. 2001), though importantly, attitudes can and do shift over time. For instance, Burns (1998) found that only two-thirds of the deaf participants in her study recognized ISL as a ‘real’ language (see also Burns et al. 2001). This is in line with Conama’s (2020) outline of ideologies towards ISL and the initiatives that supported the recognition of ISL. At the beginning of the campaign, these initiatives were very much focused on the recognition of ISL as a language in its own right. Conama outlines the ISL recognition campaign between 1981 and 2016 with unique personal insight, and discusses in detail the changing ideologies in both the deaf and the hearing Irish population. He reports that the campaign only gained momentum in the twenty-first century, particularly after the rejection of a first bill in 2014. Earlier efforts in the 1980s and 1990s had not been universally accepted (Conama 2020).

Further, there are dominant ideologies in place within the deaf community, favouring the Cabra male variety (Grehan 2008; Conama 2020). Additionally, as we have noted earlier (and see Figure 30.3), there are attitudes relating to borrowing of signs from other sign languages, and in particular, British Sign Language. Further, work to document current ideologies underpinning the development of neologisms in ISL is underway (Moiselle and Leeson 2022; Moiselle, in prep.)

30.4.1 Signed English versus Irish Sign Language

As mentioned above, language contact between signed and spoken languages is very much an everyday occurrence, and also applies in the Irish case. This was sometimes referred to as Pidgin Sign Language but later labelled contact signing, given that it does not meet all criteria of pidgins (see Lucas and Valli 1991). There is a whole continuum of contact signing from which signers may choose, based on several aspects of the speech event: topic, purpose of the communication, and participants (hearing, status, age, gender etc.: Burns et al. 2001). In Ireland, signed English (SE) is noteworthy in this regard.

For educational purposes, an artificial sign system called signed English (sometimes, ‘signed exact English’ or SEE) or ‘methodical signing’, was created in the nineteenth century to support teachers in oral education in Ireland (Foran 1994; McDonnell 1997; Ó Baoill and Matthews 2000). This built on a direct translation of the French approach to oral education used in Caen, adapted to the Irish context by Father John Burke with some modifications to support the teaching of English (Foran 1994). The vocabulary used draws from an LSF-influenced ISL base, with additional signs created to reflect markers of spoken (Standard) English grammar,⁸ such as verb inflections. While the grammatical basis of SEE, i.e. morphology and syntax, seeks to reflect English, the linearity of

⁸ The impact of specific Irish English grammatical forms on ISL remains unstudied.

SEE utterances makes the system difficult to adhere to rigidly, given the ‘natural desire to consider context and meaning when articulating one sign in meaningful visual relationship to another referent’ (Ó Baoill and Matthews 2000: 18). This emphasizes the impossibility of transferring a linguistic system from the oral–aural modality to the visual–gestural one without considering the unique possibilities for expressing meaning visually. SEE was considered the target for educated deaf people, and into the 1990s, there was a significant push-back against the use of ISL in educational settings; SEE was preferred. However, today, we see wide acceptance of ISL, with greater visibility of the language in professional and public spheres and a commensurate reduced visibility of SEE. The change in attitudes can be attributed to increased lobbying for sign languages in Ireland, for instance, by institutions like the Irish Deaf Society, as well as official recognition of several national sign languages in many European countries. Conama (2020) outlines the ISL recognition campaign between 1981 and 2016, presenting a unique personal insight as a deaf academic and activist. He discusses the changing ideologies prevalent in both the deaf and hearing Irish population, reporting that the campaign for ISL recognition only gained momentum in the twenty-first century, particularly after the rejection of the first bill in 2014 (Conama 2020: 261–2).

30.4.2 Irish Sign Language in the media

As Figure 30.1 shows, the 1970s saw the beginning of ISL’s presence on national television, when deaf presenters were recruited to present the ‘news for the deaf’ as it was then labelled (now ‘news with signing’). In the 1980s, the magazine style programme ‘Sign of the Times’ was produced, featuring deaf presenters for the first time. Initially, there was a tendency to present information in signed English, which, as we have noted, was then considered a prestige variety. However, over the years, and certainly by the time that ‘Hands On’ replaced ‘Sign of the Times’, there was a push back from the Deaf community, demanding that ISL be used. Today, there is no regular magazine-type programme with signing on our screens, but the daily news with signing and weather forecasts are presented in ISL on RTÉ by deaf presenters. A small percentage of programming must be made available with ISL translation under the Broadcasting Act (2009), and increasingly we see deaf translators performing this work. Furthermore, across 2018–20, we saw an increase in ISL on national broadcasts as part of government emergency responses to public emergencies (e.g. Storm Ophelia, COVID-19) (Leeson 2019; 2021).

30.5 LANGUAGE CONTACT PHENOMENA

Deaf people are typically multilingual, and use multimodal resources, i.e. sign, writing, and speech, for communication in their everyday lives (Quinto-Pozos and Adam 2013). This is due to the fact that most sign languages are minority languages, and deaf signers

are exposed to majority languages in educational settings. Consequently, deaf signers develop varying degrees of bilingual (often multilingual) competency across language modalities (signed, written, sometimes also spoken), and trans-language is common (Baker and Van den Bogaerde 2008; Mohr 2012; de Meulder et al. 2019).

The abundance of language contact with ambient spoken languages results in a plethora of contact phenomena, including the borrowing of spoken words via ‘mouthings’ (e.g. Mohr 2012), code-blending of sign and speech (e.g. Emmorey, Borinstein, and Thompson 2005), code-switching between different sign languages (e.g. Quinto-Pozos 2009), and use of fingerspelling and initialized signs, formed with the handshape of the first letter of the sign’s meaning in the ambient spoken language (e.g. Quinto-Pozos 2007; Leeson and Saeed 2012; Leeson et al. 2020). Generally, the structure of these phenomena is rather complex due to the different sequencing of linguistic material in two modalities, and the possibility of simultaneous sequencing in the visual-gestural modality in particular (Grosjean 2008; Mohr 2012). In ISL, many of these contact phenomena have been shown to be closely linked to gender and age variation, brought about by separate schooling and different educational practices in Irish deaf schools until the end of the twentieth century (see section 30.2). In the following, the structure and use of two central language contact phenomena, mouthings and fingerspelling, are outlined in more detail. As mentioned before, the impact of IrEng grammatical structures on ISL, among both deaf (native) signers and hearing L2 learners, remains unstudied and cannot be considered here.

30.5.1 Mouthings

Mouthings are part of the larger category of mouth actions in sign languages, which in turn are one type of non-manual marker (Boyes-Braem and Sutton-Spence 2001; Crasborn et al. 2008; Bank, Crasborn, and van Hout 2011; Mohr 2012). Mouth actions are generally subdivided into mouth gestures (a sign language-inherent category of mouth movements usually accompanying morphologically more complex manual signs) and mouthings (which are derived from the ambient spoken language). Some items, like *CAKE* and *SCONE*, are distinguished by mouthings alone. In this way, mouthings might also slightly change or add to the meaning of a sign, as shown in Figure 30.6, where the sign *CUP-OF-TEA* is accompanied by a mouthed ‘cappuccino’ changing the manual sign’s meaning.⁹

Mohr (2014: 92–3) presents a six-part typology of mouthings in ISL. These form part of three larger groups, viz. (1) one-to-one matches of mouthings and signs, (2) mouthings and signs that do not match completely but are formally or semantically related, and (3) mouthings and signs that are not related in any way. The relation between these larger groups and the six sub-categories is illustrated in Table 30.1.

⁹ Note that there is also a lexical sign *CAPPUCCINO* which also takes the mouthing ‘cappuccino’.



FIGURE 30.6 Manual sign CUP-OF-TEA accompanied by mouthing ‘cappuccino’ (Marian (Dublin), personal stories 16, SOI)

Table 30.1 Mouthing categories and subcategories		
One-to-one matches of mouthings and signs	Mouthings and signs that do not match completely but are formally or semantically related	Mouthings and signs that are not related in any way
<i>Subcategories</i>	<i>Subcategories</i>	<i>Subcategories</i>
(1) One-to-one matches of mouthings and manual signs	(2) Mouthings semantically related to the manual sign (3) Verb mouthings with particularities a) accompanying what would be prepositional verbs in English b) accompanying ‘classifier constructions’ (4) Inflected verb/noun mouthings (5) Reduced mouthings	(6) Mouthings that do not directly correspond to the meaning expressed by the manual sign: (a) simultaneous compound or modifier mouthings (b) spread mouthings (c) relating to overall discourse/conversation

One-to-one matches of mouthings and signs or ‘standard mouthings’ (Bank et al. 2011) are semantically equivalent. For instance, the sign GOOD might be accompanied by a mouthed ‘good’, CHAIR by ‘chair’, etc. In this vein, the category is seemingly straightforward. However, it should be noted that equivalence, from a translation theoretical perspective, is a difficult issue in itself (Munday 2001). A classification of one-to-one matches thus depends on the availability of a translation in the target language on the one hand, on the other, the decision of what the source and what the target language is in these cases. These difficulties are reflected by some of the unwieldy category titles in Mohr’s typology.

These problems are also exemplified when looking at the other categories in more detail. ‘Mouthing variants’ refers to a semantic relation of similarity without total equivalence of two concepts (Bank et al. 2011). Examples of this are the manual sign BIG accompanied by a mouthed ‘massive’ or the ‘cappuccino’ example in Figure 30.6. These mouthings further specify the sign or even substitute a concept for which the signer might know a lexicalized sign (see also section 30.5.2 on fingerspelling). The third category of mouthings are similar to the second in that they present a general semantic relation between mouthing and sign but differ with respect to the kind of information provided. These mouthings provide less information than the sign, often due to the modality difference; that is, the ‘additional’ information in the sign is expressed by movement or directional patterns. An example of type 3a is the sign GO-IN accompanied by the mouthed word ‘go’ and the sign, MEET-PERSON, accompanied by the mouthed ‘meet’. Mohr (2014: 74) suggests that these mouthings hint that the verbs are the most salient part of these constructions. Inflected noun or verb mouthings are once again similar to categories 2 and 3 in that semantic similarity is central. However, they too express more information than the sign in isolation. For example, we see mouthings like ‘photos’ that express pluralization and ‘said’ to express past tense. Congruence (see Baker and van den Bogaerde 2008) is crucial as well. For example, while ISL nouns may be marked for number in a range of ways including iteration, and temporal marking can be periphrastic (realized by an adverb), individual items may be inflected in spoken English. For example, the sign YESTERDAY will typically co-occur with the mouthing ‘yesterday’. Finally, we also see reduced mouthings, with examples like BRILLIANT accompanied by ‘brill-’ or LANGUAGE accompanied by ‘l-’. In this last category, the mouthings do not correspond to the meaning expressed by the sign in any way, but relate to the broader discourse and usually function to further text coherence. Thus, simultaneous compounds (Vogt-Svendsen 2001) like STRIPES-ON-TOP-OF-SHOES accompanied by ‘brown, beige’ are unique phenomena of the visual-gestural modality. Mouthings that spread from an adjacent sign (type 6b above) often link pronouns and content signs or establish prosodic links (see also Mohr 2011; 2014). Such spread mouthings are quite frequent in the ISL corpus. Mouthings relating to the larger discourse as a metalinguistic remark are particularly intriguing. Mohr (2014: 81–2) mentions an example from the

SOI (Signs of Ireland Corpus), in which the mouthings ‘fuck, shit’ accompany the sign HOLD-OBJECT-AND-HANDBAG:

[In her story t]he signer was keen to take a stone she had found back home to her garden. In order to do so, she needed to put the rock in her handbag, which was too small and full with other things. So she took some items out of the bag but the stone still did not fit. The mouthing was uttered at the moment when she realized that the stone did not fit [...]

Such mouthing relates to the overall story and thus adds information simultaneously. This further emphasizes the unique character of cross-modal language contact phenomena. Finally, it should be mentioned that isolated mouthings, i.e. mouthings not accompanying a sign, also occur in ISL, albeit rarely. The question remains as to whether such mouthings should be analysed as instances of code-blending or considered a part of ISL.

Another issue that must be mentioned is the relationship of mouthings to macro-social factors such as gender and age. As outlined above, educational policies, specifically oralism, had a major influence on the use of English mouthings in different groups of Irish Deaf people (see also Ó Baoill and Matthews 2000; Mohr 2012; 2014; Fitzgerald 2014). Given that widespread oralism was implemented relatively late in Ireland, and possibly also given the fact that more isolated Deaf community spaces like Deaf clubs have decreased in number over the past decades, leading to increased sign language-spoken language contact, younger signers generally use more mouthings than older signers (Mohr 2014: 102). For instance, Mohr (2014) reports that signers born in 1957 and before, and who were the oldest cohort in the dataset she considered, used the smallest number of mouthings, while those in the youngest age group (born between 1969 and 1989) used mouthings most frequently. Further, due to the fact that oralism was introduced earlier at St Mary’s School for Deaf Girls than at St Joseph’s School for Deaf Boys, women use mouthings considerably more frequently than men (Mohr 2014: 99–100): the number of mouthings used by the women in Mohr’s study was twice that of the men.¹⁰ In these ways, gender and age can be shown to be interrelated with respect to usage of mouthings.

30.5.2 Fingerspelling

Fingerspelling is considered a contact phenomenon resulting from sign language-written language contact (Quinto-Pozos and Adam 2013). In general, fingerspelling has been analysed in the theoretical framework of borrowing (Wilcox 1992; Sutton-Spence 1994; Brentari and Padden 2001). These studies argued that fingerspelling is non-native

¹⁰ However, Mohr (2014: 100) mentions that there are considerable differences between individual signers.

to sign language lexicons, but may undergo adaptation processes like lexicalization (Quinto-Pozos and Adam 2013) or nativization (Brown and Cormier 2017). Generally, fingerspelling co-occurs with mouthing—in ISL, the mouthing is typically of the target word rather than the individual letters articulated (e.g. ‘dog’ rather than ‘d.o.g.’).

Fingerspelling is based on a sign language’s manual alphabet, which is used to spell out a word in the ambient spoken language; in the case of ISL this is usually English. Fingerspelling is used when there is no lexical sign for the concept referred to, when a dialectal variant exists, or when the degree of lexical density is too great (see Sutton-Spence 1994; Quinto-Pozos 2007; Fitzgerald 2014; Leeson et al. 2020). Fingerspelling is most frequently used to reference proper nouns. In the case of lexical gaps, new words may be fingerspelled. Figure 30.7 shows the ISL alphabet, which differs significantly from the two-handed BSL manual alphabet (cf. Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999).

Fingerspellings can also be lexicalized (Battison 1978). Ó Baoill and Matthews (2000) call these items ‘fingersigns’, which develop from regular use. For example, many place names are fingerspelled with ellipsis of some of the letters of the name, e.g. #L-K (Limerick) and #G-W-Y (Galway). The signs for some months are lexicalized fingerspellings, e.g. #J-A-N, #F-E-B. In these lexicalized fingerspellings, ‘[t]he individual letters are articulated using less space and the articulation of each segment is reduced.’ (Ó Baoill and Matthews 2000: 19). Interestingly, lexicalized fingerspellings are no longer perceived as spelling, as children are reported to ask for the spelling of these lexicalized items, indicating that they are conceived of as ‘monolithic’ signs (Ó Baoill and Matthews 2000: 19). This is confirmed by studies into the processing of lexicalized fingerspellings and lexical signs, which show that they are indeed processed similarly, and differently as compared to other linguistic material like written language (Waters et al. 2007).

Initialized signs are similar phenomena in that they can be considered to be a kind of lexicalized fingerspelling (Quinto-Pozos and Adam 2013), and usually use the first letter of the concept denoted by the sign as handshape (Padden 1998). ISL examples of initialized signs include the male variants of the signs for the days of the week shown in Figure 30.4.

Finally, Padden (1998) also mentions so-called ‘abbreviation signs’, which exhibit influence of some letters of the corresponding spoken-language words. One example is WORKSHOP, formed with the W and S handshapes (see Figure 30.7; see also Quinto-Pozos and Adam 2013).

30.6 WHERE TO NEXT?

In this chapter we have shown that ISL has been influenced by many different sources—other sign languages, spoken languages, and different stakeholders, particularly in educational contexts. This has affected both the status and use of the language, as well as its structures. However, the developments outlined here are only those that are historically

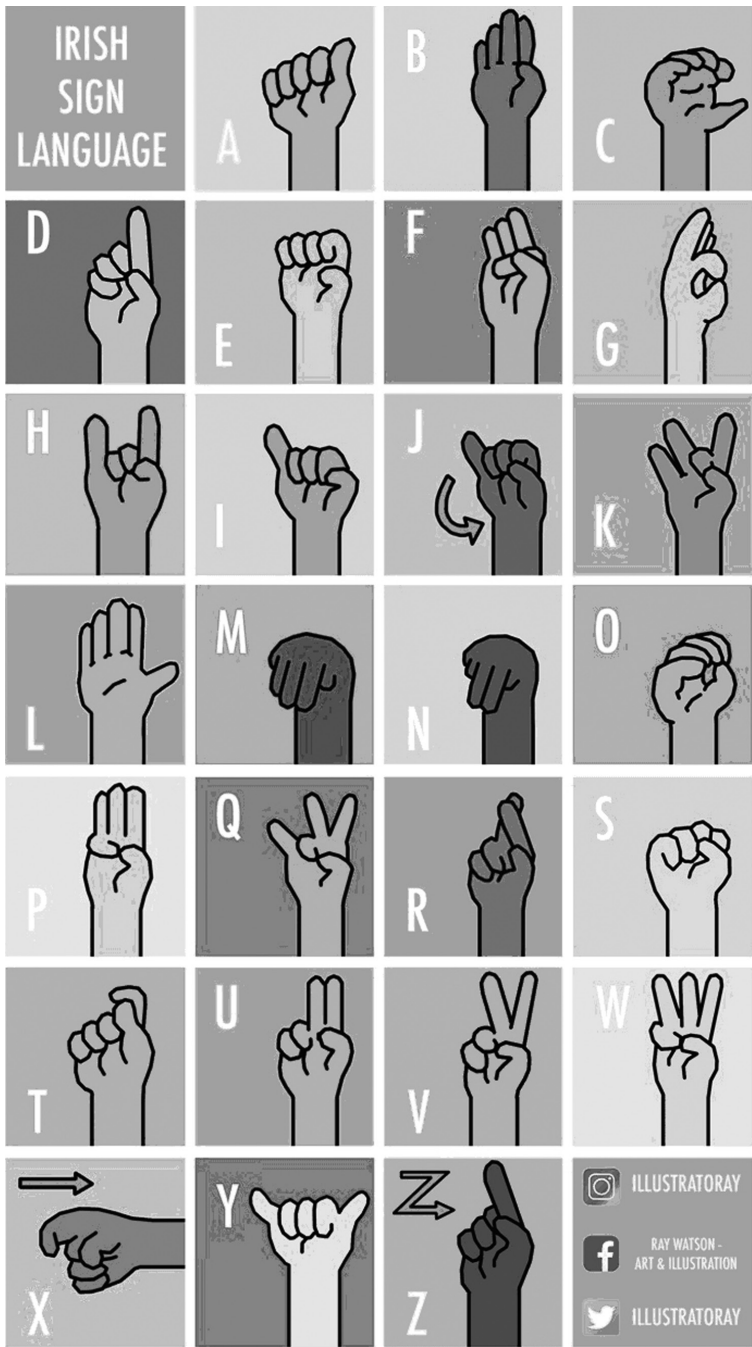


FIGURE 30.7 ISL manual alphabet (with permission of the illustrator, Ray Watson)

documented; others might have gone unnoticed. Given the recent official recognition of ISL in the Irish Sign Language Act (2017), greater presence in the media, and higher awareness of the language, more change can be expected.

Recent years have seen several focused vocabulary development projects. These include the STEM glossary project, funded by the Science Foundation Ireland at Dublin City University,¹¹ the development of a series of terms linked to the COVID-19 emergency by a collaborative group including representation from the Irish Deaf Society, the Centre for Deaf Studies at Trinity College Dublin, and the Council for Irish Sign Language Interpreters (CISLI)¹², as well as glossaries on terms relating to gender based violence (Justisigns 2 Project) and political vocabulary (Houses of the Oireachtas) (Moiselle and Leeson 2022). Those leading this work made a conscious decision to avoid initialized signs in their work: their goal was to maximize iconic representation of concepts where possible (Teresa Lynch, personal communication, August 2020).

While the body of research on ISL has grown, especially since the establishment of the Centre for Deaf Studies at Trinity College in Dublin in 2001, there are many features and contexts of ISL use that remain unexplored across the broad sweep of linguistics, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics (Leeson and Murtagh 2020). There is much work yet needed in documenting Ireland's third official language.

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¹¹ <https://www.dcu.ie/islstem>

¹² <https://www.irishdeafociety.ie/irish-sign-language-for-covid19-related-vocabulary/>

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GLOSSARY

Act of Union of Great Britain and Ireland. An Act passed by the British parliament in 1800 and which came into force on 1 January 1801. Similar to the Acts of Union for Wales in 1534/1542 (Laws in Wales Acts) and for Scotland in 1707, this Act led to the disbandment of the parliament in Dublin and to direct rule of Ireland from Westminster, with all this implied in terms of loss of sovereignty. See Connolly (2002).

after perfective. See *immediate perfective.

Anglo-Irish. A reference, often found in literary and cultural studies, to individuals born in Ireland but with English ancestry and frequently of Protestant faith and with leanings towards England. Formerly, the Anglo-Irish belonged to the landed gentry and were descended from the *Ascendancy. See Beckett (1966).

Anglo-Norman. A reference to the type of French spoken in England after the Norman invasion of 1066 and which was taken to Ireland from west Wales in the late twelfth century (after the Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169). See Hickey (2007: ch. 2).

angloversal. A term coined, in analogy to ‘universal’, to refer to features of English vernaculars which are deemed to be widespread across varieties without there necessarily having been contact between the latter. Examples include embedded inversion, unmarked adverbs, and the shift from [ŋ] to [n] in present participles.

Ascendancy. Originally a reference to the Protestant ruling class in eighteenth-century Ireland. It later came to refer, as a rather vague term, to a putative Protestant elite in Ireland, usually on country estates. See McCormack (1985); Connolly (2002).

aspect. One of three divisions of verbs (the other two being tense and mood). Aspect refers to the way in which an action is viewed by the speaker, i.e. as being finished (perfective), on-going (progressive), recurring (habitual), etc. Put simply, tense specifies *when* an action took place and aspect *how*. See Hickey (2007: ch. 4).

Barbados. A small island nation in the south-east Caribbean which saw significant input of settlers from Ireland in the seventeenth century. Certain features, such as rhoticity, may be traceable to Irish and/or South-Western English input.

be deletion. A feature of some varieties of vernacular Irish English, now apparently confined to the south-east of Ireland, whereby a finite form of *be* is missing in a so-called equative sentence, e.g. *Anthony [is] a great footballer*. See Hickey (2007: ch. 4).

Belfast. The capital of Ulster at the estuary of the river Lagan in the north-east of the country. It was founded in the seventeenth century, and expanded greatly with the development of such industries as shipbuilding in the nineteenth century. Linguistically, it is an amalgam of Ulster Scots and Mid-Ulster English inputs along with independent developments of its own. It is largely Protestant, though west Belfast has a Catholic majority. See Milroy (1981).

Belfast Agreement. With this political accord (1998), also known as the Good Friday Agreement, two language institutions were recognized for the whole of Ireland: (i) *Foras na Gaeilge*, lit. ‘the Irish foundation’, and (ii) the Ulster Scots Agency (Ulster Scots: *Tha Boord o*

Ulster-Scotch), both intended to represent heritage languages in Ireland apart from English, preserving and promoting their cultures. The main offices of these institutions are in Dublin and Belfast respectively. See Lalor (2003).

bilingualism. The ability to speak two languages with native-like competence. With bilinguals, one language will generally be dominant. Lay people often use the term if someone can simply speak a second language well.

blarney. An impressionistic term for flattering, cloying speech which is supposed to be typical of the Irish. It has been known in this sense since the time of Elizabethan I, who is reputed to have used the term. It is associated with a stone on a rampart of Blarney Castle, near Cork City, which is supposed to give anyone who kisses it ‘the gift of the gab’.

Boucicault, Dion (1820–90). A popular dramatist and actor from the Victorian era. Boucicault was successful with plays outside of Ireland (in England, America, Australia) written in an often melodramatic style. He was a keen observer of local dialect, and his plays provide important attestations of linguistic features in Irish English of his time. Among his plays are *The Colleen Bawn* (1860), *Arragh na Pogue* (1864), and *The Shaughraun* (1875). See Welch (1996).

brogue. A term stemming from the Irish word either for ‘shoe’ (*bróg*) or ‘a knot in the tongue’ (*barróg teangan*). The label has been used in the past four centuries for any strongly local accent of Irish English. Occasionally, the term is found outside Ireland, as in ‘Ocracoke Brogue’ to refer to the local accent of offshore islands in North Carolina. Hickey (2007: ch. 1).

Bunreacht na hÉireann ‘Constitution of Ireland’. An official document from 1937 which specifies in Article 8 that Irish is the first language of the then Irish Free State (since 1949, the Republic of Ireland) and that English is accepted as a second official language. See Lalor (2003).

Cant. A term which has been used for the speech of Irish Travellers. It has been taken by Irish scholars to stem from Irish *caint* ‘talk’, but the use in the New World can in fact be derived from French. See *Shelta, and Clancy, Chapter 29 this volume.

Carleton, William (1794–1869). Novelist and short-story writer from Co. Tyrone in the north of Ireland. Carleton was well-acquainted with rural Ulster, where he had grown up in poverty. He portrayed many characters from this rural background, using local forms of English there to represent their speech. See Welch (1996).

Catholic Emancipation Act. An Act passed by the English parliament in Westminster in 1829. It essentially repealed the various Penal Laws which discriminated against Catholics in public life in Ireland. The Act paved the way for the introduction of general education for the entire population of Ireland, which came about with the foundation of so-called National Schools (primary-level schools) in the 1830s. See Dowling (1971).

Celtic. A branch of the Indo-European family which spread from the European continent to the British Isles during the first millennium BCE. The split into two branches—a Q-branch, maintaining inherited /kw/, and a P-Celtic branch, in which this sound shifted to /p/—took place on the continent. Today there are six recognized languages (strictly speaking, four with native speakers): Q-Celtic with Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx (extinct, but well documented), P-Celtic with Welsh, Cornish (extinct, but with attempts at revival), and Breton. See Ball and Müller (2009).

cleft sentence. A special type of sentence used for topicalization purposes, which involves moving an element to the left and placing it in a dummy main clause with *it* as subject, e.g. *It’s tomorrow we’re leaving for Spain*. See Hickey (2007: ch. 4).

Coastal Crescent. A term used by Ulster Scots scholar Robert Gregg to describe a band running from Co. Down, south-east of Belfast, up to Antrim in the extreme north-east, through Co. Derry and across to north-east Donegal (but excluding the city of Derry). This area is that of strongest Scottish settlement, and is where Ulster Scots is found in its most original form. See Corrigan (2010).

Connaught (Irish: *Connacht* ‘Connaught’, *Cúige Connachta* ‘province of Connaught’). The westernmost of the four provinces of Ireland consisting of the counties Galway, Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo, and Leitrim. The first two of these are very large and contain Irish-speaking areas along their coasts, e.g. in south-west Co. Galway and in north-west Co. Mayo. See *Leinster; *Munster; *Ulster.

contact Irish English. A term describing varieties of English which are in contact with the Irish language via speakers in the few small remaining enclaves along the western seaboard where Irish is still spoken as a native language in a situation of unbroken historical continuity. See Hickey (2007: ch. 4).

convergence. A scenario in which two or more languages/varieties become increasingly similar in their structures, usually because of prolonged contact in a geographically delimited area. This convergence is realized by speakers adopting features of other languages they are in contact with and passing these features on to later generations. See *language contact, *language shift, and *transfer.

Cork. The second largest city in the Republic of Ireland. It has an easily recognizable accent with undulating intonational patterns which are found in the south-west in general (in counties Cork and Kerry) in both English and Irish. See Hickey (2011).

Corpus of Irish English, A. A corpus of literary texts by Irish writers compiled by Raymond Hickey and covering the period from the late Middle Ages to the early twentieth century. The corpus is supplied with Hickey (2003a).

Corpus of Irish English Correspondence. A comprehensive corpus, consisting of emigrant letters written by Irish people, mostly from the north of Ireland, during the past few centuries. The corpus has been compiled and is supervised by Kevin McCafferty and Caroline Amador-Moreno, both from the University of Bergen. See Amador-Moreno, McCafferty, and Vaughan (2015).

‘Dart’ accent. A non-linguistic term which has been used to describe a new pronunciation of English which arose in Dublin during the 1990s (previously referred to as a ‘Dublin 4’ or ‘D4’ accent). The reference is to the suburban railway line which travels through many up-market residential areas where this accent is supposed to occur. Also called ‘Dartspeak’ or ‘Dortspeak’ (the latter spelling intending to reflect the raising of the START vowel, no longer a feature of this accent). See Hickey (2005).

Derry. The second largest city in Ulster on the banks of the river Foyle near where it enters the sea. It has always had a special status in west Ulster and, in the context of Northern Ireland, it is remarkable in having a Catholic majority. The label ‘Londonderry’ stems from the seventeenth century, when London companies were commissioned to plant the city with English settlers. See Bardon (2001). On English in Derry city, see McCafferty (2001).

documentation. The textual record for English in Ireland is not abundant for the first period (1200–1600), with the *Kildare Poems*, some minor pieces, and city records forming the bulk of this. The second period (1600–) began with stretches of Irish English within English works, typically plays, often of a satirical nature. By the late eighteenth century the situation had changed, and literature written by Irish writers, displaying features of Irish English at the time, came to be published, e.g. the novel *Castle Rackrent* by Maria Edgeworth.

Doyle, Roddy (1959–). Irish novelist from Dublin whose novels reflect vernacular life in the city. These began with *The Commitments* (1987), *The Snapper* (1990), and *The Van* (1991), which form the Barrytown Trilogy. The novel *Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha* (1993) won the Booker Prize of that year. Doyle's narrative style is characterized by an abundant use of the Dublin vernacular.

Dublin. The capital of the Republic of Ireland at the mouth of the River Liffey on the east coast. It is by far the largest city in the entire island, with nearly one third of the Republic's population (over 1 million people) living in its metropolitan area. For English in Dublin, see Hickey (2005).

Dublin English. A cover term for a group of varieties of English in the capital of the Republic of Ireland. English here has a long history going back to the late twelfth century. The vernacular varieties in the city have a distinct phonetic profile, and non-local inhabitants of the city have in the past two decades or so avoided this by dissociating themselves from the local pronunciation.

Dublin Vowel Shift. A reference to a series of vowel shifts which occurred in the 1990s in Dublin and which involved the raising of vowels in words like *THOUGHT*, *NORTH*, and *CHOICE*, as well as the fronting of the vowels in *GOOSE* and *GOAT*. This pronunciation became general for a generation growing up in Ireland from the 1990s onwards as this new Dublin usage became widespread throughout the Republic of Ireland. See Hickey (2005).

Dynamic Model. A model proposed by Edgar Schneider (Schneider 2003; 2007) which divides the development of English in postcolonial countries into a number of distinct stages with key events.

East Coast dialect area. An identifiable dialect region on the east coast of Ireland, roughly from Dublin down to Waterford, where vernacular forms of speech show features which go back to the earliest days of English settlement, well before 1600. See *Pale.

Edgeworth, Maria (1767–1849). A prolific Anglo-Irish writer of novels, children's literature, and (under the influence of her father, Richard Lovell Edgeworth) books on education. Her first novel, *Castle Rackrent* (1801), about a dissolute Anglo-Irish family, is generally regarded as the first regional novel in English, and contains much dialect in its passages of direct speech.

embedded inversion. A feature of vernacular Irish English in which questions embedded in a sentence show the inverted word order of a non-embedded question, e.g. *I wasn't sure would he come*.

emigrant letters. Correspondence between emigrants in the overseas colonies and members of their families as well as friends back in Ireland. Such letters are linguistically interesting, as they were usually written by relatively uneducated persons whose written style can be assumed to be close to their spoken language.

emigration. The transportation of Irish people to colonies in the New World (when many Irish were deported to Caribbean islands such as Barbados) and to the Southern Hemisphere which began in the seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries respectively. Emigration, both voluntary and involuntary, continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with a large exodus of Ulster Scots from the north of Ireland to the Appalachian region of the later United States and a significant emigration of southern Irish to the USA and Canada in the nineteenth century, triggered above all by the Great Famine. See Fitzgerald and Lambkin (2008) on the transportation of Irish English, see Hickey (2004).

enregisterment. A process whereby linguistic features of a variety become associated with its speakers, and where a general awareness of these features arises. In the Irish English context,

such enregistered features would include the use of stops for fricatives, e.g. *dis*, *dem*, *dose* for ‘this’, ‘them’, ‘those’ or the unraised MEAT vowel suggested in spellings such as *Jaysus* or *crayture*.

epistemic *mustn’t*. A use of *must* in the negative to indicate that something cannot be true, i.e. is not the case, as in *He mustn’t have paid the bill yet, they’ve just sent us a reminder*.

European Union. In 2004 a considerable expansion of the European Union took place, with a number of East European countries acceding to the union. This led to greater freedom of movement for people from these countries. Among the latter was Poland, but also the Baltic states Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, from where many people came to Ireland in search of employment.

exonormative model. A model for supraregional language usage which stems from outside a country or region, e.g. British English in Gibraltar.

feature pool. The totality of linguistic features present in a certain social environment in which a new variety is arising. The notion of feature pool is important when discussing the formative years of many overseas varieties, e.g. Australian or New Zealand English.

FILM-epenthesis. The occurrence of a schwa vowel for the purpose of breaking up a syllable coda consisting of a lateral and a non-homorganic nasal as in the Irish pronunciation of *film* [fil^əm].

final *but*. A putative feature of Irish English where *but* is supposed to be placed in sentence-final position as a kind of hedge, e.g. *They’re not going to make it home tonight, but*.

First period (1200–1600). One of the two main divisions in the history of Irish English. It begins with the Anglo-Norman invasion in the south-east in 1169. By 1600, Gaelic resurgence, and with it that of the Irish language, had come to an end. The seventeenth century saw the importation of newer varieties of English on a wide scale in both the north and south of the country. See *Second period.

Forth and Bargy. Two baronies in the extreme south-east of Ireland, in Co. Wexford, where a particularly archaic form of English, stemming from the late medieval period of settlement in Ireland, was spoken up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Yola*, the form of the word ‘old’ in the dialect, came to be used as a reference to the dialect itself. See Hickey (2007).

fricative *t*. A reference to the manner in which Irish people pronounce the sound /t/ between vowels or after a vowel and before a pause (in so-called weak positions) as in *city* or *pit*. This *t* sounds like /s/ but has less of a hissing quality, and should not be confused with the *s* of English, i.e. the Irish pronunciations of *hit* and *hiss* are not identical. The fricative *t* is ubiquitous in the south of Ireland and common in the north as well. It is also found, as a transportation feature, in the speech of the Irish-derived community in Newfoundland; the Australian use of a similar sound may be connected to Irish input in the formative years of Australian English. See Hickey (2009).

Gaelic. A generic term for the Q-Celtic branch of the Insular Celtic languages consisting of Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx. In a Scottish context, the bare term ‘Gaelic’ or ‘Gallick’ (reflecting the local pronunciation) is taken to refer to Scottish Gaelic.

Gaeltacht. A collective term in Irish (used in the singular) denoting the Irish-speaking districts in Ireland. The geographical limits of the Gaeltacht were set down by the government during the mid-twentieth century, but now (2023) only part of the Gaeltacht population are native speakers of Irish.

gender-differentiated language use. Recent language change in Dublin, and by extension in the rest of the Republic of Ireland, has been driven by young lower-middle-class females, both the Dublin Vowel Shift of the 1990s and the recent Short Front Vowel Lowering.

Because males lag behind in these changes, a gender-differentiated use of language has arisen, e.g. in the onset centralization of the GOAT vowel—i.e. a word like *go* is much more likely to be pronounced as [gɔʊ] by females than males.

Gerald of Wales (1146?–1223?), Latin: Giraldus Cambrensis. A Norman Welsh monk and chronicler from Pembrokeshire. He is mainly known to posterity for two works, *Expugnatio Hibernica* ('The Conquest of Ireland') and *Topographia Hibernica* ('The Topography of Ireland'), in which unflattering portraits of the Irish are given.

Great Famine, The (1845–8). A famine which broke out in Ireland due to the failure of the potato crop after a blight spread from the continent. It began in 1845 and reached its peak in 1847—'Black '47'—the worst year of the blight. In all, it is assumed that about a million people died of starvation, and at least a further million emigrated to the New World. The reduction in population with both events, famine and emigration, was greatest amongst Irish-speakers, accelerating the language shift to English in the second half of the nineteenth century.

habitual aspect. A type of aspect which is used to denote a recurring action. There are two basic types: (i) durative habitual and (ii) punctual habitual. The durative habitual is expressed using *do + be + V-ing* in the south of Ireland and an inflected form of *be* in the north: *Mary does be worrying about the children/Mary bees worrying about the children*. The punctual habitual is expressed by an inflectional *-s* in any person, e.g. *I gets up at half seven in the morning; They calls this place City Square*. The punctual habitual is especially robust in the south-east of Ireland.

Hibernia. The Latin word for Ireland, possibly deriving from the word for 'winter', but more likely from the name of an ancient tribe, the *Everni*, mentioned by Ptolemy (O'Rahilly 1946) as the *Iverni*, and associated with Ireland.

Hiberno-English. An older label for Irish English which is avoided in linguistic studies as it is unnecessarily Latinate. In addition, it is often more suggestive of an exaggerated, exotic variety, like some previous form of Stage Irish, rather than referring to the normal vernacular of Irish people today. Furthermore, the term 'Irish English' provides a clear parallel to other variety labels, such as Canadian English or Australian English.

ICE-Ireland. The Irish component of the International Corpus of English, compiled by Jeffrey Kallen of Trinity College Dublin and John Kirk of Queen's University Belfast, and produced in 2008. It consists of one section for the Republic of Ireland and one for Northern Ireland.

immediate perfective. A grammatical structure found in Irish English (and contact Scottish English) which indicates that an action has taken place recently and is of high informational value to the hearer, e.g. *Michael is after crashing the car*. See Hickey (2007: ch. 4).

Ireland, Northern. A constituent part of the United Kingdom which consists of six counties of the historical province of Ulster. It became a formal political entity with the independence of the remaining 26 counties in 1922. The majority of its population are Protestants, largely descendants of original Scots or Northern English from the seventeenth century, but there is a sizeable Catholic minority in the region as well.

Ireland, Republic of. That section of the island of Ireland which achieved independence in 1922 and was known as the Irish Free State until the proclamation of a republic in 1949. It consists of 26 of the 32 counties of Ireland.

Irish. The name for (i) the people of Ireland and (ii) the Celtic language (Irish *Gaeilge*) still spoken by a small minority, chiefly on the western seaboard. The latter is a Q-Celtic language, first attested in writing in interlinear glosses from the seventh century and still spoken today as a community language, mostly in three separate areas in the south, middle,

and north of the western seaboard of Ireland. Four broad periods are recognized in the history of the language: Old Irish (600–900), Middle Irish (900–1200), Early Modern Irish (1200–1600), and Modern Irish (1600 to the present).

Irishisms A term for words or expressions which are generally regarded as exclusively Irish, e.g. *craic* for social enjoyment, *yoke* for thing, or *grand* as a general expression of approval or reassurance. Some Irishisms are outdated stereotypes which are not used by Irish people, e.g. *Top of the morning to you* as a greeting.

Joyce, James (1882–1941). Dublin-born Irish novelist who is chiefly known for his novel *Ulysses* (1922), the story of one day in Dublin, 16 June 1904. In this work and his two other novels, *Dubliners* (1914) and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), Joyce made use of features of local Dublin dialect in stretches of direct speech. See Welch (1996).

Kildare Poems. Sixteen pieces of verse of Irish origin in the Harley 913 manuscript in the British Library. It is the most comprehensive record of early fourteenth-century Irish English. The title comes from the eponymous poem in ‘The Hymn of Michael of Kildare’. See Lucas (1995); Hickey (2007: ch. 2).

Kiltartanese. An ironical reference to a style of literary English developed in the late nineteenth century, chiefly by Lady Augusta Gregory (1852–1932) a writer, mainly of plays, and a prominent figure of the Irish Literary Revival. This style shows the heavy influence of Irish grammar, and was reputedly typical of the speech of inhabitants of the barony of Kiltartan, south Co. Galway, where Gregory’s estate, Coole, was located. This style was further developed by John Millington Synge in his plays.

language contact. A situation in which speakers of two languages or varieties continually interact with each other, either due to geographical or social proximity or both. The mutual influence which results from such contact can and does lead to changes in the structure—or at least in the lexicon—of one or both languages. See Hickey (2020).

language shift. A situation in which speakers of a language abandon this and move to another language with which they are in contact, usually over a prolonged period. This shift happened historically in Ireland with the move from Irish to English for the great majority of the population. Because the shift was characterized by unguided adult second-language acquisition in a non-prescriptive environment, many structures of Irish were transferred to English, some of which became permanent features of later Irish English.

Leinster (Irish: *Laighin* ‘Leinster’, *Cúige Laighean* ‘province of Leinster’). One of the four provinces of Ireland in the east south-east of the island consisting of the following counties: Carlow, Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenny, Laois, Longford, Louth, Meath, Offaly, Westmeath, Wexford, and Wicklow, none of which contains a historically continuous Irish-speaking area. Dublin is located in this province. See *Connaught; *Munster; *Ulster.

lexical sets. A convention, introduced by John Wells in the early 1980s (see Wells 1982), which uses single words, written in small capital letters, to represent sets of words with similar pronunciations. For instance, the FACE lexical set refers to all words which have the vowel deriving from Early Modern English /e:/ irrespective of how this is actually pronounced in a present-day variety (usually slightly diphthongized).

Limerick Corpus of Irish English. A text corpus compiled at the University of Limerick in the early 2000s intending to represent a range of registers and varieties of Irish English with a view to later linguistic analysis.

L-velarization. The pronunciation with a secondary articulation involving the lowering of the centre and raising of the back of the tongue, creating a somewhat hollow acoustic

impression. Traditionally, Irish English did not have this velarization—it is known for a ‘clear’ L, as in *field* [fi:ld]. However, in the past few decades a ‘dark’ L has established itself, cf. *field* [fi:l̪d].

malapropism. The use of a word which is not the one which is intended. This occurs because of the phonetic similarity between the intended word and the one actually used, e.g. saying *ulster* for *ulcer* in Irish English. The term derives from one Mrs Malaprop in the play *The Rivals* by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, a character whose speech is replete with such phonetic near-hits.

medial-object perfect. See *resultative perfective.

Midlands. The centre of Ireland, which is a flat expanse bordered by the hills and mountains which occupy the coastal regions of the country. This expanse stretches from an area west of Co. Dublin to the Shannon and beyond, linking up with east Clare, Galway, and Mayo. On a north–south axis, it is delimited by the border with Northern Ireland in the north and to the south by a line running roughly from Limerick across to Dublin.

Mid-Ulster English. A linguistic term referring to the speech of that section of the population of Ulster which is derived from English settlers of the seventeenth century. It is one of the two major linguistic groupings in Northern Ireland, the other being Ulster Scots. It has also been referred to as *Ulster Anglo-Irish*. The native Irish, who switched to English during the historical language shift, adopted this variety. See Maguire (2020).

MOUTH-fronting. A reference to the pronunciation of the diphthong in this word, and all others like it, with a fronted onset, e.g. *down* [dæʊn] or even [dɛʊn]. MOUTH-fronting has become increasingly common in the past few decades.

Munster (Irish: *Mumhain* ‘Munster’, *Cúige Mumhan* ‘province of Munster’). One of the four provinces of Ireland, in the south, south-west of the country, consisting of the counties Clare, Tipperary, Limerick, Cork, Kerry, and Waterford. Only the last three have Irish-speaking areas today. See *Connaught; *Leinster; *Ulster.

New Dialect Formation. When written with capitals, this label refers to the model of variety genesis put forward by the British linguist Peter Trudgill. Essentially, it is deterministic in concluding that the survival of features from early dialect mixtures in countries like New Zealand was due to certain features being present with more than 50% of the early population. It has been criticized for ignoring obvious social and identity factors involved in linguistic choices by speakers. See Hickey (2003c).

Newfoundland. A large island off the east coast of Canada which until 1949 was not part of the Canadian Federation. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it experienced considerable emigration from south-east Ireland and south-west England, initially in the form of transient residency during the summer months for fishing. Because of its geographical isolation, input dialects in Newfoundland largely retained their input forms. In Irish, Newfoundland is called *Talamh an Éisc* ‘Land of Fish’.

New Irish. A recent label used for those people who live in Ireland but who were not born there, e.g. the many recent emigrants from Eastern Europe (see European Union). The label ‘non-nationals’ is also found. This section of the country’s population may be as much as 10% at present.

Northern English. A general term for varieties of English spoken north of an imaginary line from Merseyside in the west to The Wash in the east of England. Varieties in the north are internally differentiated and all are generally more conservative, for instance in not distinguishing the vowels in the STRUT and FOOT lexical sets or not showing the lengthening and retraction in the BATH lexical set. See Hickey (2015).

Northern Ireland. Since 1921, a constituent part of the United Kingdom. It consists of six of the nine counties of the province of Ulster, and was created as an option for the Protestant majority in the north-east of Ireland, descended from original Scottish and English settlers, who wished to remain within the British union.

Northern Irish. The Irish language as spoken today in pockets along the coast of Co. Donegal (particularly the region called Gaoth Dobhair/Gweedore) and on Toraigh/Tory Island off the north-west coast of the county.

Northern Subject Rule. A label referring to a regularization of present-tense verbal *-s* in many varieties, originally found in the north of England and Scotland. In its original form, it licenses the use of verbal *-s* on any present-tense verb form which is not immediately preceded by a personal pronoun. The conditions for verbal *-s* vary greatly across varieties of English in Britain and Ireland. In Ireland it is especially common in the third person plural and after existential *there*, irrespective of the number of the subject, e.g. *The foreigners in Ireland gets on well with us. There's lots of people out there.*

O'Casey, Sean (1884–1964). Dublin writer of realistic plays at the beginning of the twentieth century. Among these are *The Shadow of the Gunman* (1923), *Juno and the Paycock* (1924), *The Plough and the Stars* (1926). All of these are written in local Dublin English, to represent which O'Casey adapted the orthography of English. His later plays, such as *The Silver Tassie* (1928), are generally regarded as less successful.

Penal Laws. A collective term for a series of laws which were introduced successively from 1697 onwards and which led to the disenfranchisement of the native Catholic population. They were finally repealed with the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

perceptual dialectology. A recent development in sociolinguistics which examines how non-linguists view varieties of language in their surroundings. It has been shown that speakers' opinions concerning forms of language in their country can be instrumental in shaping how these develop, and hence such views can be linguistically relevant. See Lucek, Chapter 27 this volume.

plantation. The forced introduction of a non-native population by land seizure and planned settlement on this land. Such plantations were carried out at various points in Irish history, the most successful of which were the Scottish plantations in Ulster in the seventeenth century.

pragmatic markers. A group of words or phrases which are external to the syntax of a sentence but which serve the purpose of expressing stance, attitude, approval, disapproval, and/or of downtoning or reinforcing an utterance. Irish English has a unique set of pragmatic markers, such as *grand, sure, lookit, anyway, like, there*, which are important for the linguistic profile of the variety. See Barron and Schneider (2005) and Amador-Moreno, McCafferty, and Vaughan (2015).

Proceedings of the Old Bailey. A large collection of court proceedings from the Old Bailey in London. The depositions and testimonies are frequently in vernacular English (depending on the extent to which the court clerks recorded the transcriptions verbatim), and have been used for the linguistic analysis of Irish English. See Hickey (2007: ch. 4).

prosody. All elements which go beyond the individual sounds in speech. This includes word stress, rhythm, and intonation, all of which can be quite specific to a particular variety.

provinces and counties. Ireland is divided today into four provinces and 32 counties. The provinces are roughly equal in size, but the counties vary, as do the number of them in each province. The main Irish-speaking areas are in the provinces of Munster, Connaught, and Ulster (Leinster does not have any historically continuous Irish-speaking areas). Ulster

consists of nine counties, three of which are in the Republic of Ireland. The remaining six form Northern Ireland, and are frequently referred to in Irish as *Na Sé Chontae* 'The Six Counties'.

quotatives. Words which are used to indicate a stretch of direct speech. The particle *like* is commonly used by young speakers as a quotative in varieties of English today, including those in Ireland, e.g. *She was like 'no way am I going there'*.

Republic of Ireland. Since 1949 the official name for the south of Ireland (excluding Northern Ireland). With the declaration of a republic, Ireland left the Commonwealth and formally achieved a greater degree of independence from the United Kingdom.

resultative perfective. An aspectual form in Irish English which expresses the completion of a planned action, e.g. *He has the book read* 'He is finished reading the book he set out to read' or *She has the dinner made* 'She has finished preparing the dinner'. The resultative perfective has parallels in both the Irish language and earlier forms of English which provided input to Ireland, so its existence in Irish English may be a case of convergence.

retentionist view. A standpoint in Irish English studies where considerable weight is accorded to regional English input to Ireland, suggesting that dialect and archaic features of English were retained in Ireland. This stance implies that transfer from Irish did not play a central role in the genesis of Irish English.

revival of Irish (Irish: *athbheochan na Gaeilge*). A movement which began in the late nineteenth century and which became official policy in independent Ireland after 1922. The revival was not a success, judging by the continual decline in the numbers of native speakers, although partial knowledge of the language did increase in the twentieth century due to compulsory Irish in primary and secondary schools in the Republic of Ireland and more recently due to the popularity of Irish-medium schools (*Gaelscoileanna* 'Irish schools').

rhoticity. The pronunciation of R in non-prevocalic positions in words, e.g. *car* [ka:ɹ] and *card* [ka:ɹd]. Rhoticity is a scalar variable, i.e. it can be weakly present or not at all, as in local Dublin English, or it may be acoustically very prominent, as with the retroflex R now found in supraregional Irish English, e.g. *car* [ka:ɻ] and *card* [ka:ɻd].

RTÉ (Radió Telefís Éireann 'Irish Radio and Television'). The Irish radio and television network, a semi-state body which began radio broadcasting in 1926 and television in 1961. Until the 1990s it had a monopoly in broadcasting and was important in the dissemination of non-vernacular varieties of Irish English, especially those from Dublin, throughout the country.

Second period (1600 to the present). The second main division in the history of Irish English. In the early seventeenth century the widespread settlement of Ulster by people from Scotland took place. By the middle of this century, newer varieties of English were being imported in the south. These newer varieties fed directly into modern forms of Irish English. See *First period.

second-person plural pronouns. Irish English, like many dialects of English, has options to formally express the second-person plural with pronouns. In supraregional Irish English the form is *ye* [ji:, jɪ], which contrasts with the singular *you* [ju:, jʊ, jə]. In vernacular varieties, the most common forms are *youse* [ju:z] or *yez* [ji:z], the latter being especially common in the north. Ulster Scots has the form *yins* [jinz]. See Hickey (2003b).

settler colony. A type of colony found in the British Empire when large numbers of settlers from Britain and Ireland moved to an overseas location, e.g. Canada or New Zealand. Ireland itself was not a settler colony, as the numbers from Britain were never significant except in Ulster, where this fact did have a lasting effect on the demographic and linguistic landscape of the province. See Hickey (2004).

shall/will variation. The modal *will*, emphatically as a full form or reduced and cliticized to a pronoun as a weak form, is the norm in Irish English, e.g. *I'll* [aɪl] *see you later*. *I will* [wɪl] *pay that bill, don't worry*. The form *shall* only occurs occasionally, e.g. when speakers are consciously aiming at more standard language.

Shelta. The assumed language of the Irish Travelling people, about which little is known (vocabulary and some grammatical features). The term 'Cant' came to be later used to characterize the language of Irish Travellers. See Clancy, Chapter 29 this volume.

Short Front Vowel Lowering. A recent process in many varieties of English across the world whereby the vowel in the DRESS lexical set is lowered and that in the TRAP set is lowered and retracted, e.g. *dress* [dræʃ] and *trap* [trap]. This type of lowering is now found with young females in Dublin and may well spread to other groups in other areas. In Dublin, the vowel in the KIT set is not appreciably lowered, except after R as in *rip* [rep]. See Hickey (2018).

'slit' *t*. See *fricative *t*.

Southern Irish. A reference to forms of Irish spoken in the southern part of the western seaboard of Ireland, i.e. on the tip of the Dingle peninsula in Co. Kerry. Irish was spoken in other parts of the South as a native language into the twentieth century, e.g. in parts of Co. Cork and on Ring peninsula in Co. Waterford, but has all but disappeared there.

South-West. An area in the south-west of Ireland, which consists primarily of the two large counties Cork and Kerry, and which has a number of distinct features, such as nasal raising—the words *pen* and *pin* being pronounced identically—and distinctive intonational patterns.

Stage Irishman, The. A stereotype which began to appear in English drama in the seventeenth century. The term is popularly used to denote anyone who displays supposedly Irish traits, such as flattering, flowery language, and melodramatic behaviour. See Hickey (2010).

Statutes of Kilkenny (1366). A set of laws which, among many other things, proscribed the use of Irish by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland and insisted that they use English. In order to be understood, the statutes were written in French. In the event they were quite ineffectual.

subordinating and. A structure, once typical of forms of English influenced by Irish, in which a concessive clause is introduced by *and*, e.g. *They went out walking and it raining*. There is an exact structural equivalent to this in Irish: *Chuaigh siad amach agus é ag cur báistí*, lit. 'went they out and it at putting rain. GEN'.

substratist view. A standpoint in Irish English studies where considerable weight is accorded to structural transfer from Irish into English (see the example in the preceding entry). This stance implies that regional English input was correspondingly less important in the genesis of Irish English. See *retentionist view.

supraregionalization. A process which is assumed to have taken place in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ireland, and to have been triggered by the rise of general school education for the native Catholic Irish. It consisted of the replacement of salient dialect features by more mainstream ones. Because of this, vernacular forms of speech (for educated middle-class speakers) lost their local identity and became 'supraregional'.

Survey of Irish English Usage. A survey, carried out by Raymond Hickey in the early 2000s, with over 1,000 respondents in different parts of Ireland, which aimed at ascertaining the acceptability of several non-standard features of Irish English among speakers of different ages and both genders. See Hickey (2007: ch. 4).

Synge, John Millington (1871–1909). An Irish dramatist who went to the Aran Islands to experience the life and customs of the Irish peasantry (his sojourns there were described in *The Aran Islands*, 1907). Synge claimed that he had heard all the structures and words which he used in his plays when eavesdropping on local inhabitants. How genuine Synge's language

is remains a matter of debate. His distinctive style can be seen in the following plays: *The Shadow of the Glen* (1903), *Riders to the Sea* (1904), *The Well of the Saints* (1905), *The Playboy of the Western World* (1907), *The Tinkers' Wedding* (1907), and *Deirdre of the Sorrows* (1909).

THIN-THIS lexical sets. Two sets which embody sounds which in British English are voiceless and voiced dental fricatives respectively. In supraregional Irish English these are realized as dental stops—[t̪ɪn], [d̪ɪs]—and in many vernacular varieties as alveolar stops—[tɪn], [dɪs]—the latter being quite stigmatized. Many Irish use dental fricatives as part of a reading style, especially in word-final position, e.g. *path* [pa:θ], but *think* [t̪ɪŋk].

‘third-wave’ sociolinguistics. A ‘microsocial’ approach in linguistics which highlights the choices individuals make in their speech rather than seeing this as determined by social class or social networks. See Schulte, Chapter 16 this volume.

traditional Irish English. A reference to rural English spoken during the twentieth century in areas in which Irish was still found or where the language had only recently disappeared. This type of English showed many lexical items from Irish which often displayed a similar phonological structure and the same stress pattern as in the Irish original. See Dolan (2012).

transfer. A process whereby speakers of a language (the source) adopt and incorporate features of a further language (the target) into their own. Transfer presupposes language contact, and is at a premium in scenarios of language shift.

TRAP/BATH lexical sets. Two sets used to capture the low vowels of English. In supraregional Irish English there is no qualitative difference between TRAP and BATH (as opposed to Southern Standard British English) but merely one of length: *trap* [træp/trap], *bath* [bæ:t̪ / ba:t̪]. The use of a back vowel for the BATH set, e.g. *grant* [gra:nt], is regarded as distinctly unIrish.

Ullans. A term for (written) Ulster Scots which has been formed on analogy with Lallans, the Lowland Scots term for itself. It is also the name of a journal.

Ulster (Irish: *Ulaidh* ‘Ulster’, *Cúige Uladh* ‘province of Ulster’). One of the four provinces of Ireland, in the north of the country consisting of the counties Derry, Antrim, Down, Armagh, Tyrone, and Fermanagh (the six counties of Northern Ireland) as well as Monaghan, Cavan, and Donegal (in the Republic of Ireland). Only Donegal has a historically continuous Gaeltacht area today, though there is a small newer urban Gaeltacht in Belfast (Co. Antrim). Up to the early twentieth century Irish was still spoken in the Glens of Antrim, on Rathlin Island, in the mountainous region of central Tyrone, and in parts of south Armagh. Forms of English in the province are Ulster Scots in rural areas along the so-called Coastal Crescent, and Mid-Ulster English, stemming from imported varieties of Northern English, in the centre of the province. See *Connaught; *Leinster; *Munster.

Ulster Scots. The language of the Scottish settlers and their descendants in the coastal regions in the north and north-east of Ulster. Much assimilation and mixing has taken place in the past few centuries, especially in Belfast. Ulster Scots has undergone a considerable revival in recent years.

universalist view. A kind of ‘third way’ in Irish English studies seen as complementing both the substratist and retentionist views (see relevant entries). In essence, it assumes that there are universals of unguided adult second-language acquisition which are similar in many ways, but not identical, to creolization. These are assumed to be responsible for many of the specific structures, such as aspectual distinctions, which were favoured during the language shift from Irish to English.

variational pragmatics. A branch of pragmatics which is concerned with the differences in this level of language found in languages with many varieties. Such differences can be traced

to mixtures of cultural specifics and language-internal developments which have yielded unique pragmatic profiles for individual varieties, such as Irish English. See Schneider and Barron (2008).

verbal concord. See *Northern Subject Rule.

vernacularization. A process in which supraregional speakers style-shift downwards to achieve a vernacular effect. An example of this would be the use of *youse* or *yez* for the second-person plural in Ireland. This is normally avoided by supraregional speakers, but can be employed when deliberately switching to a vernacular mode.

vocabulary. There is a tradition in Ireland of collecting and publishing local words as wordlists and smaller dictionaries (see relevant entries in Hickey 2002). Although such vocabulary is not always current in modern urban speech, it provides a record of varieties with clear traces of the shift from Irish. For larger collections of specifically Irish English lexis, see Dolan (2012), Ó Muirithe (1996a; 1996b; 1997), and Share (2008).

Yola. The form of the word 'old' in the dialect of Forth and Bargy which came to be used as a reference to the dialect itself.

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